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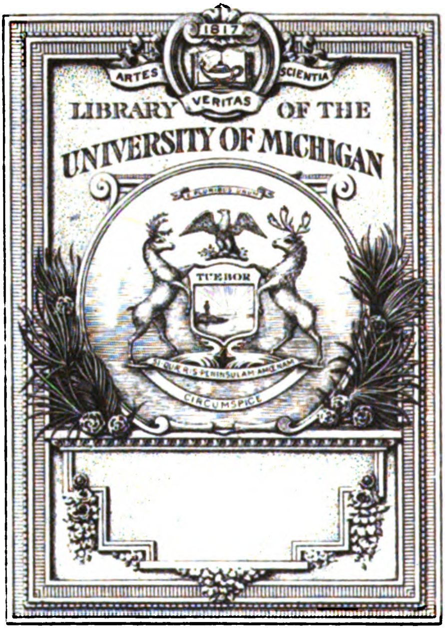

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LONDON AND MIDDLESEX;

OR, AN

HISTORICAL, COMMERCIAL, & DESCRIPTIVE
Survey

19964

OF THE

METROPOLIS OF GREAT-BRITAIN:

INCLUDING

SKETCHES OF ITS ENVIRONS,

AND A

TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE MOST REMARKABLE PLACES IN THE ABOVE COUNTY.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY.

VOL. I.

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THE
BEAUTIES
OF
England and Wales.

MIDDLESEX.

PREVIOUS to the Roman Invasion, MIDDLESEX was included in the district inhabited by the *Trinobantes*, or *Trinovantes*, who probably obtained that name from the situation of their country on the borders of the broad expanse of water formed by the Thames. Thus the Britons of the south would have given the appellation *Tranovant* to the *Country beyond the Stream;* and its inhabitants would have been called *Tranovanti*, *Tranovantwyr*, and TRANOVANTWYS, which, by an easy corruption, would, by the Romans, be pronounced *Trinobantes*. This tribe possessed two considerable cities, or fortified places; of which the 'eminence between the Thames and the Fleet-brook,' the centre of modern London, was the site of one: the other, and most important at that early era, was *Camalodunum*, now Colchester, in Essex. The Trinobantes were the first to submit to the Roman arms, to which they were induced by intestine divisions, that had originated among the native Princes some years prior to the expeditions of Cæsar. After the complete subjugation of the Island, this county was included in the division named FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS; and *Londinium*, or *Augusta*, now London, became a principal Roman station, though it was not dignified with the name of a colony.

This county derives its name from its relative situation to the three ancient surrounding kingdoms of the *East*, *West*, and *South*, SAXONS; of the first of which, that is, *East-Sex*, or *Essex*, it formed a part for about three centuries previous to the dissolution of the Heptarchy. Its shape is very irregular, but, on the whole, approaches to that of the quadrangle: on the northern side it projects considerably into Hertfordshire, where its boundaries are principally artificial; on the southern side it is separated from Surrey by an imaginary line drawn down the middle of the river Thames; on the west it is divided from Buckinghamshire by the river Colne; and on the east from Essex by the Lea River. Its greatest extent, from east to west, is about twenty-three miles; its greatest breadth, from north to south, about seventeen. Were its figure, says Mr. Middleton, "reduced to a regular parallelogram, of equal superficies, the medium length and width would be about twenty miles by fourteen; and consequently, it contains 280 square miles, or 179,200 acres."* By others its superficial contents have been estimated at nearly 218,000 acres.

MIDDLESEX, "from its gently waving surface, is particularly suited to the general purposes of agriculture, it being sufficiently sloping to secure a proper drainage, and at the same time, without those abrupt elevations, which in some places so much increase the labour and expense of tillage; and from its being entirely free from large stones, those powerful enemies to the free operations of the plough."† The inequalities of the surface contribute to health, ornament and beauty; though but few parts of the county can be considered as eminently picturesque. For the most part, the ground rises from the banks of the Thames towards the north; and within a few miles from London, a range of gently swelling eminences, of which Hampstead, Highgate, and Muswell Hill, are the chief, protects the Metropolis from the northern blasts, and agreeably breaks the uniformity of the horizon. These heights afford many very pleasing and extensive prospects; and some equally extended views may be seen from the top of Harrow Hill; which, from rising in a sort of insulated manner, forms a prominent object for many miles round. This eminence is detached from a yet higher and more extensive ridge, which stretches north-eastward in interrupted swells from Pinner, Stanmore, Elstree,

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* View of the Agriculture of Middlesex, 2nd Edit. p. 2. † Ibid.

tree, Totteridge, and Barnet, to the forest scenery of Enfield Chase. The average height of these hills is about 400 feet above the level of the Thames: the southern sides are always the most productive. The banks of the Thames, Colne and Lea Rivers, and generally of the smaller streams belonging to this county, present a series of luxuriant meadows, principally composed of a rich loamy soil. Those which lie contiguous to the river Thames, are occupied, to an extent of many miles, by gardeners and nurserymen, who cultivate an immense quantity of vegetables and fruits for the supply of London and its neighbourhood. "All the land to the south of the road passing from Brentford through Hounslow to Longford, is so nearly level, as to have no more than a proper drainage; and much the greater part is less than ten feet above the surface of the River at Staines Bridge, and not more than from three to five feet above the level of the rivulets flowing through this district. From Staines, through Ashford and Hanworth Commons, to Twickenham, a distance of seven miles and a half, is a perfect level, and generally of from ten to twenty feet above the surface of the Thames."*

This is a well cultivated county; the most unproductive parts are Hounslow Heath, Finchley Common, and Enfield Chase. The vast quantities of manure procured from the Metropolis, have been of great service in improving the land; and from this cause it is, that the produce is some weeks earlier within a few miles immediately contiguous to London, than at a more considerable distance. Norden says, in his *Speculum Britanie*, " the soil of Middlesex is excellent fat and fertile, and full of profite: it yieldeth corne and graine, not onlie in abundance, but most excellent good wheate, especially about Heston, which place may be called *Granarium tritici regalis*, for the singularitie of the corne.† The vaine of this especiall corn seemeth to extend from Heston to

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* Middleton's View, p. 23.

† 'The wheat of Heston was so famous, that Queen Elizabeth, as is reported, had the most part of her provision from that place, for *manchet* for her Highness's own diet.'

Harrow on the Hill, between which, as in the midway, is *Perivale*, more truly *Purivale*, &c. Yet doth not this so fruitful soyle yeeld comfort to the wayfairing man in the winter time, by reason of the claiesh nature of the soyle, which, after it hath tasted the autumne showers, waxeth both dyrtie and deep; but unto the country swaine, it is a sweet and pleasant garden in regard to his hope of future profite; for

> The deep and dirtie loathsome soyle
> Yeelds golden gaine to paneful toyle;

and the industrious and paineful husbandman will refuse a pallace, to droyle in these golden puddles."

The MINERALOGICAL SUBSTANCES of this county are very few; they are principally argillaceous. The disposition of the strata has been thus arranged from observations made in digging deep wells in different places. "First, Cultivated surface. Secondly, Siliceous *Gravel*, five or ten feet in thickness. Thirdly, a strong leaden-coloured earth, generally called *Clay*, varying from one to two or three hundred feet in thickness: this is in some parts manufactured into tiles; and it bears such water-like stains, as to make it probable that it has been deposited from water. Fourthly, Marine sediment, sometimes *Cockle*, but principally *Oyster Shells*, agglutinated together, and hardened into a kind of stony stratum, of three, four or five feet in thickness. Fifthly, *Loose Sand* and *Gravel*:" this stratum has been dug into in many places, for the purpose of obtaining water, which then rises in such large quantities, as to have hitherto prevented any attempt to dig deeper. No metallic strata have been discovered in any part of the county; and appearances indicate that all such lie at a depth much too great to be made subject to the operations of the miner."* At Paddington, near the one mile stone on the Edgeware Road, a thin stratum of *Fuller's Earth* was found at a considerable depth in 1802;† and at Chelsea, at the depth of about fifty feet, a 'quantity of loose *Coal*, twelve inches in thickness,' was discovered in 1798.* Fossil shells, principally *Bivalves*, have been met with in different parts, together with other marine *exuviæ*.

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* Middleton's View, p. 27.

† Ibid.

The prevailing SOILS in Middlesex are loam and clay, or sand and gravel, more or less intermixed with loamy clay. The summits of most of the hills are of the latter kind. Hampstead Hill chiefly consists of eight or ten feet thickness of yellow iron-stained sand, with some loam and rounded flints, incumbent on a pure white sand of many feet deep: the surface is here mostly covered with furze, except where the ground has been dug into. The south-westernmost angle of the county, or that which lies between the river Thames and the road extending from Hounslow to Colnbrook, is chiefly a *Loamy Sand*, appropriated to the growth of turnips and barley, on a subsoil of siliceous gravel, six, eight or ten feet in thickness, with a tenacious leaden-colored earth beneath, used by tile-makers, of great depth. On the east side of the county, from Tottenham to Enfield Wash, the superstratum is of the same description, with a subsoil also of small siliceous gravel on a compact lead-coloured earth. On the west of Hanwell and Hounslow, between the Colnbrook and the Uxbridge Roads, the soil contains a less quantity of sand than the above, and has therefore been denominated a *Sandy Loam;* its depth varies from eighteen inches to upwards of five feet: the under soils as before. The south side of the Parish of Harefield, with the Parishes of Twickenham, Isleworth, Ealing, Chiswick, Kensington, Fulham, Brompton, and Chelsea, are chiefly composed of this kind of soil, which, in several of the latter places, has been highly improved by cultivation and manure.

"All the land from Ruislip and Ickenham on the west, to Greenford, Apperton, and Harrow, on the east, and between Pinner on the north, and Northcote on the south, is composed of *strong Loam:* the land about South Mims is also of this kind; and the level between Islington, Hampstead, and Hornsey, is a strong but very productive loam. The *Loamy Clay* predominates on the north side of a hill between Uxbridge Common and Harefield;

and

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* Middleton's View, p. 35.

and the land north-west of Ruislip, the greater part of Hanger Hill, a wood near the east end of Hillingdon Heath, and the land between the river Brent and Hampstead, on the Hendon road, is of a similar description. The meadows on the north-west side of Hendon Church, towards Page Street, are of nearly the like kind: much of this Parish, indeed, is of a clayey nature, yet there are patches of sand, and more of gravel. From Nightingale Hall, by Colney Hatch, to Whetstone, the land is of a loamy clay, mixed with pebbles of flints; and from Potter's-bar for about two miles towards South Mims, the soil is the same. The north side of Highwood-hill has a thin layer of loamy clay on a subsoil of yellow clay; and in many of these places, the subsoil is a yellow clay; but all the varieties abound with rounded flints. All the hollows, bowls, and chinks, are filled with gravel, as nuts may be contained in a bason; this is particularly visible in places that have been but little cultivated, as Enfield Chase."* The impervious clays, when situated so near to the surface as to be accessible to the plough, are said by Mr. Middleton to be considered as so injurious to the surface soil, and future crops, that, when so raised, it is called "ploughing up poison."†

"The deposit of still water is a peculiarly rich *Loom*, very different from the loam of the uplands, and equally so from clay. It abounds with the richest parts of every soil, and of animal and vegetable substances, which have been dissolved, and washed from all the higher grounds, villages, towns, and cities. The Isle of Dogs, which contains nearly 1000 acres; most or all of the land on the flat borders of the rivers Lea and Colne, some inconsiderable quantities of land on the sides of the Brent, the small islands in the river Thames, and various pieces of land situate in the various nooks and windings of that river, come under this description.—The moors near the river Colne, along the whole extent between Rickmansworth and Staines, consist principally of *Peat* on a subsoil of siliceous gravel, which in various places shews itself at the surface: peat has also been found on the borders of the river Lea, and in the Isle of Dogs."‡

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* Middleton's View, p. 19. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 20,-21.

The *Clay* in the immediate vicinity of the Metropolis, but more particularly on the northern side, has in many parts been dug up to the depth of from four to six feet, and in some places considerably more, for the purpose of *Brick*-making; and numerous buildings have arisen on the very spots where the soil has been thus excavated. The brick-earth averages in general, at from four to five feet in depth; and every acre is calculated to produce about a million of bricks. The rent per acre has much increased within the last thirty years, probably in the proportion of four to one: at this time it varies from 300l. to 500l. according to the description of the clay. The present price of bricks, independent of the charge for carriage, is, for grey stocks, 43s. per 1000; place bricks, 38s. second marl stocks, 62s. and best washed marl stocks, 114s.* With

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* "Round the one mile stone on the Kingsland road, the surface is lowered from four to ten feet, by the earth having been dug up, and manufactured into bricks, over an extent of 1000 acres or more; and except where the owners of the soil have been negligent of their interest, and where the works are now carrying on, it has been levelled, ploughed, and laid down to grass. It is sufficiently dry, and, by the aid of town manure, is restored again into excellent grass land; though it has previously yielded to the community, through the medium of the brick-makers, upwards of 4000l. per acre on an average of the whole level; but there are a few acres of choice marl earth, which have produced, through the same medium, 20,000l. per acre.

	£.	s.	d.
" The brick-maker pays in labour for digging the earth in autumn and winter, about 40s. per 100,000, that is, per 1000 nearly - - - - - - - - - -	0	0	5
Soiling and Turning 30s. per ditto, or per 1000 - -	0	0	4
Moulding and Stacking per 1000 - - - - - -	0	5	0
Setting and Burning per ditto - - - - - -	0	2	0
Skintling per ditto - - - - - - - - -	0	0	3
Loading the Carts, and keeping the Account of Sales, 2s. to	0	2	6
Breeze, Ashes, Sand, Straw, Barrows, and other Implements	0	7	6
Gratuities, Beer, &c. - - - - - - - - -	0	2	0
	1	0	0
Excise Tax - - - - - - - - - -	0	5	0
Suppose the Clay or Earth to cost - - - -	0	2	0
And every Expense for 1000 will be - - - - -	£1	7	0

In

With the exception of the gardens and nurseries immediately contiguous to London and the banks of the Thames, and a strip of arable land about a mile and a half in average width, extending northward from Tottenham to the extremity of the county beyond Enfield, the whole of the eastern part of Middlesex, from Ealing, Harrow, and Pinner, may in general be described as appropriated to meadow and pasturage; though spots occasionally occur that are under tillage: the remaining and western division, excepting Hounslow Heath, Sunbury and Ruislip Commons, and the moor and meadow lands on the borders of the Colne, and upper part of the Thames, is chiefly arable; yet a mixed kind of cultivation is met with in several different places.

The *Arable Lands* are for the most part spread out in common fields; though about one fourth of the whole, which may probably amount to 18 or 20,000 acres, are now inclosed. The operation of ploughing is practised on a bad system, excepting in the neighbourhood of Pinner and Stanmore, and on a few farms in one or two other places. The furrows are in general made both deep and wide, which, of course, by increasing the weight of the draught, require a strong team; and the usual number of horses employed is four, even for the lighter work: on the stronger lands, five, and even six, horses are used; and they are almost invariably harnessed at length, and have three men to attend them, and to guide the plough. These heavy teams seldom plough more ground than four or five acres in six days; and that at an expense of

In May, 1806, place bricks sold in the clamp at 29s. per 1000, and grey stocks at 38s.

"The brick-fields lie close to the town, where manure is to be had in any quantity; and as the carriage costs but little, they are repeatedly dressed, by which means they recover their former fertility. There are many who object to such a manufacture being suffered in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis, considering it both offensive and unwholesome: but, on the other hand, it is contended, that fire is a great purifier of the atmosphere; and that in close and hot weather, a number of brick-kilns near London is of real use to the health of the inhabitants, by promoting a circulation of air." *Middleton's View, p.* 23—26.

of about thirty shillings per acre.* "The ridges, which vary from two feet six inches to twenty yards in width, are cleft every time of ploughing, excepting in the inclosures, where the second ploughing of fallows and half fallows is generally done by crossing the former ridges: in the common fields they are carried on in a serpentine direction; but in the inclosures, they are more straight, and are always laid in the most suitable direction for carrying off the surface water, for which purpose also, cross-furrows, or what in some parts are called grips, are opened by the spade."

Since the introduction of green and root crops, generally called hoing crops, fallowing has gradually fallen into disuse, and is now but very little practised throughout the county; in most parts it is totally excluded, even in the Parish of Heston, where the best wheat has been long grown. These facts furnish a striking proof that the practice of 'giving rest to the land,' by fallowing, was founded on insufficient or erroneous observations; its only real use being to destroy root-weeds and insects; "and these objects once attained, recourse should never be had to the same operation," till the same cause demands it, and that where a proper system of husbandry is pursued, can scarcely ever happen a second time.

The *Rotation of Crops* varies in a certain degree with the facility of obtaining manure, and with the greater or less distance of the farms from the Metropolis. "The farming gardeners," says Mr. Middleton, "at Kensington, Fulham, and other places, raise a succession of, first, cabbages; secondly, either potatoes or turnips;

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* I have seen, says Mr. Middleton, "a team of six horses drawing in length, with three men attending, giving the first ploughing to a fallow, at the same time that a field of mine, of a similar soil, divided from the last only by a hedge, was being ploughed by two ponies." p. 159. "These expensive teams are encouraged by a too general fondness for fine showy fat horses, with sleek skins; particularly on the part of the ploughman, who will rob his master's barn and granary for every sort of corn above his regular allowance, to feed the horses with, in order to keep up this useless appearance of parade and show."

and thirdly, wheat every two years: in this case, though there is no fallow, their land is kept as clean, and nearly as rich, as a good kitchen-garden. Some of them have adopted the following valuable rotation, namely; they manure heavily a clover lay for, first, potatoes; second, wheat; and third, clover; and successively repeat the same rotation. The potatoe crop is the cleansing one: the roots are taken up with three-tined forks, (dung-forks;) the haulm is got off, and used in littering the farm-yards, &c. The rubbish is then harrowed out, raked together, and carried away; and in this state the land is sown with wheat, which is covered by a thin ploughing, that being all the tillage it receives, excepting for the potatoes. The crops are all great: the first is from seven to ten tons; the second is about forty bushels; the third, four tons of (clover) hay at two cuttings."* In the neighbourhood of Heston and Norwood, the course is beans, pease, and wheat; the former twice hoed, and earthed up at the latter hoeing: in the strong and common field lands between Harrow and Uxbridge, the rotation is now similar; but formerly it was fallow, wheat, and then beans, broad-cast. The bean and pea-crops are invariably grown in rows fifteen inches apart.† In the light-land tract between Longford and Sunbury, the rotation is usually as follows: wheat, barley, hog-pease in rows twice hoed; a few acres of beans, and two or three acres of tares: then wheat, barley, and lastly, clover: the latter is mown twice, and coming only once in six years, is generally a good crop:‡ in this course the land is kept from exhaustion by the great quantities of manure obtained from the inns at Brentford, Hounslow, Staines, and other places. On the eastern side of the county, in the common fields which have been inclosed within these few years, the ancient course was fallow, wheat, and barley; but the fallow has now given place to potatoes or turnips.

The *Corn* grown in this county is nearly confined to wheat and barley; rye and oats are cultivated only in small quantities. The green and root crops consist of a very considerable variety, as beans, pease, turnips, cabbages, white and red clovers, ray-grass cut green, tares with barley and oats intermixed, for the food of cattle; turnips, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, green-pease, beans, &c. for the use of man. Lucerne and buck-wheat are also occasionally grown, though on a small scale.* Changing the seed of the corn every two or three years, is a practice which almost generally prevails, though, perhaps, but little conducive to improvement. About 10,000 acres are annually cropped with wheat; new grain, recently thrashed, being mostly preferred for seed. The quantity generally sown on an acre, is nearly three bushels: the usual times of sowing are during the months of October, Novembet, and December; but chiefly in October, which is thought to be the most promising season: in some few instances, principally after turnips, the wheat is sown so late as February or March. The produce varies according to the seasons, the average being from twelve to forty bushels per acre.

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* Middleton's View, p. 188.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

About 4000 acres are annually sown with barley, and that always in the Spring; the quantity of seed per acre varying according to the nature of the soil, but generally averaging at from three and a half to four and a half bushels. The produce varies from fifteen to twenty-five bushels per acre; the average produce of the whole county being about four quarters. About 3000 acres are appropriated to the cultivation of beans, and nearly the same quantity to the growth of pease. The quantity of beans sown per acre is about four bushels, which are dibbled in by women with great rapidity along a line stretched across the ridges, each row being about fifteen inches apart. The general times of sowing are January and February: the general average produce is probably about thirty bushels an acre; but, from the myriads of small black insects (the *aphis)* which infest the plants, the crop is rendered extremely precarious.† "The pease grown with the intent of being gathered green, and sent in their pods to market, succeed clover, corn, or any other crop. The land appropriated to their reception, is generally a dry loamy soil; and manure is usually ploughed in during the months of January and February: after this the land is harrowed, and is then fit for the seed, which is put into drills, fifteen inches apart, mostly made across, but occasionally along the ridges, and the seed is covered in with hoes. White pease are the only sort raised for the purpose of being gathered green; and of these there are several varieties, as the hotspur, early Charlton, marrow-fat, &c. The quantity sown is generally about three bushels per acre: the produce varies from ten to fifty sacks, and is sometimes sold at from 7l. to 9l. per acre, the buyer taking every risk, and expence of gathering, upon himself, which frequently amounts to from 30s. and upwards, to 5l.* An average crop of grey pease is about thirty bushels per acre. Such of the peas as are suffered to ripen, are partly used for soup, and pease-puddings; the residue is bought by the millers, and ground with inferior wheat into meal, which is subsequently mixed with other flour, and surreptitiously made into what is called wheaten bread.

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* Middleton's View, p. 201.

† The beans "are mostly given to horses; though great quantities are shipped for Africa, and the West Indies, as *diet for the Negro Slaves!* The better sorts are podded when green, and sent to the London markets." *Middleton's View, p.* 246.

Turnips are always sown in the broad-cast method, and hoed twice by the hand: the quantity of seed used is nearly two pounds per acre. The produce is mostly consumed by cows, "whose owners buy the turnips while growing, at prices varying from eight to ten or twelve guineas per acre, according to the length of carriage, and quantity of the crop: the cow-keepers are at the expence of pulling them up, loading and carting them home, which is generally done in large waggons, drawn by six stout horses." Liquorice is cultivated to the extent of a few acres at the Neat-Houses, near Tothill Fields: and about twenty acres adjoining to the Uxbridge road, about three miles from Tyburn, are appropriated to the growth of hops.

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* "Against the podding season, the poor people from various parts of the town apply to the farmers, &c. who employ them to gather the pods, which in every case is done by the sack of four heaped bushels. The number of persons employed is about forty to ten acres: the whole is a scene of bustle and cheerfulness, though in rags; and the work is by some continued on sundays as well as other days. The carts are loaded, and sent off at various hours, proportioned to their distance from market, so as to deliver their loads to the salesmen between the hours of three and five in the morning." *Middleton's View, p.* 247—249.

The greater part of the upland MEADOW and PASTURE LANDS in this county, has, at some former time, been under tillage, and still exhibits the marks of the plough. The produce is very abundant, owing to the ground being kept in a highly productive state by the great quantities of manure procured from the Metropolis. "After the hay has been removed from the meadows," says Mr. Middleton, "some of the farmers of this county study the state of the atmosphere, and if appearances indicate rain, they lay on some of the land from which the hay has just been carried, the dung of neat cattle, and such other manure as happens to be reduced so much as to admit of being spread with a shovel, and no other. On the contrary, when the barometer does not bespeak, with some degree of certainty, a pretty heavy fall of rain, the decomposed manure, as well as all the rest, is suffered to remain in the dunghills till the end of September, at which time it is applied while the soil is sufficiently dry to bear the drawing of loaded carts without injury; and when the heat of the day is so moderated as not to exhale the volatile parts of the dung."* Meadow land in the occupation of cow-keepers, is generally mown two or three times in a summer; the great number of cows which they keep, enabling them to dress it every other year: they are also anxious to procure their hay of a soft grassy quality, not letting it stand till the seedling stems rise, but mowing it three or four weeks sooner than it would be adviseable to do for the support of horses.†

The grass lands on the borders of the river Lea contain about 2000 acres, about 1200 of which, lying in the parishes of Enfield and Edmonton, have been recently inclosed, from which cause the rental per acre has advanced from 25s. to 4l. the remainder is divided by land-marks among a great number of proprietors, in pieces containing from a rood to four or five acres each. The common meadows are open for the reception of the cattle of the respective parishes, from the 18th of August to the 5th of April following; soon after which the ground is prepared for a crop of hay, which it yields in July, at the average of about a ton per acre. This tract is flooded every winter, and also once in two or three years in the summer, by water impregnated with manure from the chalky and well-dressed lands of Hertfordshire; but the water is detained much too long upon the land, by the many interruptions to a proper drainage between Stratford-le Bow and the Thames. The several tracts of grass land on the banks of the Colne include about 2500 acres; the soil of which is of a black peaty nature, and but little raised above the level of the river. "Such of them as are inclosed and drained, are very fertile; but much the greater part of them are *Lammas Meads;* and one of the necessary consequences is, that the ditches are so much neglected as to be grown up. The pastures are much covered with mole and ant hills; and in some places gravel has been dug from them in such quantities as to leave them under water." The richest grass-land in the whole county is that of the Isle of Dogs, which has been lately reduced to 500 acres by the West India Docks. This tract would be overflowed by every tide, were it not secured by embankments: it is kept sufficiently dry by sluices, which empty themselves into the Thames at low water.

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* Middleton's View, p. 286. † Ibid. p. 288.

In the art of HAY-MAKING, the Middlesex farmers are superior to those of any other part of the Island, and may be said indeed to have reduced it to a regular system: even in the most unfavorable weather, the method pursued by them is better than any other practised under similar circumstances. The districts near London usually afford two crops of hay every year; those in the more remote parts yield but one. When the grass is nearly fit for mowing, the farmer engages a number of mowers in proportion to the extent of his lands, &c. and agrees with them at so much per acre. At the same time he provides five hay-makers (men and women) to each mower, who are paid by the day; the men attending twelve hours, the women ten, and in cases of emergency,

gency, a greater number of hours, for which they receive a proportionate allowance. The mowers usually begin their work at three, four, or five o'clock in the morning, and continue to labor till seven or eight at night, resting an hour or two in the middle of the day: the quantity mown by each man, is from an acre and a half to two acres daily. On the *first* day all the grass mown before nine o'clock is tedded, in which great care is taken to shake it out of every lump, and to strew it evenly over all the ground. In the course of the morning, it is turned once or twice with similar care and attention; and in the afternoon, it is raked into what are called single wind rows; that is, each person makes a row, the rows being about three or four feet apart: the last operation of this day is to put it into grass-cocks. On the *second* day the business commences with tedding all the grass mown on the first day *after* nine o'clock, and all that has been mown this day *before* nine o'clock. Next the grass-cocks are well shaken out into separate plats, called staddles, of five or six yards diameter. If the crop should be so thin and light as to leave the spaces between these staddles rather large, such spaces must be immediately raked clean, and the rakings mixed with the other hay, in order to its all drying of a uniform colour. The next business is to turn the staddles, and after that to turn the grass that was tedded in the first part of the morning, once or twice, in the manner described for the first day. After dinner, the staddles are formed into double wind rows, by every two persons raking the hay in opposite directions, or towards each other, in rows from six to eight feet apart. The grass is next raked into single wind rows; then the double wind rows are put into bastard-cocks; and lastly, the single wind rows are put into grass-cocks. On the *third* day, the grass mown and not spread on the second day, and also that mown in the early part of this day, is first tedded in the morning, and then the grass-cocks are spread into staddles, as before, and the bastard-cocks into staddles of less extent. These lesser staddles, though last spread, are first turned, then those which were in grass-cocks; and lastly, the grass, once or twice; after which the people go to dinner. Should the weather have proved sunny and fine, the hay which was in bastard-cocks the preceding night, will this afternoon be in a proper state to be carried; but not so, if the weather has been cloudy and cool. In the latter case, the first operation after dinner, is to rake the grass-cocks of the last night into double wind rows, and the grass which was this morning spread from the swaths into single wind rows. Afterwards, the bastard-cocks of the last night are made up into full-sized cocks, and care taken to rake the hay up clean, and also to put the rakings upon the top of each cock. Next, the double wind rows are put into bastard-cocks, and the single wind rows into grass-cocks, as on the preceding days. On the *fourth* day, the great cocks are usually carried before dinner: the other operations of the day are similar to, and continued in the same order as, those before described, and so on daily till the hay-harvest is completed.*

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* Middleton's View, p. 309—313. "In the course of Hay-making, the grass should, as much as possible, be protected, both day and night, against rain and dew, by cocking. Care should also be taken to proportion the number of hay-makers to that of the mowers, so that there may not be more grass in hand at any one time, than can be managed according to the foregoing process. This proportion is about twenty hay-makers (of which number twelve may be women) to four mowers: the latter are sometimes taken half a day to assist the former. But in hot, windy, or very drying weather, a greater proportion of hay-makers will be required than when the weather is cloudy and cool. It is particularly necessary to guard against spreading more hay than the number of hands can get into cock the same day, or before rain. In showery and uncertain weather, the grass may sometimes be suffered to lie three, four, or even five, days in swath. But before it has lain long enough for the under side of the swath to become yellow, (which, if suffered to lie long, would be the case,) particular care should be taken to turn the swaths with the heads of the rakes. In this state it it will cure so much in about two days, as only to require being tedded a few hours, when the weather is fine, previous to its being put together, and carried. In this manner hay may be made and put into the stack at a small expense, and of a moderately good colour; but the tops and bottoms of the grass are insufficiently separated by it.

"There are no hay-stacks more neatly formed, nor better secured, than those of Middlesex. At every vacant time, while the stack is car-

rying

The FRUIT GARDENS of Middlesex, exclusive of those attached to private houses, and gentlemens' villas, are supposed to occupy about 3000 acres, principally situated on both sides of the high road from Kensington through the parishes of Hammersmith, Brentford, Isleworth, and Twickenham. They furnish con-

rying up, the men are employed in pulling it, with their hands, into a proper shape; and about a week after it is finished, the whole roof is properly thatched, and then secured from receiving any damage from the wind, by means of a straw rope, extended along the eaves, up the ends, and on each side of the ridge. The ends of the thatch are afterwards cut evenly below the eaves of the stack, just of sufficient length for the rain-water to drip quite clear off the hay. When the stack happens to be placed in a situation which may be suspected of being too damp in the winter, a trench, of about six or eight inches deep, is dug round, and nearly close to it, which serves to convey all the water from the spot, and renders it perfectly dry and secure.

"It is of great advantage to the farmer to give constant personal attendance on every party, directing each operation during the whole hay-harvest. The man who would cure his hay in the best manner, and at a moderate expense, must not only urge the persons who make the hay, the men who load the waggons, and those who make the stack, but he should be on the alert to contrive and point out the manner in which every person may do his labour to the most advantage. Unless he does this, one moiety of the people in his hay-field will be of no material use to him; and if he should be absent for an hour or more during that time, little or nothing will be done. The farmers of Middlesex engage many hay-makers; some of them have been known to employ two or three hundred: such men find it necessary to be on horseback, and the work-people find them sufficient employment.

"It is supposed that 400 of grass, on being dried into hay, wastes to 100 by the time it is laid on the stack; it is then further reduced, by heat and evaporation, in about a month, to perhaps 95; and between that and 90, it probably continues through the winter. From the middle of March till September, the operations of trussing and marketing expose it so much to the sun and wind, as to render it considerably lighter, probably 80: that is, hay which would weigh 90 the instant it is separated from the stack, would waste to 80 (in trussing, exposure on the road, and at market for about twenty-four hours) by the time it is usually delivered to a purchaser. During the following winter the stant employment, on an average, to about ten persons per acre, men, women, and children; but during the fruit season this number is increased to from thirty-five to forty; the produce of whose labour, in their various occupations, is thought to amount to 300,000l. annually: and to this another 100,000l. may be added, for

waste will be little or nothing: it is nearly obvious, that the same hay will weigh on delivery 80 in summer, and 90 in winter.

"In the making of hay, attention should be paid to the quality of the soil, and the kind of herbage growing on it. The hard benty hay of a poor soil, is in little or no danger of firing in the stack, and should therefore be put very early together, in order to promote a considerable perspiration, as the only means of imparting a flavour to such hay, which will make it agreeable to horses and lean cattle: it will be nearly unfit for every other sort of stock. It is the succulent herbage of rich land, or land highly manured, that is more likely to generate heat sufficient to burst into flame, as it has sometimes done; of course, the grass from such land must have more time allowed in making it into hay: this the Middlesex farmers are perfectly aware of; and when the weather proves moderately drying, they make most excellent hay; but when it is very hot or scorching, they, as well as most other farmers under similar circumstances, are sometimes mistaken. In such weather the grass becomes crisp, rustles, and handles like hay, before the sap is sufficiently dissipated for it to be in a state fit to be put into large stacks; and if that be done when it is thus insufficiently made, it generally heats too much; has been known to become mow-burnt; and in some cases, though very rarely, has taken fire.

"Salt ought to be spread by hand in the stack, with hay that is damaged by any cause whatever, as, being nearly spoiled during the making, or being naturally too bulky and coarse in the crop, or tasteless from poverty of soil. The effect will be so great, that it is said even sheep will eat every morsel of it. Salt has also the valuable property of keeping hay from heating too much in the stack, and by that means preserving it of a finer green colour than it would otherwise be of. Its disposition to prevent heat is so great, as to be particularly suitable and valuable in every case where it may be suspected the hay is putting together insufficiently made. Clover-hay, and tare-hay, are more subject to heat too much than almost any other, owing to their being more succulent and sappy; and many of the farmers of this county use salt on such occasions, with good effect, to keep down the heat.

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for the produce of the fruit sent to the Metropolis from the surrounding counties; the whole making a total of 400,000l. "The fruit-gardeners have what they call an *upper* and an *under* crop growing on the same ground *at one time*. First, the ground is stocked with apples, pears, cherries, plums, walnuts, &c. like a complete orchard, which they call the upper crop: secondly, it is fully planted with rasp-

"In the neighbourhood of Harrow, Hendon, and Finchley, there are many hay-barns capable of holding from thirty to fifty, and some even 100, loads of hay. They are found to be extremely useful and convenient during a catching and unsettled hay-harvest, as a safe receptacle for the hay as fast as it becomes dry. In the very common case of approaching rain, when the hay is fit for carrying, every nerve is, or ought to be, exerted to secure as much as possible; and that is most effectually done by getting all the carts and waggons loaded, and drawn into the barns: the rest of the hay must take its chance in large cocks. These barns are also of considerable utility for the reception of loaded carriages daily, a short time before night, where they are secure, and afford certain employment for the men the next morning, before breakfast, in unloading. Even in dull or damp mornings, the hay can be safely unloaded under the cover of these buildings, when it could not be done on to a stack in an exposed yard. In winter, and in all wet and windy weather, the barns afford safety to the broken cuts, and an opportunity of cutting, weighing, and binding hay; none of which operations could, at such a time, be performed out of doors. The expense of a hay-barn, which costs 100l. generally saves, in straw and thatching, and its other advantages, the whole of its cost in three years. Indeed, I built one on oak posts in the most complete manner, which holds 100 loads of hay, and am certain its savings equalled its cost in two years; but in this it was aided by the then high price of straw. In the driest seasons, barns are a saving of 6s. or more per acre; and in wet seasons, the ready assistance which they afford in speedily securing the hay, has been known to make a difference in price of 20s. per load, on a small number of loads. Close barns exclude the current of external air, which is, probably, the immediate cause of the ignition of the hot vapour, at the instant of its escape from the hay-stack. In the barn, this hot vapour, or steam, is confined in the empty space between the hay and the roof, until it has parted with so much heat, as to be incapable of taking fire when it comes in contact with the external air in its escape from the barn." *Ibid. p.* 313—320.

berries, gooseberries, currants, strawberries, and all such fruit, shrubs, and herbs, as are known to sustain the shade and drip from the trees above them with the least injury; this they term the under crop. Some of these gardens have walls, which are completely clothed with wall fruits, such as nectarines, peaches, apricots, plums, and various others, all properly adapted to the aspect of the wall. In order to increase the quantity of shelter and warmth in autumn, they raise earthen banks of about three feet high, laid to a slope of about forty-five degrees to the sun: on these slopes they plant endive in the month of September; and near the bottom of them, from October till Christmas, they drill a row of pease: by this means the endive is preserved from rotting, and, as well as the pease, comes to maturity nearly as early as if it had been planted in borders under a wall."* Besides the quantity of fruits raised from these gardens, the London markets receive additional supplies from the gardens on the Surrey side of the Thames; and much is also brought from Kent, Essex, Berks, and other counties: these supplies amount to upwards of one third of the whole consumption of the Metropolis.

The NURSERY GROUNDS of this county are presumed to occupy about 1500 acres, lying mostly in the neighbourhoods of Chelsea, Brompton, Kensington, Hackney, Dalston, Bow, and Mile End. "The nurserymen spare no pains in collecting the choicest sort, and the greatest variety, of fruit-trees, and ornamental shrubs and flowers, from every quarter of the globe; and they cultivate them in a high degree of perfection; the latter to a very great extent, and to almost an endless variety."† The taste for elegant and rare plants has become so prevalent of late years, that the rearing them for sale now forms a considerable object of commerce; and the English gardeners have attained such celebrity for the cultivation of exotics, that, in times of peace, a great exportation of these articles takes place to France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Russia, and other countries.‡

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* Middleton's View, p. 324. † Ibid. p. 388.

‡ The late Mr. James Gordon, of Mile End, is said to have been the first who pursued the cultivation of exotics to any extent; and the nursery grounds

The KITCHEN GARDENS in the immediate vicinity of the Metropolis, are estimated to comprise above 10,000 acres; about 2000 of which are wholly cultivated by the spade, and the remainder partly by the spade, and partly by the plough: not more than one fourth, however, of this quantity is situated in Middlesex, the rest is in the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Essex. The gardens at the *Neat-Houses*, which are situated between Westminster and Chelsea, include about 200 acres of rich land on the banks of the Thames, and by that river the soil was doubtless originally deposited. These grounds, which are reported to have been in the occupation of kitchen-gardeners from time immemorial, are always kept in a state of high fertility by the abundance of manure (stable dung) that is spread over them, to the amount, perhaps, of full sixty cart-loads per acre. The method of cropping them, "which may be considered as the general practice of the gardeners of the district, although there are individuals who differ from it in several respects," is thus detailed by Mr. Middleton. "Soon after Christmas, when the weather is open, they begin by sowing the borders, and then the quarters, with radishes, spinach, onions, and all other *seed* crops. As soon afterwards as the season will permit, which is generally in February, the same ground is planted with cauliflowers from the frames, as thick as if no other crop then had possession of the ground. The radishes, &c. are soon sent to market; and when the cauliflowers are so far advanced as to be earthed up, sugar-loaf cabbages are planted from the aforesaid *seed* crops. When these are marketed, the stalks are taken up, the ground cleared, and planted with endive and celery from the said seed crops; and daily as these crops are sent to market, the same ground is cropped with celery for winter use." The average produce of these gardens is supposed to amount to 200l. annually per acre; the profit upon which is calculated at about 120l. The annual produce of all the garden-ground cultivated to supply the London markets, is estimated by Mr. Middle-

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grounds in the occupation of his family, are still among the principal; though many others have now acquired a great name, and very extensive business. *Hist. of London and its Environs, P. IV. p.* 4.

ton at 645,000l. which, with the 400,000l. produced by the fruit-gardens, makes a total of 1,045,000l. for the consumption of the Metropolis, and its environs, in fruits and vegetables only.

On the many little islands in the river Thames, in the neighbourhoods of Brentford, Twickenham, Sunbury, &c. and also in the wet borders of small extent which skirt that river, are plantations of osiers for the use of basket-makers, and for other purposes. The kinds chiefly raised are the *Salix Vitallina*, or yellow willow; the *Salix Amygdalina*, or almond-leaved willow; and the *Salix Viminales*, or osier-willow; with their several varieties: the former sort, being of a tough but yielding nature, is principally grown for the purpose of tying up the branches of wall and espalier trees, and for binding packages of trees and shrubs in the drawing season; the two latter are chiefly used by the basket and corn-sieve makers. This is a very lucrative branch of cultivation; but the planters observe great secrecy in respect to their actual profits.*

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* "The mode employed in the cultivation of willows is as follows: The ground is, during the winter, dug a full spade's depth, and left rough, to prevent the tides from running it together again before it can be planted. The planting-work begins in the month of March. The sets, or plants, are fifteen or sixteen inches long, cut diagonally off the strongest shoots of the last year's growth; care being taken that they are not cut too near to the top of the rods, that part being too porous to make a sound plant. The ground being marked out into rows two feet asunder, the sets are struck in the rows, eighteen inches from each other, about seven inches of each set being left above the ground. When planted, care must be taken, by hoeing, to keep them as free from weeds as possible; or, if the ground be too wet for the hoe, a weeding-hook may be used to keep them down: this is absolutely necessary to ensure a good plantation: and it is also equally necessary to keep the ground well drained, to prevent the tides remaining upon it any considerable time, for on that also depends the firmness and good quality of the rods. The willows are cut the first year with a bill-hook; the shoots are cut off close to the stock, and bound up in bundles, or boults, as they are called, which measure forty-two inches round, at sixteen

The *Manures* used in this county are various, but almost all of them are procured from the metropolis, the principal being stable-litter, the soil of privies, soot, and the sweepings of the streets and market-places; the whole quantity, perhaps, exclusive of the offal of slaughtered animals, &c. amounting to half a million of cart-loads yearly. The farmers manure their lands, in general, only once in three or four years, and that during the months of September and October; the annual expence being from 3l. to 5l. per acre, according to distance, and other circumstances: the gardeners manure their land *twice* in every three years at least, at an expence of about 10l. annually.* On Enfield Chace, marl, containing a considerable portion of calcareous earth, is dug from pits varying from two to fourteen feet in depth, and is in general

inches above the butt-ends. The same process of weeding must be pursued every summer while they are shooting up from the stem. The next cutting season, a portion of them is left to stand another year, where large stuff is wanted for the ribs of large baskets, &c. The planting of willows is expensive the first year; but if well managed, they produce a great profit, as they improve in quality every year." *Middleton's View, p.* 349,-50.

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* The prices of various manures in London, that is, independent of the charge of carriage, are thus given by Mr. Middleton.

"The farmers pay at the stables, for a mixture of strawy litter and horse-dung, about 2s. per cart-load, (though some allow their carters 2s. 6d. a load; the man to get it as cheap as he can, which he sometimes does for 18d.) heaped so as to contain between seventy and ninety cubical feet. The price of dry street-slop at the dunghills, is 1s. per horse, (qu. horse-load;) the soil of privies, dry, 1s. 6d. per horse; bones, raw, boiled, or burnt, and coal-ashes, 6s. a load; soot, 8d. a bushel; horn-shavings from 6s. to 7s. a sack, of eight bushels, well stuffed; leather-dust and shreds, 2s. 8d. a sack, of five bushels, well stuffed; the scrapings of sheeps' trotters, calves' feet, and cow-heels, 8s. a quarter; woollen rags, from 2s. 4d. to 3s. a hundred weight; and hogs'-hair, if wet, 15s. a cart-load. The chimney-sweepers who sell soot in London, mix with it ashes and earth, sifted very small and fine; this they term 'spicing the soot." p. 375.

use for manure in that neighbourhood. In the marl-pits, many curious fossils have been found at different times, at the depth of seven or eight feet from the surface. *Irrigation* is not attended to by the Middlesex farmers; though the relative situation of great part of the land to that of the different ponds, streams, and rivers, furnishes plenty of opportunity for that valuable practice.

The implements employed in the husbandry of this county are not of the most judicious kind. The *Plough* in general use is a swing one, clumsy in construction, and uselessly heavy: on the northern border, the Hertfordshire wheel-plough has been introduced with some advantages. In harrowing, three harrows are generally chained together, and dragged by the same number of horses abreast, "going at a pace as slow as the animals can possibly move, with a man to lead or drive the horses, and frequently another to attend the harrows," and set them to rights when they hitch one on the other, which they often do. There are but few waggons employed: "six-inch wheeled shooting carts, with wooden axle-trees, and iron arms, are in very general use, which hold in the body of the cart from fifty to sixty cubical feet; with the side-boards on, about fifteen feet more; and when heaped with dung, about twenty feet in the heap. These carts, with the addition of a moveable head, tail, and side ladders, carry hay, corn, and straw." These carts are in general much too heavy, and clumsily made, and with bad materials: even a single cart, when empty, is considerably heavier than one horse can draw in constant work.

The quantity of *Live Stock* kept in this county, is probably less than in any other, in proportion to the number of acres; with the exception of the *Cows* kept in the vicinity of London for the purpose of supplying the Metropolis with milk. These cows are chiefly of a large size, with short horns, and are distinguished by the name of Holderness cattle, from a district so called in the East Riding of Yorkshire, but to which the breed has long ceased to be confined. The entire number kept by the London cow-keepers, is said by Mr. Foot, in his Agricultural Report on this County, to amount to 8500, viz. 7200 in Middlesex, 681 in Kent, and 619 in Surrey.* The quantity of *Milk* yielded by each cow, is, on an average, nine quarts a day, or 3285 quarts per annum: but from this latter number should be deducted, perhaps, the odd 285 quarts, for suckling, casualties, &c. the remainder, multiplied by 8500, gives the vast total of 6,375,000 gallons for the annual saleable produce to supply the consumption of London and its immediate dependencies. The price at which the milk is sold to the retail-dealer, (who agrees with the cow-keeper for the produce of a certain number of cows, and takes the labor of milking them upon himself,) varies from 1s. 8d. to 1s. 10d. for eight quarts, according to the distance from town: taking it at the medium, i. e. 1s. 9d. the whole amount will be 278,906l. 5s. In delivering the milk to the consumer, a vast increase takes place, not only in the price, but also in the *quantity*, which is greatly adulterated with water, and sometimes impregnated with still worse ingredients, to hide the cheat: by these practices, and the additional charge made for cream, the sum paid by the public can hardly be less than 150 per cent. on the original cost; or, in all, 697,265l. 12s. 6d.† The milk is conveyed to the consumers in tin vessels, called pails, which are principally carried about by women, mostly robust Welsh girls; it is distributed twice daily through all parts of the town. The following particulars of the treatment of the milch-cows are given by Mr. Foot.

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* "I have taken great pains," says Mr. Foot, "to ascertain these numbers with as much precision as the nature of the subject is capable of; and having collected my information from the following places, I have great confidence in the account being nearly accurate. *Middlesex:* Tothill Fields and Knightsbridge, 205; Edgware-road, 550; Paddington, Tottenham Court-road, Battle Bridge, Gray's-inn-lane, Bagnigge-wells, and Islington, 3950; Hoxton, 150; Ratcliff, 205; Mile-end, 406; Limehouse, 180; Poplar, 70; Bethnal-green, 200; Hackney, 600; Bromley, 160; Bow, 100; Shoreditch and Kingsland, 200; odd cows, 224: total 7200. *Kent:* Deptford, Rotherhithe, Greenland-dock, New-cross, and Bermondsey, 681. *Surrey:* Lambeth, South Lambeth, Kennington-bridge, Cold-harbour, Peckham, Peckham-rye, Newington, and Camberwell, 619. General total, 8500."

† "Every cow-house in this county is provided with a milk-room, where the milk is measured, and served out by the cow-*keeper*, and this room is mostly furnished with a pump, to which the retail-

"During the night, the cows are confined in stalls: about three o'clock in the morning, each has a half bushel basket of grains. From four o'clock to half past six they are milked by the retail-dealers. When the milking is finished, a bushel basket of turnips is given to each cow; and very soon afterwards they have an allotment, in the proportion of one truss to ten cows, of the most grassy and soft meadow-hay, which had been the most early mown, and cured of the greenest colour. These several feedings are generally made before eight o'clock in the morning, at which time the cows are turned into the cow-yard. About twelve o'clock they are again confined to their stalls, and served with the same quantity of grains as they had in the morning. About half past one o'clock in the afternoon, the milking re-commences, and continues till near three, when the cows are again served with the same quantity of turnips; and about an hour afterwards, with the same distribution of hay as before described. This mode of feeding generally continues during the turnip season, which is from the month of September till the month of May. During the other months in the year, they are fed with grains, cabbages, tares, and the foregoing proportion of rouen, or second-cut meadow-hay, and are continued to be fed and milked with the same regularity as before described, until they are turned out to grass, when they continue in the field all night; and even during this season they are fed with grains, which are kept sweet and eatable for a considerable length of time, by being buried in pits made for that purpose. There are about ten bulls to a stock of three hundred cows.

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retail-dealers apply in rotation, not secretly, but openly, and pump water into the milk vessels at their discretion; the pump being placed there expressly for that purpose, and but seldom used for any other. A considerable cow-keeper in Surrey has a pump of this kind, which goes by the name of the *Black Cow*, from its being painted of that colour, and it is said to yield more than all the rest put together."

Middleton's View, p. 423.

cows. The calves are generally sent to Smithfield-market, at one, two, or three days old;" where they sell at from 1l. 6s. to 1l. 11s. 6d. each. "Such cows as give an extraordinary quantity of milk, are usually kept five or six, and sometimes even seven years. The whole are ultimately dried, in which state they are fattened, and afterwards sold to the butchers." The net profit to the cow-keeper upon every cow is estimated at 6l. annually. When any quantity of milk remains unsold, the cream is taken from it, and made into fresh-butter for the London markets, the butter-milk being given to the hogs. The business of the Dairy, however, is but little understood or practised in this county. Many *Calves* are suckled in Middlesex: they become fat, and make the best veal, in about ten weeks; but are frequently let suckle from eight to twelve weeks longer, yet not without some loss of delicacy and flavour, though with considerable increase of weight.

The *Sheep* of this county are not of any particular breed, the farmers purchasing their stocks indiscriminately at the fairs of Wilts, Berks, and Hants, and of the jobbers in West Country sheep, at Kingston and other fairs. The flocks are proportioned to the rights of common appertaining to the respective farms; but those which have not been changed, or crossed, are much degenerated. "The greater part of the hay farmers are without common rights, and devote much of their after-grass to the agistment of sheep and neat cattle, which they take in sheep at 5s. per score, and bullocks at 1s. per head per week." The many ewes which are kept for the purpose of supplying the London markets with *House Lambs*, are all of the Dorsetshire breed: this is a very profitable branch of farming, and is said to have originated in Middlesex, though now very generally spread in different parts of the country. The early-lambing ewes, of which those of a larger size, with white noses, are always preferred, are sought for with great diligence, the prices varying from forty to fifty shillings. "The sheep which begin to lamb about Michaelmas, are kept in the close during the day, and in the house during the night, till they have produced twenty or thirty lambs. These lambs are then put into a lamb-house,* which is kept constantly well littered with clean white straw; and chalk (which has been previously baked in an oven) is provided for them to lick, both in lump and in powder, in order to prevent looseness. As a prevention against gnawing the boards, or eating each other's wool, a little wheat straw is placed, with the ears downward, in a rack within their reach. In this house they are kept, with great care and attention, until fit for the butcher.

"The mothers of the lambs are turned every night, at eight o'clock, into the lamb-house to their offspring; at six in the morning they are again separated, and the mothers sent back to their pastures. At eight o'clock, such ewes as have lost their own lambs, and those ewes whose lambs are sold, are brought in, and held by the head till the lambs by turns suck them clean: they are then turned into the pasture, and at twelve o'clock the mothers of the lambs are driven from the pasture into the lamb-house for an hour, in the course of which time each lamb is suckled by its mother. At four o'clock, all the ewes, that have not lambs of their own, are again brought to the lamb-house, and held for the lambs to suck; and at eight the mothers of the lambs are brought to them for the night. If a ewe gives more milk than its lamb will suck, the superabundance is given to the twins, or to any other lamb whose mother may not be able to furnish it with sufficient food. The shepherd must, in this case, hold the ewe, or she would not suffer the strange lamb to suck. From their timid nature, it is essential that they should be kept free from every species of unnecessary disturbance. This method of suckling is continued all the year. As well to support the ewes, as to fatten the lambs, the former are provided with plenty and variety of food. In addition to after-grass, turnips, cole, rye, tares, and clover, are added the best cured second-cut hay, brewers' grains, bran, pollard, oats, ground barley, oil-cake, and even lintseed. This diet produces plenty of milk of the most nutritious kind, and that promotes growth and fat in the lambs. A contrary system would render the lambs stunted; in which case no diet, or contrivance, could make them either large or fat. The butchers select such of the lambs as become fat enough, and of proper age, (about eight weeks old,) and send them to market during December, and the three or four succeeding months, at prices which vary from two guineas to five; and the rest of the year at about two guineas each."* Early *Grass Lambs* are also an object of considerable importance with the farmers of Middlesex; and for these likewise the Dorset ewes are chiefly selected, though the South Down breed is occasionally preferred. The feed both of the ewes and lambs, is principally turnips and second-crop hay. The lambs are sold, fat, in the months of April, May, and June, at from thirty shillings to two guineas each.

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* "A lamb-house, to suckle from 160 to 180 lambs at a time, should be 70 feet long, and 18 broad, with three coops of different sizes at each end, so constructed as to divide the lambs according to their ages."

The number of *Horses* kept in this county amounts to upwards of 30,000, yet very few are bred in it remarkable for their quality. The cart-horses, which are compact and bony, are purchased at the different fairs in the neighbouring counties, and at the repositories and stables of the several dealers in the Metropolis. Many of the horses employed for agricultural purposes, as well as those used by the brewers, distillers, and carmen of London, are bred in Leicestershire, and the adjoining counties; and being purchased by the country dealers at two or three years old, are sold by them to the farmers of Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, who work them gently the first year, and keep them on till they are about five years old, when they sell them to the London dealers at high prices, as they are then of a proper age for constant work. The coach and saddle-horses are principally bred in Yorkshire, and brought up from that and other counties by the dealers. The draught-horses belonging to the brewers, distillers, coal-merchants, &c. are scarcely to be equalled as to strength and figure.† *Hogs* are kept in considerable numbers, but chiefly by the malt distillers, for whom they are purchased lean, at a large market held on Finchley Common, and to which they are brought from Shropshire, and other distant counties: great numbers of fattened hogs are also bought for the hog-butcheries about London; and the bacon cured here is but little inferior to that brought from Wilts and Yorkshire. Much *Poultry* is reared in Middlesex, but chiefly for home consumption; and many *Pidgeons* are also bred in this county, though more for amusement by journeymen tradesmen, than as a source of profit. *Rabbits* are bred by the poor people in many places in and about London; and, for the most part, when of sufficient age, and in proper condition, are sold to the poulterers, who by this means supply the market at those seasons when wild or warren rabbits cannot be had: the only regular warren in the county is on Uxbridge Common.

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* Middleton's View, p. 454—56

† Middleton's View, Chap. XIII. sec. iii. where see some excellent comparative observations on the superior utility of horses to oxen, when employed in agriculture.

The landed property of this county is much divided, the affluence obtained by so many persons in trade and commerce, having rendered small *Estates* very desirable within a few miles round the Metropolis. On many of them are the seats and villas of gentlemen and merchants, who occupying their own grounds, keep them in a superior state of cultivation, and embellishment. The *Farms* are in general small, the largest probably not exceeding 600 acres. From that to 200 acres there are several, the rentals of which are high; those in the immediate vicinity of London varying, in proportion to their size, from 2000l. to 5000l. per annum; from 200 acres to 100, and from that to fifty, and even to twenty-five and twenty, they are very numerous; and the average size of the whole county might, perhaps, be stated at 100 acres. "The farmers, or cultivators of the soil, in Middlesex, may be divided into various classes or descriptions of persons. In the vicinity of London, the ground is mostly rented by cow-keepers, gardeners, and nursery-men. The land lying immediately beyond the last, is occupied by the villas of wealthy citizens and others; and at a still further distance, by farmers, who are again divided, first, into persons with whom farming is but a secondary occupation, (their primary occupation being generally in London;) and, secondly, by persons, who, having acquired an easy fortune by other pursuits, retire to farming, with the idea of uniting profit and amusement in their agricultural labors. The third is a less numerous class, and consists likewise of persons who have been in a different line of business, yet having a strong inclination for rural occupations, they abandon their former employments altogether, and resort to farming as a profession: this class forms the most intelligent and most accurate of husbandmen. The fourth and last class is about equal in number to all the rest, and is composed of persons who are farmers by profession, and who have at no time been engaged in any other line of business; these, as a body of men, may be said to be industrious and respectable, and much more intelligent than the generality of farmers in places more distant from the Metropolis."*

The *Rent* of lands in this county varies greatly, according to local and other circumstances; some may be averaged at as low as 10s. per acre, and again upwards from that sum to more than 10l. per acre. "The rents are, without exception, paid in money, with the addition, in some few instances, of supplying the landlord's family, in town, with fresh butter, at 8d. or 9d. per pound of sixteen ounces; and with cream at 6d. per pint." *Tithes* are mostly taken in kind, or at an annual composition: in some parishes the sum compounded for has been very little advanced within the last twenty years; a few farms are tithe-free.

In respect to *Tenures* in Middlesex, "there is much freehold, a considerable portion of copyhold, and some church, college, and corporation land. Copyhold estates are mostly, if not entirely, of inheritance, subject to fines and heriots. In some manors the fines are certain, and so small, that the tenure is little, if at all, inferior to freehold: in others, they are at the will of the lord; that is, subject to pay two years of the full rent as a fine.—In Harrow are some that are called head copyholders, and that have this seeming advantage, that the heir at law pays no fine on his admission; and one of these copyholders, having been once admitted,

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* Middleton's View, p. 58,-9.

mitted, may purchase any other copyhold, or all the copyholds in the manor, and pay no fine; and they will descend to his heir in like manner; but if he sells, the lord may impose on the purchaser what fine he pleases; for instance, one thousand pounds, though the copyhold itself should not be worth one hundred pounds: the consequence to the copyholder is, that the seeming advantage of the custom restricts the sale to so small a number of purchasers, that he cannot get near the value which his estate would be of under the common tenure."[*]

The general wages of *Labourers* in husbandry in this county, is from ten to twelve shillings per week in the winter season, and from twelve to fifteen in the summer months: those who are only employed in hay-time and harvest, are paid from fifteen to eighteen, with beer occasionally, and sometimes a dinner. Much of the agricultural business, however, is done by the piece, the prices varying according to the season, &c. During the summer, and beginning of autumn, a vast number of women, chiefly from North Wales, are employed by the farmers and gardeners round London, in weeding and making hay, in gathering green pease and beans, and in picking fruits, as strawberries, cherries, &c. and carrying them to market.

The oldest *Farm Houses* and offices now in the county, are of wood, lathed and plastered, with the roofs thatched; the whole having the appearance as if erected by piece-meal, to suit the immediate wants of the farmer: being built with timber, they endure reparation even till all vestige of the original materials is destroyed or hidden. Those that have been erected within the last hundred years, are mostly of brick, and tiled; and, with a few exceptions, are well built, and properly furnished with offices.

The *Waste* and *Common Lands* in Middlesex do not, at this time, exceed 9000 acres; upwards of 20,000 acres, chiefly in the parishes of Enfield, Edmonton, Ruislip, and Sunbury, have been inclosed within the last seven years. Hounslow Heath, which is the most extensive waste, though of very improveable soil, comprises about 5000 acres; and Finchley Common, the next in extent, contains about 1500 acres, of somewhat inferior quality, though susceptible of great improvement under proper cultivation: on this common a large stock of sheep, and some cattle, are fed during the spring. Enfield Chace, and the commons at Edmonton, Harrow-Weald, Pinner, &c. are now under cultivation: the first, which was originally forest land, has proved the most difficult to ameliorate; but where judicious methods have been practised, is now cultivated with advantage. The *Woodlands* and *Copses* of Middlesex scarcely amount to 3000 acres, and those are principally situated on the northern slopes of Hampstead and Highgate Hills, the eastern side of Finchley Common, and on the north-west side of Ruislip: several hundred acres, in other parts, have, within the last twenty years, been grubbed up, and appropriated to the scythe. Some timber may be found in the hedge-rows, but the latter are in many places disfigured by pollards. The hedges are in general full of live wood, consisting of hawthorn, elm, and maple, with some black-thorns, crabs, briars, and damsons: these hedges are mostly renewed once in ten or twelve years.

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[*] Middleton's View, p. 40, from the Communications of William Bray, Esq. F. S. A.

The *Turnpike Roads* of Middlesex, when considered in reference to their connection with a great city, are by no means what they ought to be; though very large sums are annually collected in tolls, for the purpose of keeping them in repair, and proper condition. The principal and most frequented roads in England, branch off from the Metropolis as from a centre; yet many parts of them are suffered to remain during the winter months in a very neglected state; and even in the summer the ruts are but imperfectly repaired. This, in a great measure, arises from the inappropriate methods made use of in cleansing them, and in the inadequacy of the materials employed to sustain the continued pressure of the immense weights that are continually drawn along them. Still, however, they have been so improved within the past thirty or forty years, that such roads would in many parts of Europe be accounted excellent; though as appendages to a British capital, they merit much censure. The Parish Highways, as they are called, or those which are repaired by parochial rates, or by certain occasional labor of the poorer parishioners, are, on the contrary, kept in very good order. The streets of London, in the carriage way, are principally paved with Scotch granite.

The vast transit of property of all kinds, including the provisions consumed by the population, made along these roads, to and from London, is estimated, by Mr. Colquhoun, in his Treatise on the Police, to be of the annual value of 50,000,000l. and the number of carriages, including waggons, wains, carts, coaches, &c. employed in the conveyance, is conjectured to amount to about 40,000.

The *Manufactures* carried on in this county are very numerous, and equally important, whether considered in respect to magnitude or value. London is the grand mart for every possible variety of article, both of elegance and use; and there is scarcely a single object in demand, (of British make,) but what is either manufactured within it, or within the direct vortex of its influence. To particularize the variety, is therefore a task of extreme difficulty, and withal, of but little consequence in this place, as in the more local descriptions that follow, the various arts, trades, businesses, &c. carried on in the Metropolis, and its environs, can be more perspicuously detailed, and better elucidated, by description. In a general way, it may be stated, that every article of taste, or elegance, as furniture, jewellery, gold and silver ornaments, cut-glass, cutlery, japan wares, cabinet work, gentlemens' carriages, gilt frames, &c. as well as every article of utility or consumption, as machines of all kinds, watches, apparel, porter, sugar, soap, candles, artificial stone, bricks, &c. may be reckoned among the manufactures of this county.

Middlesex is intersected by two CANALS, the *Grand Junction Canal* and the Paddington Canal. The former joins the river Thames at Old Brentford, and passing the grounds at Sion Hill and Osterley Park, runs through a rich corn district near Hanwell, Norwood, Harlington, West Drayton, Cowley, Uxbridge, and Harefield, beyond which it quits the county near Rickmansworth. The stated burthen of vessels navigating this canal, is 60 tons; but those of 70 tons have passed. The rise of water from where it unites with the Thames, to the fourteenth and last lock (in this county) on Harefield Moor, is 114 feet, two inches: viz.

	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
The first lock is at Brentford, and the rise is	8	0		
The second at half a mile further	7	8		
The third half a mile from the second	7	8		
These three rise			23	4
The fourth is three quarters of a mile further	7	8		
The fifth, which adjoins to it	7	8		
The sixth adjoining to the last	10	0		
The seventh ditto	10	0		
The eighth ditto	10	0		
The ninth ditto	7	8		
The whole rise of these six is			53	0
The tenth at a quarter of a mile further	7	8		
The eleventh very near to the latter	7	8		
			15	4
			91	8
The twelfth at Cowley, six miles from the last, rises	6	0		
The thirteenth at Uxbridge, two miles beyond	5	6		
The fourteenth at Harefield Moor	11	0		
			22	6
Making a total rise in Middlesex, as above stated, of			114	2

By the different cuts, side branches, and collateral streams, this Canal has become the most important inland navigation in the kingdom; and has been the means of opening a direct water communication between London, and the various manufacturing towns of Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and other counties. The general breadth of the Canal is thirty feet; but at the bridges it is contracted to fifteen. The slopes and banks are from thirty to eighty feet wide, or about fifty feet on the average on each side. The time spent by vessels in passing along this

Canal from the Thames to Uxbridge, is eight hours; and six hours on the return.

The *Paddington Canal* branches off from the former near Cranford, and is continued on a level the whole way to the Dock at Paddington, where, as it leaves the Grand Junction Canal between the eleventh and twelfth locks, its height is consequently about ninety feet above the ordinary high-water mark in the river Thames, at Chelsea and at Westminster. This Canal is of very great and increasing importance, particularly through its immediate connection with the trade and commerce of London. The bason at Paddington has been excavated from a mixed soil of gravel and clay; and through its elevated situation, is equally well calculated for the uses of commerce, and to supply the western parts of London with soft water: its width is about thirty, and its length upwards of 400 yards. The sides of the bason are nearly all occupied with yards and warehouses, inclosed, for the reception and security of merchandize. Here is also about half a mile of wharfing for the landing and boating of goods, and a spacious quay for such craft as have no particular consignment; besides extensive market-places for the sale of hay, straw, and cattle. Where the bason now is, was, a few years ago, only a grass close, and open fields; but all the surrounding grounds are now covering with buildings, and within a few years more, this will most probably become one of the greatest general markets in England. Here are already deposits for wood, timber, coal, lime, coke, ashes, bricks, tiles, manure, and many other things; and from this place London porter is sent by the Canal to every town upon its borders: and these are not the only advantages derived from this channel, for the estates intersected by it are "so much benefitted by a water communication with the Metropolis, as considerably to increase their owners' rental."*

The weekly MARKETS held in this county amount to nine, independent of those of the Metropolis; namely, at Barnet, on Monday morning; Southall and Finchley, on Wednesday; Ux-

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* Middleton's View, p. 532.

bridge, Brentford, Hounslow, and Edgeware, on Thursday; Staines, on Friday; and at Enfield, on Saturday. At *Uxbridge-market* a great deal of corn is sold; and there is a large public granary over the Market-place for the purpose of depositing it from one week to another. At *Hounslow-market* there is a considerable show of fat cattle; such of them as are not disposed of there, are sent on to London. *Smithfield-market* is famous for the sale of bullocks, sheep, lambs, calves, and hogs, every Monday; and again, though in a less degree, on Friday: on the latter day there is also a market for ordinary horses. *Leadenhall-market* is the greatest in London for the sale of country-killed meat, and is the only skin and leather market within the bills of mortality. *Newgate-market* is the second great place for country-killed meat; and at both Leadenhall and Newgate markets, are sold pigs and poultry killed in the country, together with fresh butter, eggs, &c. to an astonishing amount. The three last markets supply the butchers of London, and its vicinity, almost entirely, and pretty generally to the distance of twelve miles and upwards, it being a current opinion, that live cattle can be bought cheaper at Smithfield than at any other place. At *Billingsgate* is the fish-market, which is principally supplied by fishing-smacks and boats coming from the sea up the river Thames; and partly with fresh fish, by land-carriage, from every distance within the limits of England, and part of Wales: this market is held daily. The *Corn-market* is held in Mark-lane every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; but the chief business is done on Monday. The *Coal Exchange*, in Thames Street, is for the great dealers only, who having obtained a complete monopoly of the market, prevent the consumers from buying here. At *Whitechapel, Smithfield,* and the *Hay-market,* hay and straw are sold thrice weekly; and the Metropolis is further supplied with the same articles by the market recently established at *Paddington;* and from another market for hay and straw, held four times weekly in *Southwark*. Various other Markets, for butcher's meat, vegetables, &c. are held in different parts of the Metropolis.

The *Maintenance of the* POOR forms a very important branch of the civil arrangements of this county; and the following summary

mary on that head, is derived from the *Abstract* of the answers made to the *'Act'* passed in the forty-third year of his present Majesty, '*for procuring Returns relative to the Expenses and Maintenance of the Poor in England;*' printed by order of the House of Commons in 1804.

The Returns under the above Act were made from 208 Parishes or Places in Middlesex.

Of these Parishes, or Places, 183 maintain all, or part, of their Poor IN Workhouses. The number of persons so maintained, during the year ending at Easter, 1803, (or from the 20th April, 1802, to April 12th, 1803,) was fifteen thousand, one hundred and eighty-six; and the expense incurred therein, amounted to 224,048l. 2s. 1¼d. being at the rate of 14l. 15s. 1d. for each person maintained in that manner. From the Abstract of the Returns made in 1776, it appears that there were then eighty-six Workhouses in Middlesex, capable of accommodating thirteen thousand, seven hundred, and forty-one persons.

The number of persons relieved OUT of Workhouses, was forty-seven thousand, nine hundred, and eighty-seven; besides thirty-two thousand, five hundred, and six, who were not parishioners. The expense incurred in the relief of the Poor NOT IN Workhouses, amounted to 125,152l. 4s. 3d. A large proportion of those, who were not parishioners, appears to have been vagrants; 'and therefore it is probable, that the relief given to this class of Poor could not exceed 2s. each, amounting to 3250l. 12s. 0d.' This sum being deducted from 125,152l. 4s. 3d. leaves 121,901l. 12s. 3d. being at the rate of 2l. 10s. 9½d. for each parishioner relieved 'OUT of any Workhouse.'

The whole number of persons relieved 'IN and OUT of Workhouses,' was sixty-three thousand, one hundred, and seventy-three, besides those 'who were not parishioners.' Excluding the expense supposed to be incurred in the relief of this latter class of Poor, all other charges relative to the maintenance of the Poor, amounted to 364,034l. 0s. 10½d. being at the rate of 5l. 15s. 3d. for each parishioner relieved.

The resident population of Middlesex in 1801, as appears from the Returns made under the Act of the preceding year, appears to have been 818,129; so that the number of parishioners relieved by the *Poor's Rate,* appears to be eight in a hundred of the resident population. The amount of 'the total money raised by Rates,' appears to average at 10s. 10½d. per head on the whole population; and the amount of the 'whole expenditure on account of the Poor,' appears to average at 8s. 11½d. per head on the whole population.

The expenditure in suits of law, removal of paupers, and expences of overseers, and other officers, according to the present Abstract, amounts to 18,084l. 6s. 4¼d. The expenditure in purchasing materials for employing the Poor, to 3305l. 0s. 2¼d.

The Poor of thirty-two Parishes, or Places, are maintained and employed under the regulation of Special Acts of Parliament: the Poor of fifty-seven other Parishes, or Places, are farmed or maintained under contract.

The 'Clerk of the Peace' states, that "above three-fourths of the Parishes, or Places, in this County, rate according to the Rack-rent; and others in the following proportions; viz. two at two-thirds; one at two-fifths; seven at three-fourths; eight at four-fifths; one at seven-eighths; and one at three-tenths."

In fourteen Parishes, or Places, the 'Rate in the Pound' is stated on the rack-rental; and the amount of money raised thereby, at 137,548l. 11s. 2¾d. The amount of the rack-rental, as computed therefrom, is 964,403l. 2s. 6¾d. and consequently the average rate in the pound on this rental, is 4s. 10½d. The average rate per Pound of the whole County, is stated at 3s. 5½d. but the rate varies from 9d. to 8s. and upwards.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The Money raised by Assessment for the Relief of the Poor for the year ending at Easter, 1776, was - - - - - - - - - - - -	189,975	6	2
The medium Average of ditto in the years ending at Easter 1783, 1784, and 1785, was	210,910	9	6
The Amount of the Rates raised during the year ending at Easter 1803, was - - -	490,144	1	7¼

	£.	s.	d.
The Expenditure for the Relief of the Poor for the same Terms, and in the same order, was, for 1776 - - - - - - - -	174,263	1	3
Medium of the years 1783, 1784, and 1785	195,427	1	2
Total for 1803 - - - - - - - - - - -	367,284	12	10¼
Expenditure for other purposes, as Church-Rate, County-Rate, Highways, Militia, &c. for the year ending at Easter, 1803 - -	111,691	10	0¾
Total Expenditure for the year ending at Easter, 1803, for the Poor, and other Purposes - - - - - - - - - - - -	478,976	2	11
The Money earned by the Poor (both in and out of Workhouses) towards their Maintenance during the same Time - - - -	13,319	5	8¼

The number of *Friendly Societies* in the county was 1132; of which fifty-four are stated to be Female Societies, and 750 to have been enrolled at the Quarter Sessions, pursuant to the Acts passed in the thirty-third and thirty-fifth years of his present Majesty. The total number of persons belonging to these Societies, are stated at 72,741, (of whom 3754 were returned as females,) being nine in a hundred of the resident population.

It is stated also, in the Abstract, that "The area of this county (according to the latest authorities) appears to be 297 square statute miles, equal to 190,080 statutes acres: wherefore, the number of inhabitants in each square mile (containing 640 acres) averages at 2755 persons."

The following Tables of the Number of Inhabitants, &c. of this County, are extracted from the Returns made under the Act passed for ascertaining the Amount of the Population of the whole Kingdom, in the year 1800: 40th Geo. III.

ABSTRACT *of the Returns of the* POPULATION, *Number of Houses, &c. of the County of* MIDDLESEX, *made to the House of Commons in* 1801, *pursuant to an Act passed in the preceding Year.*

HUNDREDS, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses			Persons		Occupations			Total of Persons.
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
Edmonton	Edmonton	parish	901	950	47	2438	2655	412	557	4124	5093
	Enfield	parish	926	1168	67	2985	2896	642	478	4761	5881
	Mimms, South	parish	293	443	8	938	760	99	95	1504	1698
	Monken Hadley	parish	113	130	6	243	341	41	67	476	584
	Tottenham	parish	598	784	49	1681	1948	163	331	3135	3629
	Five Parishes		2831	3475	172	8285	8600	1357	1528	14,000	16,885
Finsbury Division	Artillery Ground, old	precinct	185	347	5	645	783	1	462	965	1428
	Charter House	extra p.	—	14	—	196	53	—	—	249	249
	Finchley	parish	256	264	25	782	721	183	56	1264	1503
	Fryern Barnet	parish	82	110	6	203	229	58	51	323	432
	Glass-house Yard	liberty	152	297	2	590	631	4	352	865	1221
	Hornsey	parish	429	483	29	1253	1463	152	188	2376	2716
	St. James, and St. John, Clerkenwell	parishes	3320	6274	107	10,898	12,498	27	4967	18,402	23,396
	St. Luke	parish	3776	7033	61	12,500	14,381	38	6728	20,115	26,881
	St. Mary, Islington	parish	1665	2228	80	4189	6023	115	892	9205	10,212
	St. Mary, Stoke Newington	parish	208	268	13	538	924	14	53	1395	1462
	St. Sepulchre	parish	531	996	6	1791	1977	—	1012	2756	3768
	Eleven Parishes, &c.		10,605	18,314	334	33,585	39,683	592	14,761	57,915	73,268

Hundreds, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Elthorne	Brentford, New	town	272	370	15	655	788	24	334	1085	1443
	Cowley	village	40	51	2	111	103	74	107	33	214
	Cranford	parish	25	44	2	102	110	36	19	4	212
	Drayton, West	parish	98	116	4	285	230	81	66	11	515
	Greenford	parish	65	66	2	197	162	40	6	313	359
	Hanwell	parish	126	165	4	446	371	59	78	680	817
	Harefield	parish	160	180	3	503	448	189	122	640	951
	Harlington	parish	70	77	—	179	184	301	50	12	363
	Harmondsworth	parish	115	153	—	484	395	275	53	551	879
	Hayes	parish	199	207	1	473	553	200	82	744	1026
	Hillingdon	parish	336	422	15	842	941	209	190	1384	1783
	Ickenham	parish	43	43	3	102	111	193	58	2	213
	Northolt	parish	58	82	1	176	160	328	8	--	336
	Norwood	precinct	117	141	4	351	346	220	33	444	697
	Perivale	parish	5	5	—	19	9	19	—	9	28
	Ruislip	parish	201	209	2	511	501	493	18	501	1012
	Uxbridge	town	385	409	10	958	1153	64	537	1510	2111
	Seventeen Parishes, &c.		2315	2740	68	6394	6565	2805	1751	7932	12,959

HUNDREDS, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			Total of Persons.
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
Holborn Division	St. Andrew, Holborn	parish	1858	4023	51	7300	8632	—	2749	13,183	15.932
	St. George, the Martyr	parish	721	1481	15	2522	3751	—	1023	5250	6273
	St. Clement Danes	parish	660	927	21	1939	2205	—	896	3248	4144
	Duchy of Lancaster, in St. Mary-le Strand	liberty	71	81	4	232	242	—	100	364	474
	St. Giles's in the Fields	parish	2792	6889	137	13,005	15,759	—	5150	23,614	28,764
	St. George, Bloomsbury	parish	916	1726	16	3409	4329	—	1321	6417	7738
	St. John, Hampstead	parish	691	953	47	1799	2544	199	426	3718	4343
	St Mary-le-Bone	parish	7209	15,378	555	27,012	36,970	371	7977	55.634	63.982
	Paddington	parish	324	417	33	870	1011	158	160	1563	1881
	St. Pancras	parish	4173	7376	253	14,009	17,770	—	3779	28,000	31,779
	Rolls Liberty	liberty	330	621	14	1134	1275	—	580	1829	2409
	St John Baptist, Savoy	precinct	38	77	2	144	176	—	101	219	320
	Saffron Hill, Hatton Garden, and Ely Rents	liberties	900	2208	39	3544	3956	—	2116	5384	7500
	Ely Place	extra p.	45	46	—	114	167	—	22	259	281
	Fourteen Parishes, &c.		20,728	42,503	1187	77,033	98,787	728	26,400	148,682	175,820

Hundreds, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Gore	Edgware	parish	66	90	2	212	200	61	61	290	412
	Harrow on the Hill	parish	364	420	14	1409	1076	386	127	1972	2485
	Hendon	parish	358	389	15	933	1022	312	454	1189	1955
	Kingsbury	parish	45	50	5	111	98	80	15	114	209
	Pinner	hamlet	140	151	11	408	353	134	40	587	761
	Stanmore, Great	parish	121	154	5	360	362	100	89	533	722
	Ditto, Little	parish	83	89	5	200	224	42	73	309	424
	Seven Parishes		1177	1343	57	3633	3335	1115	859	4994	6968
Kensington	Acton	parish	241	303	15	724	701	215	141	1069	1425
	Chiswick	parish	556	637	33	1485	1750	195	216	2824	3235
	Ealing	parish	849	1384	31	2445	2590	120	2276	2639	5035
	Fulham	parish	724	925	25	2108	2320	450	391	3587	4428
	Hammersmith	hamlet	871	1126	49	2497	3108	227	599	546	5600
	Kensington	parish	1314	2214	119	3487	5069	44	1165	7347	8556
	St. Luke, Chelsea	parish	1637	2746	128	4651	6953	183	1069	10,352	11,604
	Twyford, West	extra p.	1	1	—	7	1	6	—	2	8
	Willesden	parish	92	98	6	386	365	196	33	522	751
	Nine Parishes, &c.		6285	9434	406	17,790	22,852	1636	5890	28,888	40,642

HUNDREDS, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons		Occupations			
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Isleworth.	Heston	parish	284	466	10	851	931	269	139	1384	1782
	Isleworth	parish	788	977	86	2069	2277	257	322	3767	4346
	Twickenham . . .	parish	622	868	86	1362	1776	121	256	2761	3138
	Three Parishes		1639	2311	81	4282	4984	637	717	7912	9266
Spelthorpe.	Ashford	parish	48	48	—	136	128	49	9	206	264
	Bedfont, East	parish	82	91	2	221	235	171	20	80	456
	Feltham	parish	69	95	4	387	293	66	254	800	620
	Hampton	parish	184	290	7	772	950	132	191	1399	1722
	Hampton Wick . . .	hamlet	156	194	9	368	425	58	261	474	793
	Hanworth	parish	68	68	4	165	169	65	35	234	334
	Laleham	parish	70	75	8	181	191	349	12	11	372
	Littleton	parish	24	25	6	77	70	39	2	106	147
	Stanwell	parish	137	173	8	459	434	155	116	622	893
	Shepperton . . .	parish	137	146	9	365	366	40	79	612	731
	Stains	parish	312	368	6	838	912	50	354	1346	1750
	Sunbury	parish	259	282	18	721	726	182	152	1113	1447
	Teddington . . .	parish	118	142	5	318	386	100	71	528	699
	Thirteen Parishes, &c.		1609	1997	80	4943	5285	1456	1556	6981	10,228

HUNDRED, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Tower Division	Ann, St. Limehouse	parish	755	1046	11	2336	2342	10	1292	3276	4678
	Botolph. St Aldgate	parish	1097	1752	25	2793	3360	—	1848	4305	6153
	Christ Church	parish	1876	4205	145	6894	8197	4	6166	8921	15,091
	George, St.	parish	4089	5771	119	9231	11,939	21	2414	19,292	21,170
	John, St. Hackney	parish	2050	2420	84	5422	7308	44	897	11.789	12,730
	Ditto, Wapping	parish	998	1574	38	2717	3172	5	1427	4457	5889
	Leonard, St. Bromley	parish	256	336	4	800	884	103	426	1153	1684
	Ditto, Shoreditch	parish	5732	9224	381	15.775	18,991	2339	5937	26,490	34.766
	Mary, St. Whitechapel	parish	3497	6141	192	11,102	12,564	11	4522	19 133	23,666
	Ditto, Stratford, Bow	parish	340	437	10	1049	1052	71	296	1734	2101
	Matthew, St. Bethnal Green	parish	3586	5630	234	9913	12,397	16	4214	18,080	22,310
	Mile-end, New Town	hamlet	610	1484	26	2294	2959	—	1516	345	5253
	Ditto, Old Town	hamlet	1627	2137	38	4046	5802	71	664	9113	9848
	Norton Falgate	liberty	252	420	8	779	973	—	485	1267	1752
	St. Paul, Shadwell	parish	1550	2647	48	3622	5206	—	973	7855	8828
	Poplar and Blackwall	hamlets	756	1107	30	2229	2264	34	1009	3450	4493
	Ratcliff	hamlet	925	1513	16	2550	3116	23	1309	4334	5666
	Tower, or St. Catherine Precinct	precinct	505	637	18	1192	1460	—	521	2131	2652
	Liberty of Tower, Without	precinct	82	145	2	269	294	—	111	452	563
	Nineteen Parishes, &c.		30.523	48,625	1429	85,013	104,280	2752	36,027	147,577	189,298

London City within the Walls	Alban, St. Wood-street	parish	102	140	4	343	339	—	189	493	682
	Allhallows, Barking	parish	274	449	4	954	1133	1	558	1528	2087
	Ditto, in Bread-street	parish	62	102	4	236	194	—	209	221	430
	Ditto, the Great	parish	77	144	—	283	289	—	197	375	572
	Ditto, Honey-lane	parish	29	34	—	99	76	—	92	83	175
	Ditto, the Less	parish	26	42	1	129	115	—	203	41	244
	Ditto, Lombard-street	parish	103	126	1	351	328	—	284	395	679
	Ditto, Staining	parish	114	130	—	332	382	—	174	541	714
	Ditto, London-wall	parish	192	362	7	735	817	—	276	1276	1552
	Alphage, St.	parish	142	257	7	490	518	—	253	755	1008
	Andrew, St. Hubbard	parish	52	63	1	186	190	—	124	252	376
	Ditto, Undershaft	parish	173	203	3	638	669	—	368	939	1307
	Ditto, by the Wardrobe	parish	95	226	3	449	451	6	186	708	900
	Anne and Agnes, within Aldersgate	parish	275	529	4	1105	1068	4	733	1436	2173
	Ann, St. Blackfriars	parish	288	755	7	1355	1716	—	1346	1725	3071
	Anthony, St.	parish	73	79	1	185	178	—	124	239	363
	Augustin, St.	parish	49	68	2	184	149	—	57	276	333
	Bartholomew, by the Royal Exchange	parish	87	92	3	284	276	—	171	389	560
	Bennedict, St. Fink	parish	82	91	3	271	268	—	150	389	539
	Ditto, Gracechurch-street	parish	50	92	8	206	223	—	153	276	429
	Ditto, Paul's Wharf	parish	80	153	4	312	308	1	51	152	620
	Ditto, Sherehog	parish	29	28	2	100	86	—	27	159	186
	Botolph, St. Bishopsgate	parish	1285	2458	48	4745	5569	—	2949	7365	10,314
	Christ Church	parish	325	468	9	1645	1173	—	746	2072	2818
	Christopher le Stock, St	parish	19	23	—	61	72	—	21	112	133
	Clement, St. near East Cheap	parish	52	67	2	190	162	—	120	232	352
	Dionis, St. Back Church	parish	128	173	2	419	449	—	276	592	868
	Dunstan's, St. in the East	parish	152	192	3	509	544	—	271	782	1053
		Tower prec	85	108	5	263	297	—	197	363	560
	Edmund, St. the King	parish	119	141	—	258	219	—	153	324	477
	Ethelburga, St.	parish	84	138	3	309	290	—	157	442	599
	Faith, St. the Virgin, under St. Paul's	parish	139	183	13	498	466	—	225	739	964
	Gabriel, St. Fenchurch-street	parish	70	118	—	244	265	—	129	116	509

Hundred, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Honses.			Persons.		Occupations.			
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
London City within the Walls continued.	George, St. Botolph-lane	parish	39	41	—	107	147	—	59	195	254
	Gregory, St.	parish	222	344	6	785	849	—	118	1516	1634
	Helen, St. near Bishopsgate	parish	128	128	2	306	349	—	199	456	655
	James, St. in Duke's-place	parish	107	233	10	439	412	—	67	784	851
	Ditto, Garlickhithe	parish	78	162	1	297	298	—	217	378	595
	John, St. Baptist	parish	63	57	5	194	218	—	116	296	412
	John, St. Evangelist	parish	25	20	5	69	56	—	54	71	125
	John, St. Zachary	parish	74	137	—	247	260	—	202	305	507
	Catherine, St. Coleman	parish	79	104	3	350	382	—	229	503	732
	Ditto, Cree-church	parish	219	326	3	823	904	—	479	1248	1727
	Lawrence, Jewry-street	parish	129	138	10	394	406	—	317	483	800
	Lawrence, St. Pountney	parish	56	66	—	185	170	—	93	262	355
	Leonard, St. Eastcheap	parish	43	54	—	168	136	—	120	184	304
	Ditto, Foster-lane	parish	134	241	—	468	437	—	368	537	905
	Magnus, St. the Martyr	parish	42	70	—	144	145	—	93	196	289
	Margaret, St. Lothbury	parish	101	147	9	271	298	—	138	431	569
	Ditto, Moses	parish	38	43	2	144	121	—	138	129	265
	Ditto, New Fish-street	parish	60	78	2	178	187	—	137	228	365
	Ditto, Pattens	parish	35	37	1	117	104	—	76	145	221
	Martin, St. Ironmonger-lane	parish	30	35	1	98	94	—	75	117	192
	Ditto, Ludgate	parish	155	312	10	633	596	—	547	628	1229
	Ditto, Orgars	parish	68	75	4	202	191	—	133	260	393
	Ditto, Outwich	parish	44	54	—	140	186	—	68	258	326
	Ditto, Vintry	parish	54	132	1	287	256	—	137	406	543

London City within the Walls continued.	Mary, St. Abchurch . . .	parish	78	180	9	270	279	—	149	400	549
	Ditto, Aldermanbury . .	parish	110	135	5	410	412	—	564	258	822
	Ditto, Aldermary . . .	parish	78	127	4	286	276	—	184	369	562
	Ditto, le Bow	parish	74	106	5	246	222	—	208	260	468
	Ditto, Bothaw, Dowgate . .	parish	40	56	—	115	121	—	90	146	236
	Ditto, Colechurch . . .	parish	44	61	1	161	143	—	111	193	304
	Ditto, at Hill	parish	111	140	—	371	391	—	280	482	762
	Ditto, Magdalen, St. Milk-st. .	parish	51	59	—	108	99	—	75	132	207
	Ditto, Magdalen, Old Fish-st. .	parish	71	138	—	258	263	—	232	289	521
	Ditto, Mounthaw . . .	parish	59	101	1	198	168	—	91	275	366
	Ditto, St. Somerset . . .	parish	52	117	5	229	230	—	287	172	459
	Ditto, Staining	parish	40	54	—	112	127	—	68	171	239
	Ditto, Woolchurch Haw . .	parish	38	42	2	145	125	—	95	175	270
	Ditto, Woolnoth . . .	parish	75	100	2	302	249	—	175	376	551
	Matthew, St. Friday-st. . . .	parish	39	34	3	119	90	—	98	111	209
	Michael, St. Bassishaw . . .	parish	122	146	1	356	391	—	236	511	747
	Ditto, Cornhill . . .	parish	98	103	4	348	343	—	241	450	691
	Ditto, Crooked-lane . .	parish	92	153	—	298	320	—	189	429	618
	Ditto, Queenhithe . . .	parish	92	208	—	404	423	—	495	332	827
	Ditto, le Quern . . .	parish	53	68	2	412	178	—	177	213	390
	Ditto, Paternoster Royal .	parish	35	59	—	177	130	—	86	221	307
	Ditto, Wood-st. . . .	parish	78	155	—	312	262	—	256	318	574
	Mildred, St. Bread-street . .	parish	42	63	9	138	143	—	116	165	281
	Ditto, the Virgin, in the Poultry .	parish	54	58	—	296	208	—	129	375	504
	Nicholas, St. Acons . . .	parish	41	45	1	151	124	—	90	185	275
	Ditto, Cole abbey . . .	parish	31	44	—	146	111	—	131	126	257
	Ditto, Olave . . .	parish	45	55	2	174	150	—	324	—	324
	Olave, St. Hart street . . .	parish	190	237	7	500	716	1	231	984	1216
	Ditto, Old Jewry . . .	parish	55	56	5	135	166	—	95	206	301
	Ditto, Silver-street . . .	parish	156	376	3	505	573	1	310	767	1078
	Pancras, St.	parish	32	37	—	113	104	—	76	141	217
	Peter, St. Westcheap . . .	parish	51	40	1	177	158	—	171	164	335
	Ditto, Cornhill	parish	128	125	5	513	490	—	560	443	1003

HUNDRED, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			Total of Persons.
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	
London City within the Walls continued.	Peter, St. near Paul's wharf	parish	44	98	—	173	180	—	44	309	353
	Ditto, le Poor, in Broad-street	parish	130	168	2	413	454	—	138	729	867
	Stephen, St. Coleman-street	parish	386	755	2	1551	1674	—	602	2623	3225
	Stephen, St. Walbrook	parish	60	60	2	155	185	—	70	273	340
	Swithin, St. London-stone	parish	85	85	1	242	232	—	125	349	474
	Thomas, St. the Apostle	parish	97	131	2	277	289	—	199	367	566
	Trinity	parish	68	162	—	277	281	—	327	231	558
	Vedast, St. Foster-lane	parish	64	76	10	233	190	—	185	258	423
	White-friars, Precinct	parish	88	191	1	374	409	1	195	587	783
	Ninety-eight Parishes		10310	14420	326	37394	38560	15	23756	51368	75954
London City without the Walls;	Andrew, St. Holborn	parish	3426	7721	106	13607	15617	—	6548	9493	29224
	Bartholomew, St. the Great	parish	324	602	13	1258	1387	—	641	1804	2645
	Ditto, the Less	parish	68	106	—	232	239	—	135	336	471
		hospital	—	—	—	243	238	—	—	—	481
	Botolph, St. without Aldersgate	parish	557	1065	24	2006	2155	2	1351	2808	4161
	Botolph, St. without Aldgate	parish	2268	3993	56	6954	7888	9	4449	10384	14882
	Botolph, St. Billingsgate	parish	31	31	1	89	107	—	62	134	196
	Bridewell Precinct	parish	61	85	2	209	244	—	74	333	453
	Bride, St.	parish	913	1783	52	3798	4063	1	2505	5355	7861
	Dunstan, St. in the west	parish	735	1368	21	2601	2829	—	1438	3992	5430
	Giles, St. without Cripplegate	parish	1509	3118	28	5496	5950	36	2466	8944	11446
	Sepulchre, St. without Newgate	parish	1387	2861	42	5862	5998	5	3716	8141	11860
	Trinity, Minories	liberty	93	142	5	309	335	—	216	428	644

and Borough of Southwark.	George, St. Southwark	parish	3811	3998	153	10225	12070	74	4203	18016	22293
	John, St. Ditto	parish	1431	2458	25	4149	4743	1	1987	6904	8892
	Olave, St. Ditto	parish	1336	2378	38	3701	4145	9	1581	6256	7846
	Saviour, St. Ditto	parish	2547	4131	114	7504	8092	31	4512	11053	15596
	Thomas, St. Ditto	parish	178	350	2	1586	1302	1	253	2634	2888
	Seventeen Parishes, &c.		20680	36178	682	69827	77402	167	36337	97015	147.29
Out Parishes in Middlesex and Surrey.	Ann, St. Limehouse	parish	755	1046	11	2336	2342	10	1292	3276	4678
	Artillery Ground and Norton Falgate	parish	437	767	13	1424	1756	1	947	2232	3180
	Christ Church Southwark	parish	1530	2563	56	4541	5392	19	2501	7413	9933
	Ditto Spitalfields	parish	1876	4205	145	6894	8197	4	6166	8921	15091
	Dunstan, St. Stepney	parish	3918	6241	110	11119	14141	128	4498	17242	25260
	George, St. Bloomsbury	parish	916	1726	16	3409	4329	—	1321	6417	7738
	Ditto, St. in the East	parish	4029	5771	119	9231	11939	21	2414	19292	21170
	Ditto, St. Queen Square	parish	721	1481	15	2522	3751	—	1023	5250	6273
	Giles, St. in the Fields	parish	2792	6889	137	13005	15759	—	5150	23614	28764
	James, St. and John, St. Clerkenwell	parish	3320	6288	107	11094	12551	27	4967	18651	23645
	John, St. Hackney	parish	2050	2420	84	5422	7308	44	897	11739	12730
	Ditto, Wapping	parish	993	1574	38	2717	3172	5	1427	4457	5889
	Katherine, St. near the Tower and Tower Liberty	parish and liberty.	587	782	20	1461	1754	—	632	2583	3215
	Leonard, St. Shoreditch	parish	5732	9224	381	15775	18991	2339	5937	26490	34766
	Luke, St.	parish	3776	7033	61	12500	14381	38	6728	20115	26881
	Mary, St. Islington	parish	1665	2228	80	4189	6023	115	892	9205	10212
	Ditto, Lambeth	parish	4790	8815	220	12400	15585	955	5148	21875	27985
	Ditto, Magdalen, Bermondsey	parish	3137	4283	66	7986	9183	94	3959	13116	17169
	Ditto, Newington Butts	parish	2865	3740	75	6450	8397	119	1965	12763	14847
	Ditto, Rotherhithe	parish	1680	2394	16	4787	5509	65	2059	8172	10296
	Ditto, Matfellon, Whitechapel	parish	3497	6141	192	11109	12564	11	4522	19133	23666
	Matthew, St. Bethnel Green	parish	3586	5630	234	9915	12397	16	4214	18080	22310
	Paul, St. Shadwell	parish	1550	2647	46	3622	5206	—	973	7855	8828
	Twenty-three Parishes		56207	93886	2244	163899	200627	4011	69632	287941	364526

HUNDRED, &c.	Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.		Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			
			Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
Parihes not within the Bills of Mortality.	St. Mary-le-bone	parish	7,209	15,378	555	27012	36970	371	7977	55634	63982
	Paddington	parish	324	417	33	870	1011	158	160	1563	1881
	St. Pancras	parish	4173	7376	252	14009	17770	—	3779	28000	31779
	Kensington	parish	1314	2214	119	3487	5069	44	1165	7347	8556
	St. Luke, Chelsea	parish	1637	2746	128	4651	6953	183	1069	10352	11604
	Five Parishes		14657	28131	1088	50029	67773	756	14150	102896	117802
Inns of Court.	Barnard's-inn	extra p.	34	30	7	28	9	—	—	37	37
	Clement's-inn	extra p.	68	68	—	82	58	—	42	98	140
	Clifford's-inn	extra p.	73	38	8	71	42	—	—	113	113
	Furnival's-inn	extra p.	50	42	—	46	34	—	—	80	80
	Gray's-inn	extra p.	236	185	4	206	83	—	3	286	289
	Inner Temple	extra p.	334	—	8	368	117	—	—	485	485
	Lincoln's inn	extra p.	89	—	15	146	33	—	—	—	179
	Middle Temple	extra p.	280	380	22	245	137	—	—	382	382
	Sergeant's-inn, Chancery-lane	extra p.	6	12	—	12	10	—	—	22	22
	Segeant's-inn, Fleet-street	extra p.	18	19	—	40	73	—	—	113	113
	Staple Inn	extra p.	42	42	—	49	18	—	1	66	67
	Eleven Inns		1230	816	62	1293	614		46	1682	1907

City and Liberties of Westminster.	Anne, St. Soho	parish	1294	2471	88	5249	6388	—	3477	8160	11,637
	Clement Danes, St. including the liberty of, or duchy of, Lancaster	parish	1694	3341	62	6403	6932	—	3672	9653	13,335
	George, St. Hanover-square	parish	4344	9170	91	16,779	21,661	163	5989	32,288	38,440
	James, St.	parish	3430	10,448	169	16,224	18,238	7	8668	25,787	34,462
	John the Evangelist, St.	parish	1268	2546	121	3613	4762	42	1827	6506	8375
	Margaret, St.	parish	2367	4956	97	7131	10,377	43	2792	14,673	17,508
	Martin in the Fields, St.	parish	2791	5888	112	12,053	13,699	—	6043	19,709	25,752
	Mary le Strand, St.	parish	166	425	9	796	908	—	494	1210	1704
	Paul, St. Covent-garden	parish	598	1239	22	2202	2790	—	1910	3082	4992
	Savoy	precinct	38	77	2	144	176	—	101	219	320
	Verge of the Palaces of Whitehall and St. James	—	241	272	11	707	979	23	58	1604	1685
	Ten Parishes.		18,231	40,833	784	71,301	86,909	278	35,031	122,891	158,210

Summary of the Population of Middlesex.

Edmonton Hundred	2831	3475	172	8285	8600	1357	1528	14,000	16,885
Elthorne ditto	2315	2740	68	6394	6565	2805	1751	7932	12,959
Finsbury Division	10,605	18,314	334	33,585	39,683	592	-14,761	57,915	73,268
Gore Hundred	1177	1343	57	3633	3335	1115	859	4994	6968
Holborn Division	20,728	42,505	1187	77,033	98,787	728	26,400	148,682	175,820
Isleworth Hundred	1639	2311	81	4282	4984	637	717	7912	9266
Kensington ditto	6285	9434	406	17,790	22,852	1636	5890	28,888	40,642
Spelthorpe ditto	1609	1997	80	4943	5285	1456	1556	6981	10,228
Tower Division	30,523	48,625	1429	85,013	104,280	2752	36,027	147,577	189,293
London within the Walls	10,310	14,420	326	37,394	38,560	15	23,756	51,368	75,954
London without the Walls	20,680	36,178	682	69,827	77,402	167	36,337	97,015	147,229
Westminster City and Liberties	18,231	40,835	784	71,301	86,909	278	35,031	122,891	158,210
Inns of Court, ex. parochial	1230	816	62	1293	614	—	46	1682	1907
State of the whole County	128,163	222,989	5668	420,773	497,856	13,538	184,659	677,837	918,629

Summary of the Population of the Metropolis of London.

Parish, Township, or Extra Parochial Place.	Houses.			Persons.		Occupations.			
	Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Persons not comprised in the two preceding Classes.	Total of Persons.
London within the Walls . .	10,310	14,420	326	37,394	38,560	15	23,756	51,368	75954
London without the Walls, including 5 Parishes in Southwark.	20,680	36,178	682	69,827	77,402	167	36,337	97,015	147229
Out Parishes in Middlesex and Surry.	56,207	93,886	2244	163899	200627	5,011	69,632	287,941	364526
Parishes not within the Bills of Mortality	14,657	28,131	1088	50,029	67,773	756	14,150	102,896	117802
City and Liberties of Westminster	18,231	40,833	784	71,301	86,909	278	35,031	122,891	158210
Inns of Court, ex. parochial .	1230	816	62	1,293	614	—	46	1,682	1,907
Totals . .	121315	214264	5186	393743	471885	6227	178952	663793	865628

The *Climate* of Middlesex is in general healthy, the greater part of the soil being naturally dry, and the more moist situations well drained. The temperature of the air is nearly the same throughout the county, except where the influence of the London fires extend; but these produce a very sensible effect on the climate of the Metropolis, and its vicinity, by drying and warming the atmosphere, upwards of 800,000 chaldrons of coals being consumed in them annually. "The more stationary winds are from the south-west and the north-east; all others are variable and unsettled. Those from the south-west are supposed to blow nearly six-twelfths of the year; and those from the north-east five-twelfths: the varying winds blow from all the other points of the compass about the other one-twelfth. The greatest falls of rain come from a few points west of the south, and are of the longest continuance when the wind has passed through the east to the south." The extremes of heat and cold, at particular times, has been very great; but the most excessive heat ever recorded to have been felt here, occurred between the eleventh and the eighteenth days of July, in the present year, 1808. In the open air, in the shade, and with a northern aspect, near St. James's Park, the thermometer rose, on those days, to the following extraordinary heights:—

Monday,	July	11	80	deg.	Friday,	July	15	77	deg.
Tuesday,	—	12	88½	do.	Saturday,	—	16	86	do.
Wednesday,	—	13	94	do.	Sunday,	—	17	83	do.
Thursday,	—	14	91	do.	Monday,	—	18	84	do.

The greatest heat, it will be observed, was on the Wednesday, when the thermometer, in various parts of London, rose, in the shade, to 95, 100, 101, and 103 degrees; and in the sun, in particular local situations, from 120, and upwards, to 140 degrees! The general height of the mercury in this county, about three o'clock on that day, was 93 degrees, and from 91 to 93 degrees was also the general height throughout England[*]. The heat

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[*] The average heat of the West Indies is from 82 to 85 degrees.

was so oppressive that both the animal and vegetable parts of Creation suffered greatly. Many laborers in husbandry, and other persons, perished by what in India would be called a stroke of the sun, in different parts of the kingdom; and numerous post and mail-coach horses fell dead on their respective stages. The leaves of trees were shrivelled, as if in the last days of autumn; and many plants, &c. were completely withered and burnt up beneath the scorching rays. These heats were followed by violent tempests and storms of wind; and lumps of ice fell in different parts, so large that several sheep were killed by them. Towards the end of the month, the rains were very heavy and lasting; and were accompanied occasionally with thunder and lightning. On the hottest days during the six yeass preceding those of July, 1808, the thermometer stood at the following heights:—

1802.	July	3, ··	83 deg.	1805.	July	4, ··	79 deg.
1803.	August	30, ··	80½ do.	1806.	June	14, ··	82½ do.
1804.	June	25, ··	85 do.	1807.	July	18,	83 do.
	August	3, ··	84 do.		August	13,	

The most striking contrast to the above numbers of late years took place on the 24th of January, 1795, when the thermometer fell to 6 degrees below the point marked 0. These extremes, however, very happily for the general healthfulness, but rarely occur; and when they do, are principally of but short continuance. The more common range of the frosts of winter is from 20 to 30 degrees *.

The principal RIVERS belonging to this county are, the Thames, the Colne, the Brent, the Cran, the Lea, and the artificial stream, called the New River. The THAMES has been a frequent theme of the poet's eulogy; and Pope, Denham, and Thomson, are included among those who have strung the lyre in praise

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* All the above remarks on the height of the thermometer refer to the scale of Fahrenheit.

praise of this noble and capacious river. Thomson has called it the 'King of Floods;' and Denham characterizes it by the well-known lines,

> Tho' deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
> Strong, without rage; without o'erflowing, full.

Pope, in a more rich and luxuriant vein of poetry, describes this majestic stream by the following finely-imagined personification:—

> From his oozy bed
> Old Father *Thames* advanc'd his reverend head;
> His tresses dress'd with dews, and o'er the stream,
> His shining horns diffus'd a golden gleam.
> Grav'd on his urn appear'd the moon, that guides
> His swelling waters and alternate tides;
> The figur'd streams in waves of silver roll'd,
> And on their banks AUGUSTA rose in gold.

The Thames has its source in Gloucestershire, at the place called Thames Head, about two miles south-west from Cirencester; but its principal supply of water, in the early part of its course, flows from the hills of Wiltshire. It enters Berkshire near Fairford, and after dividing the former county from Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, flows into Middlesex, at the point where it receives the mingled waters of the Colne, a short distance above Staines. From hence it skirts the borders of the county in a very devious course of about forty-three miles, and being navigable the whole way, adds greatly to the convenience and wealth of the numerous towns and villages that are situated on its banks *. The general direction of the river along this county is eastward; but its turns both to the north and south, through the variety of its meanders, are very numerous. In its progress from

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* The whole navigable distance of the Thames above London Bridge, is but little short of 143 miles, except when the springs are low in the summer months: to facilitate the navigation, however, several cuts and locks have been made in the upper parts of the river.

Staines Bridge towards Chertsey, Weybridge, Shepperton, and Sunbury, it intersects the meadows with a bold sweep, the line of which is occasionally broken by still lesser wavings, which give great beauty to the surrounding landscapes. At Chertsey, once the seat of a rich abbey of Benedictines, and the retirement of the poet Cowley, the stream flows with much grandeur through an elegant stone bridge; and it becomes of yet greater historical interest as it approaches Coway Stakes, near which Cæsar is supposed to have crossed the Thames, in his successful contest with the Britons.

Advancing to Weybridge, the river is increased by the waters of the *Wey* from Surrey and Hampshire, and flowing onward through the luxuriant meadows between Shepperton and Oatlands, the seat of the Duke of York, is crossed by the high arches of Walton Bridge; in the neighbourhood of which, its banks are adorned with various pleasant seats, both of nobility and gentry. Walton Bridge, which is a bold structure of brick with stone facings, is connected with the Surrey shore by a long causeway erected on arches over a channel that seems to have once formed the bed of the river, and is still covered in times of flood. At Sunbury are several splendid mansions and ornamented grounds; but the Surrey border is for some distance destitute of interesting scenery.

Between Hampton and Kingston, the Thames makes another bold curve round the park and gardens of Hampton Court; here the spacious palace begun by the haughty Wolsey, and afterwards augmented by King William, rises in proud magnificence. Opposite to the palace, the river is crossed by a wooden bridge; and at East Moulsey, its stream receives an accession of waters from the *Mole*, which, rising near the southern borders of Surrey, in the Forest of Tilgate, intersects that county nearly in the middle.

Kingston, anciently the residence of various Saxon monarchs, is next visited by the Thames, which here flows under a miserable wooden bridge of great antiquity, and is joined by a small rivulet from the neighbourhood of Epsom. Hence, passing Teddington (said to be a corruption from Tide-ending-town), the majestic stream rolls onward in a northerly course through a range of expansive meadows to Twickenham, Richmond, and Kew; its banks being skirted by magnificent villas, seats, and palaces. Near Teddington, appear the Gothic turrets of Strawberry Hill, the tasteful erection of the late Earl of Orford; and at a little distance beyond that, was once the elegant seat of the Poet on whom the Muses lavished all their softer graces; Alexander Pope, Esq. now alas! levelled with the ground in the very wantonness of innovation. Still further, on the Middlesex side, are Marble Hall and Twickenham Park, and on the opposite shores the well wooded precincts and villas of Petersham, Ham, and Richmond. Ham House, the ancient residence of the Earl of Dysart, is distinguished by its large avenues of venerable trees; and beyond it, rises the wood-crowned summit of Richmond Hill and Park. The prospects from the latter spot are well known to fame, and poetry has not been wanting to display their charms. Maurice has recently immortalized this spot in an elegant and extended poem; and Thomson who lived at Rossdale House between Richmond and Kew, and lies buried in Richmond Church, has thus celebrated its beauties in his Seasons:

> Say, shall we ascend
> Thy hill, delightful SHEEN?[*] Here let us sweep
> The boundless landscape: now the raptur'd eye,
> Exulting swift, to huge Augusta send;
> Now to the sister-hills that skirt her plain,
> To lofty Harrow now, and now to where
> Majestic Windsor lifts his princely brow.
> In lovely contrast to this glorious view,
> Calmly magnificent, then will we turn
> To where the silver Thames first rural grows.
> There let the feasted eye unwearied stray:
> Luxurious, there, rove through the pendent woods,

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[*] Richmond was formerly called Sheen, and was the site of a regal palace, the buildings of which have long been destroyed.

That nodding hang o'er Harrington's retreat;
And, sloping thence to Ham's embowering walks,
Here let us trace the matchless vale of Thames,
Fair-winding up to where the muses haunt
In Twitnam's bow'rs; to royal Hampton's pile,
To Claremont's terrac'd height, and Esher's groves,
By the soft windings of the silent Mole.
Enchanting vale! beyond whate'er the muse
Has of Achaia or Hesperia sung!
O vale of bliss! O softly-swelling hills!
On which the power of cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonder of his toil.
Heav'ns! what a goodly prospect spreads around,
Of hills, and dales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
And glitt'ring towns, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landscape into smoke decays.

From the well-finished and elegantly-shaped bridge at Richmond[*], the Thames makes a bold sweep, passes Isleworth and Sion House, to Brentford and Kew Bridge. On the Surrey borders, the gardens of Richmond and Kew extend their delightful walks; and the rising palace of his present Majesty gives some interest to the scene, although its buildings present an anomalous mass, and its immediate situation is badly chosen. On the Middlesex side, at Isleworth, the river is augmented by the *Cran*, or *Crane*; and further on are the demesnes of Sion House, now the stately seat of the Duke of Northumberland, but once celebrated for a society of nuns. The busy and irregular town of Brentford next presents itself; here the river, contracted by a line of islands overgrown with oziers, loses for some distance, its dignified character; though, at the same time, its stream is enlarged by the *Brent*, which gives name to the county-town; here also the Grand Junction Canal has its union with the Thames.

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[*] The weedy shallows and small islands about Richmond and Twickenham, are famous for their eels, and many parties are formed in the Metropolis in the summer months, for the purpose of making excursions up the river, to partake the luxury of feeding on this fish, when newly caught.

From Kew Bridge the river flows proudly on in sweeping curves between two populous shores, skirted with villages and fine seats. Mortlake, Barnes, Chiswick, and Hammersmith, with their elegant villas and pleasure grounds, successively meet the eye; whilst the stream itself, which has now for several miles admitted the tide, is enlivened by the busy assemblage of boats and barges which are continually moving along its current: still however the idea of peaceful retirement is occasionally renewed by intervening groves of lofty trees, which break the general flatness of the shores. At Chiswick, is the pleasant seat of the Duke of Devonshire, the grounds of which were first laid out in the Italian style, and the villa built after a design of Palladio, by the late Earl of Burlington.

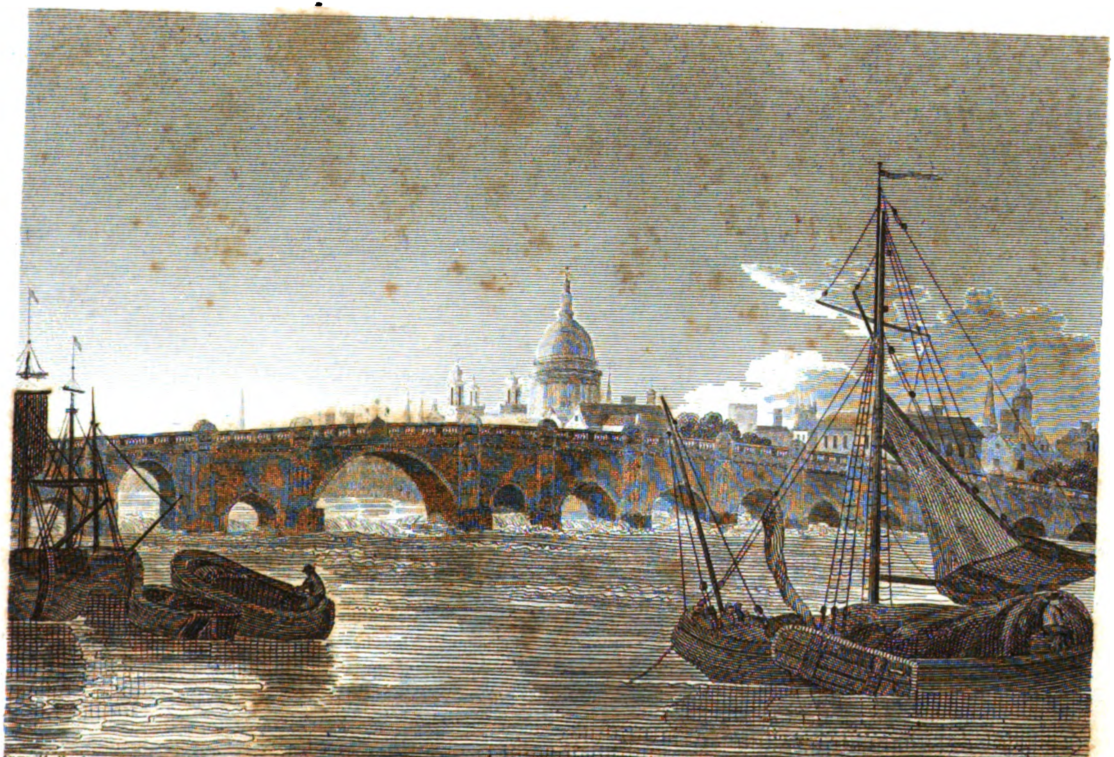
The villages of Putney and Fulham, which are connected with each other by a long old wooden bridge, next arrest the attention; and here begins that bustle of population and frequency of building, which for many miles from this point, accompany the windings of the stream. Putney, on the Surrey shore, is associated with our historical remembrances, from being the native place of the eloquent Gibbon; and of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and Vicar-General, the once highly cherished favourite of Henry the Eighth, but afterwards the victim of that sanguinary and tyrannical King. At Fulham, on the Middlesex side, is the venerable palace of the bishops of London; a brick edifice, surrounded by a moat.

Opposite to Wandsworth, the little river *Wandle* falls into the Thames: this stream is formed by two small rivulets, that rise in the neighbourhoods of Banstead Downs and the town of Croydon, and is famous for its bleaching mills and printing grounds. As the river proceeds, it swells into an extensive reach above Battersea Bridge, a substantial wooden fabric, that connects Battersea with the populous village of Chelsea; where among various other objects of interest, is the College or Hospital for disabled and superannuated Soldiers, and the Botanical Garden belonging to the company of Apothecaries of London.

The reach between Chelsea and Lambeth, presents fewer subjects for remark than its direct vicinity to the Metropolis would lead one to expect; and the bordering scenery has mostly a rural character and appropriation. Yet this lasts not long; the archiepiscopal palace of Canterbury, on the Surrey side, and the lofty piles of Westminster Hall and Abbey, on the Middlesex shore, with the intervening Bridge, and the numerous edifices that rise in proud succession beyond, soon break the sameness of the views, and assert the contiguity of an extensive city. "The well-known residence of the archbishop of Canterbury," says Mr. Noble, "is far from being distinguished by architectural magnificence, yet the venerable air of antiquity presented by its towers, and the avenues of trees bordering the river beyond it, afford no unpleasing approach to the splendid scenes that succeed: the meanness of the irregular line of houses between the palace and bridge, cannot, however, but offend every lover of congruity. The commencement of the city of Westminster on the other bank, is more ornamental, though not adequate to the situation. The abbey, indeed, detains the eye by a solemn grandeur, not unworthy of the sentiments which its name and destination inspire; and the majesty of the Bridge which bestrides and seems to exercise dominion over the broad stream that flows beneath, renders it a suitable entrance to the splendour of the commercial Metropolis of Europe.

Between the Bridges of Westminster and Blackfriars, the Thames moves majestically along in a bold sweep: its banks on the Middlesex side are crowded with buildings, some of them of considerable interest; and on the Surrey shore, with a numerous but very irregular assemblage of private wharfs, timber-yards, and other repositories, devoted to the purposes of trade and manufactures, among which is a lofty brick tower, built for the purpose of casting lead small-shot on the improved mode. The effect of the whole scene is highly increased by the vast Cathedral of St. Paul. which rises with impressive grandeur and in all the pride of Grecian architecture, from the most elevated part of the City

of



Engrav'd by Hay, from a Drawing by E. Arnald, A.R.A.

For the Beauties of England and Wales.

LONDON BRIDGE &c.

London, Publish'd by Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, Poultry, [illegible] of London. The most remarkable of the intermediate objects are the lofty terrace of the Adelphi, the dilapidated palace of the Savoy; and the immense buildings of Somerset Place, where the greater part of the public offices are now concentrated, as well as the principal national institutions for the promotion of science and art. Beyond these are the Temple Gardens, which Shakespeare has immortalized by his scene, where the white and red roses are first gathered, as badges of the partizans of the rival Houses of York and Lancaster. At Blackfriars, the width of the river is about 230 feet less than at Westminster.

The view from the river, at a little distance above Blackfriars Bridge, is extremely grand; the lofty spire of St. Bride on the left, the Bridge itself in front, with the towering fabric of St. Paul rising above it, and the glimpse caught through the arches of London Bridge, the aspiring shaft of the Monument, and the numerous steeples of the city Churches, with the various craft moving in quick succession along the stream, altogether combine to form a very imposing and animated scene.

The London shore, between the two last bridges, is occupied by a continued range of wharfs, yards, warehouses, &c. " for the accommodation af that immense trade which supplies the Metropolis with the necessaries and luxuries of life, and the materials of commerce; one edifice only for shew and pleasure, Fishmonger's-Hall, contiguous to London Bridge, relieves the eye and imagination." The Surrey side is partly covered with wharfs, glass-houses, warehouses, dye-houses, and iron founderies, and partly forms an open street, called Bank-side, which is the only uninterrupted walk of any length on the immediate bank of the Thames, during its whole course through the Cities of London and Westminster.

" London Bridge forms the partition between the river navigation, and the sea navigation, of the Thames; immediately below it commences the *Port of London*, and the forest of masts that rises in direct view, and stretches beyond the reach of sight, announces the prodigious magnitude of that commerce which supplies the wants of an immense Metropolis, and extends its arms to the remotest part of the globe. The limits of the Port reach from London Bridge, to the North Foreland in Kent, and to the Naze in Essex; but the ships trading to London, usually moor from the Bridge to Limehouse, in which space it is computed that about 800 sail can lie afloat, at their moorings, at low water. This space is called the *Pool:* the part near the Bridge, on account of the shallowness of the water, is occupied by the smaller vessels, and the lower part by the larger." The very crowded and inconvenient state in which the merchant vessels used formerly to be moored in the Pool, has been remedied of late years by the formation of three large Docks at different distances on the river, between the Tower and Bow Creek. These which are named respectively the London Docks, the West India Docks, and the East India Docks, will be described in their proper places.

Below London bridge, on the Middlesex side, the shore presents a series of wharfs and warehouses, till the line is broken by a small bason at Billingsgate, which has been excavated for the reception of the vessels supplying the fish-market. Beyond this is another line of quays and warehouses connecting with the wharf in front of the Custom-House, which is a long regular building of brick. Further on, a succession of wharfs leads forward to the Tower, a place of much renown in English History, and famed as has been justly remarked. for its triple character of fortress, palace, and prison. Below this, a range of irregular buildings, wharfs, boat yards, &c. broken only by the capacious basons forming the London Docks, extends in a sweeping line to the commencement of Limehouse-reach. The opposite, or Southwark shore from London Bridge downwards, is occupied nearly in the same manner by a succession of buildings, yards, &c. all appropriated to, or connected with, maritime concerns.

From the entrance of Limehouse-reach, the river flows in a remarkable bend, of a horse-shoe form, round the Isle of Dogs; in a commodious part of which, adjoining to Poplar, the West India Docks, and a Canal have been recently excavated, from that spirit of improvement and commercial enterprise which govern the exertions of the London merchants. Beyond these are the Blackwall and East India Docks; and about half a mile further is Bow Creek, where the river *Lea* falls into the Thames, and the latter river quits the shores of Middlesex. On the Kent side, which faces the Isle of Dogs, the Greenland Docks, with various buildings for the boiling and preparation of oil, the Dock-Yards and Victualling-Office at Deptford, and the magnificent Hospital for Disabled Seamen at Greenwich, with Greenwich Park, the Royal Observatory, and the Kentish Hills in the distance, form a *coup d'œil* which can scarcely be paralleled.

As the Thames rolls onward to the sea between the shores of Kent and Essex, its reaches become more expansive, and its depth increases; whilst upon its bosom, the bulwarks of Britain's glory spread their sails in full security, and in their every variety of burthen. The Essex side, for several miles below the mouth of the Lea, presents only a level of marshes, broken by the creeks of Barking and Dagenham: further on, the vast magazines for gunpowder at Purfleet, the little town of Gray's Thurrock, and the fortifications at Tilbury Fort, enliven the prospects, though the line of coast still continues low and marshy.

On the Kentish side, below the Isle of Dogs, the river makes another sweep to reach Woolwich, which, besides the interest it excites as a Dock-yard, is the principal arsenal for warlike stores in England, and now the head quarters of the Royal Artillery. The various important buildings belonging to this town, with the new Military Academy, and Shooter's Hill in the distance, afford a striking contrast to the marshy grounds which succeed, and skirt the river for several miles, till the woody heights of Lesnes and Erith again give variety to the prospects. Near Erith commences that part of the river called Long-reach, where the homeward-bound East Indiamen generally anchor for a few days, to be lightened of some portion of their cargoes, and where the Darent silently mingles its waters with the Thames.

Among the few seats that grace the banks of the river in this part of its course, are Belvidere and Ingress: the former is situated at Erith; the latter, at a short distance below the romantic excavations of Greenhithe, where immense quantities of chalk are annually separated from the rocks, and burnt into lime. Here a Ferry for horses and cattle keeps up a useful communication between the counties of Kent and Essex.

Another remarkable bend in the river, called, in its respective divisions, St. Clement's Reach, and the South Hope, leads on to Northfleet, where the chalk rocks are again excavated to a vast extent, and where many curious fossils have been found. At this place commences Gravesend Reach, so named from the corporate town of Gravesend, which lies directly opposite to Tilbury Fort, and communicates with the Essex shore by a horse Ferry: the river is here about a mile in breadth. Many vessels are continually at anchor off Gravesend, as all outward-bound ships are obliged to stop here till visited by the Custom-House Officers; and most of them take in their supply of live stock and vegetables from this town.

The river now rolls onward in a northerly course, bordered by an increasing tract of marshes, round the point of land at East Tilbury; but soon winding once more to the east, it forms the widened channel called the South Hope. Here the shores rapidly recede; and the majestic stream, flowing past the Isle of Canvey, and Shoebury Ness, on the Essex side, mingles its waters with the Ocean at the Nore.* On the Kentish side, between the extreme point of the Isle of Graine, and the Fortress and Dock-yard at Sheerness, the Medway pours forth its tributary flood, which is the last that the Thames receives before its junction with the sea: the distance between the opposite shores at the Nore is about seven miles.

The mercantile importance of this noble stream is greater than that of any other river in the world. Its merchantmen visit the most distant parts of the globe; and the productions of every soil, and of every clime, are wafted home upon its bosom, to answer the demands of British commerce. The frozen shores of the

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* The Nore is a sand-bank lying in mid-channel, on which a floating light is constantly kept for the safety of the navigation of the river.

Baltic and North America, the sultry regions of both the Indies, and the arid coasts of Africa, have alike resounded with its name: and there is not a single country, perhaps, in any quarter of the earth, bordering on the sea, but what has been visited by its sails.

The tides flow up the Thames to the distance of between seventy and eighty miles from its mouth; and occur twice in every twenty-four hours, nearly. The principal fish caught in this river, are sturgeon, (occasionally,) salmon, salmon-trout, tench, barbel, roach, dace, chub, bream, gudgeon, ruffe, smelts, eels, and flounders; the three latter kinds are particularly good.

The fall of water in the Thames, from Oxford to Maidenhead, is about twenty-five feet every ten miles; from Maidenhead to Chertsey Bridge, twenty-two feet every ten miles; from Chertsey Bridge to Mortlake, sixteen feet every ten miles; and from Mortlake to London, about one foot per mile: afterwards the fall diminishes more gradually till the river unites with the sea.

The *Colne* River enters Middlesex from Hertfordshire, in several small channels, at the north-western extremity of the county, and flowing gently along the western border, crosses the parishes of Harefield, Uxbridge, Cowley, &c. in its way towards Colnbrook and Longford, where it is sub-divided into six or seven branches. The three principal of these flow into the Thames at Staines; a fourth branch winds its way between Littleton and Laleham, and joins the former river at a short distance above Sunbury; a fifth branch unites with the Cran near the Gunpowder Mills on Hounslow Heath; and a sixth, after pursuing a similar course for several miles, waters the parks of Hanworth, Bushey, and Hampton Court. The various branches of this river are principally applied to the working of mills of different descriptions.

The river *Brent* rises in Hertfordshire, and entering Middlesex near Finchley, takes a circuitous direction through the middle of the county, by Hendon, Kingsbury, Twyford, Greenford, and Hanwell, to the town of Brentford, where it unites with the Thames. The small river *Cran* has its origin in the high grounds about Pinner and Harrow, and assuming a winding course, flows under Cranford Bridge, and crossing Hounslow Heath, bends round to Twickenham and Isleworth, where in a divided stream it falls into the Thames.

The *Lea* River, entering from Essex and Hertfordshire, skirts the whole eastern side of Middlesex, and flowing through a series of pleasant meadows, falls into the Thames at Bow Creek. In the neighbourhood of Bow, and also in other parts of its course, this river flows in several branches, some of which are applied to the working of mills: on the principal stream, a very extensive trade is maintained; and from the Bromley Flour Mills a useful cut extends across the low grounds to the Thames at Limehouse. This river is navigable as high up as Ware and Hertford.

The *New-River* is formed by the collected waters of several small springs, which rise at Chadwell in Hertfordshire, and are afterwards increased by a cut from the river Lea in the meadows above Ware. The artificial channel in which this stream flows onwards to London has a very devious course, in order to preserve the waters at a proper level. Having passed Ware, Amwell, Hoddesdon, Broxbourn, and Cheshunt, it enters Middlesex near Waltham Cross, and flowing by Enfield, Tottenham, Hornsey, and Stoke Newington, is received into a capacious reservoir between Islington and the Spa Fields. This reservoir bears the appellation of the New-River Head, and from it the greatest part of the Metropolis is supplied with water for domestic and other purposes.*

Of the smaller streams belonging to Middlesex, the most noticeable are the *Fleet-brook,* or river, and the Serpentine river. The former has its origin among the high grounds about Hampstead Heath and Caen Wood, and flowing by the west side of Kentish Town, and through Pancras and Bagnigge Wells, passes the House of Correction near Cold Bath Fields; thence winding by the backs of the houses at Mount Pleasant, Warner Street, and Saffron Hill, it crosses Chick-lane, and giving motion to the

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* A more particular account of this important stream will be inserted in the description of London, under the article *New-River Head.*

Flour and Flatting Mills at the back of Field Lane, runs beneath Fleet Market and Bridge Street into the Thames at Blackfriars. This stream, which, in its course from Pancras through London, is mostly arched over, or hidden by buildings, and now scarcely any otherwise used than as a common sewer, was anciently of so much importance, that, in a Parliament held at Carlisle in the thirty-fifth of Edward the First, (anno 1307,) as appears from the Patent Rolls in the Tower,* it was ordered,—on the complaint of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, 'that the water-course running at London under Old-bourn Bridge, and Flete Bridge, into the Thames, (and which had been of such breadth and depth, that ten or twelve ships at once, with merchandize, were wont to come to the aforesaid Bridge of Flete, and some of them to Old-bourn Bridge,) was now sore decayed by the filth of tanners, and such others, as well as by the erection of wharfs, but especially by a diversion of the water made by them of the New Temple, in the first year of King John, for their mills standing without Baynard's Castle, &c.'—that Roger le Brabazon, Constable of the Tower, with the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, 'should take with them honest and discreet men, and make diligent search and enquiry how the said river was in old time, and that they should leave nothing that may hurt or stop it, but keep it in the same state as it was wont to be.'. This order occasioned the mills, and other nuisances, to be removed, and the river to be cleansed; as was also done at several subsequent periods, particularly in the year 1502, when the 'whole course of Fleet-dyke was scowered down to the Thames.' In 1606, flood-gates were erected in it; and in 1670, four years after the Fire of London, when it had been partly filled up by rubbish, it was again cleansed, enlarged, and deepened sufficiently to admit barges of considerable burthen as far as Holborn Bridge, where the water was five feet deep in the lowest tides. So convenient, however, was this stream, as a receptacle for all the filth of this part of the City, that the expense

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* An. 35. Edw. I. "*De cursu aquæ de Flete supervidend' et corrigend.*"

of maintaining its navigation became very burthensome; and it was at length so utterly neglected, that *Fleet Ditch*, as it was now called, grew into a great and dangerous nuisance. Application was therefore made to Parliament; and the Lord Mayor and citizens were empowered by an Act to arch it over, and make it level with the street; the fee-simple of the ground being vested in the Corporation. Under this Act the work was commenced in 1734; and on the thirtieth of September, 1737, the new market, called Fleet Market, occupying the site of the whole space from Holborn Bridge to Fleet Bridge, was first opened for the public accommodation. Such was the extinction of the Fleet as a navigable river: how far vessels originally went up it, is unknown; but an anchor is traditionally said to have been found in it as high up as the site of the Elephant and Castle at Pancras, where the road turns off to Kentish Town.

The *Serpentine River*, which is the name of an extensive sheet of water in Hyde Park, made about the year 1730, is partly supplied by a small stream which rises near West End, Hampstead, and passing Kilbourn Wells, and Bayswater, flows through Kensington Gardens, and Hyde Park, into the Thames at Ranelagh; and partly, in the dry seasons, by the waste water of a conduit near Bayswater, and other neighbouring springs.

The MINERAL SPRINGS of this county mostly rise in the vicinity of the Metropolis; and several of them were formerly in much repute, though they are now but little used. The *Spa Fields* were so called from the different chalybeate springs that rise within them, and of which that at Islington Spa, called also New Tunbridge Wells, from the similarity of the waters to those of Tunbridge Wells in Kent, is the principal. At *Bagnigge Wells* are springs both chalybeate and cathartic. At *Hampstead* are many chalybeate springs, of which those in the Well-walk are strongly impregnated, and were once in high request: here also, at the south-east extremity of the Heath, near Pond Street, are neutral saline springs, said to bear affinity to the waters at Cheltenham. *St. Chad's Wells*, near the bottom of Gray's Inn Lane Road, are impregnated with calcareous nitre, and are both diuretic and purgative;

pire: similar springs are met with near *St. Pancras* Church. *Kilbourn Wells* were once famous for their saline and purgative waters: and *Acton Wells*, which are of the same description, were much celebrated for their medicinal virtues about the middle of the last century: saline and chalybeate springs also rise at *Shadwell.*

The *Roman Stations* in Middlesex appear to have been confined to LONDINIUM, or AUGUSTA, now London, and SULLONICÆ, or Brockley Hills, above Elstree, and bordering on Hertfordshire; yet Roman remains have been found at various other places. The *Roman Roads* that intersected this county, seem to have concentrated in London, from which City they branched off as from a centre, nearly in the direction of the principal points of the compass. The *Watling Street,* which had its southern termination at Dover, is presumed to have been continued from Stone Street, in Southwark, at the point now called Dowgate, on the northern bank of the Thames, and to have kept along the present Watling Street to Aldersgate, where it quitted the City. Its subsequent direction is difficult to point out; but it probably turned westward at the end of Old Street, and continuing along Wilderness Row and Clerkenwell, crossed the Fleet-brook, and ascended the hill to Portpool Lane; thence pursuing a north-westerly course, it fell into the tract which now forms the high road to St. Alban's, by Paddington, Whitchurch, and Edgeware, and having skirted the station of Sulloniacæ, passed on through Elstree to Verulamium. Another road, by some called the *Ikenild Street*, by others a branch of the Watling Street, is stated to have led eastward up Old Street, and over Bethnal Green, to Old Ford, where it crossed the Lea into Essex, and went on to Camalodunum, or Colchester. The *Ermin Street* led northwards, through Islington and Highbury, by Stoke Newington and Hornsey Wood, to Enfield, nearly on the line of the present high road; but turning off near that town, it passes Clay Hill, and enters Hertfordshire. Another Roman road from the Metropolis, led into Surrey and Berkshire, through the towns of Brentford, Hounslow, and Staines, and in the same course as the present turnpike road. It seems probable, also, that another Roman road left the City at Aldgate, and pursued the track of the present high road, through Whitechapel and Stratford-le-Bow, into Essex.

The principal *Landholders* in Middlesex at the time of the Domesday Survey, were the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop and Canons of London, the Abbeys of Westminster, and of the Holy Trinity at Caen, the Nunnery of Barking, Earls Roger and Morton, Geofrey de Manneville, Ernulf de Hesding, Walter Fitz-Other, Walter de St. Walery, Richard Fitz Gilbert, Robert Gernon, Robert Fasiton, Robert Fitz Roselin, Robert Blund, Roger de Rames, William Fitz Ansculf, Edmund de Salisbury, Aubrey de Vere, Ranulf Fitz Ilger, Derman, the Countess Judith, and the King's Almoners.

This county is divided into six Hundreds, exclusive of the Cities and Liberties of London and Westminster, and of the Tower Hamlets. The total number of parishes, places, precincts, and extra-parochial places, in the whole county, as returned under the Population Act, was 234. These, with the exception of the City and Liberties of Westminster, which are governed by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, are all included in the Diocese of London.

Middlesex returns eight Members to Parliament; viz. two for the County, four for the City of London, and two for Westminster: those for the County are chosen by the freeholders; those for London by the liverymen; and those for Westminster by the inhabitant householders.

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LONDON.

CONJECTURES ON THE ORIGIN OF LONDON, AND PRESUMED ETYMOLOGY OF ITS NAME.

> Where finds Philosophy her eagle eye,
> With which she gazes on yon burning Disk
> Undazzled, and detects and counts his spots?
> In London. Where her implements exact,
> With which she calculates, computes, and scans,
> All distance, motion, magnitude; and now
> Measures an Atom, and now girds a World?
> In London. Where has Commerce such a mart,
> So rich, so throng'd, so drain'd, and so supplied,
> As London? opulent, enlarg'd, and still
> Increasing London.
>
> Cowper.

LONDON, the far-famed Metropolis of the British Empire, and the Emporium of the commerce of the world, presents a field for description, so vast in its extent, and so boundless in its relations, that the most ample volume would not be sufficient to do justice to its importance and variety. The subjects which it opens for research, are alike numerous and complicated; and the events connected with its history are of the most interesting kind. Vying with the proudest cities of antiquity, excelled by none, and equalled but by few, its renown has spread over the globe, and its influence been acknowledged in the most distant regions. Rome, the 'World's 'Imperial Mistress,' exists but in ruins; yet the sceptre of her dominion has not been lost; transferred to Augusta, it still bears imperial sway, and the glories of the new Capitol extend their radience throughout both hemispheres.

The true origin of London is unknown; and its early history is enveloped in fable. Geoffrey of Monmouth ascribes it to Brute, a descendant of the Trojan Eneas, by whom, he says, the 'city was built about the year of the world 2855, (or 1008 years before Christ,) and named *Troy-novant*.' This wild tale, though, as

Stow remarks, it "bee not of sufficient force to drawe the gaynesayers,"* was once esteemed of such validity by the citizens, as to be transcribed into their *Liber Albus*, and afterwards repeated in the *Recordatorium Civitatis Speculum*. So high, indeed, was its credit, that, in a memorial presented to Henry the Sixth, in his seventh year, and now preserved among the records in the Tower, it is advanced as evidence of "the great antiquity, precedence, and dignity, of the City, before Rome, &c."

From the above period to the century immediately preceding the Roman Invasion, even fable is silent in regard to London; but we are then told, that it 'was encircled with walls,' and graced 'with fayre buildings and towres,' by King Lud; who also 'builded the strong gate in the west part of the cittie,' afterwards called Ludgate, and changed the name of Troy-novant into *Caer-Lud*. It is stated, likewise, that 'four British Kings were buried in London,' and that 'Mulmutius Dunwallo (whose son Belinus is said to have founded the gate and haven at Billingsgate) built a temple therein, and dedicated it to Peace.' For the authenticity of these statements, we have only the disputed testimony of Geoffrey; yet, however deficient in truth may be his relations, there can be little doubt but that London was a British city, as well as of British foundation, notwithstanding that both Bishop Stillingfleet, and Stow's continuator, Maitland, agree in ascribing its origin to the Romans. Pennant, speaking of the manners of the Britons in the time of Cæsar, but previous to the Roman Invasion, says, "There is not the least reason to doubt but that *London* existed at that period, and was a place of much resort. It stood in such a situation as the Britons would select, according to the rule they established. An immense forest originally extended to the river side; and even as late as the reign of Henry the Second, covered the northern neighbourhood of the City, and was filled with various species of beasts of chace.† It was defended naturally by fosses; one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet Ditch; the other afterwards known by the name of Wall-brook: the south side was guarded by the Thames. The north they might think sufficiently protected by the adjacent forest."*

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* Stow's London, p. 472, 1st Edit.

† Fitz-Stephen's Descrip. of Lond. p. 28

This argument for the priority of London, may be strengthened by the course of the Watling Street, which the best informed antiquaries consider as a British road, and as constructed long before the Romans obtained footing in Britain. This road, crossing the Thames from Stone Street, in Surrey, entered Middlesex at Dow-Gate, or *Dwr*-Gate, whence it continued along the tract still designated as the Watling Street. Now as the term Dwr-Gate, or water-gate, is evidently British, it must have been applied to this passage prior to the Roman occupation of London, for the Romans would never have permitted a *Trajectus* of their own to receive a name from those whom they had conquered; and secondly, as the river is certainly not, nor ever could have been, *fordable* between Dwr-Gate and the opposite shore, the road which crossed here was most probably continued in this particular direction for the convenience of the British inhabitants of London.†

Ptolemy, whose work, however valuable, is not free from geographical errors, has placed Londinium on the southern side of the river Thames; and Dr. Gale, assuming his authority to be correct, has, in his Commentary upon the Itinerary of Antoninus, affixed the site of the Roman London to the spot still called St. George's Fields, though with evident impropriety, as the whole tract is now almost entirely covered with streets and buildings. In proof of his opinion, he mentions that 'many Roman coins, tessellated works, bricks, sepulchral remains, &c. have been found there:' his words are, "*In his Campis quos Sancti Georgii plebs vocat, multa Romanorum numismata, opera tesselata, lateres, et rudera, subinde deprehensa sunt. Ipse urnam majusculam, ossibus refertam,*

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* Pennant's Lond, p. 3. 4th Edit.

† This latter argument will receive corroboration, when it is recollected, that about a mile and a half higher up the Thames, at York Stairs, there was actually a ford in very early times. At Dow-gate must have been a British Ferry.

refertam, nuper redemi a fossoribus, qui, non procul ab hôc Burgo (Southwark) ad austrum multos alios simul eruerunt."*

The arguments of Dr. Gale have been opposed with success by different writers, and, among others, by Maitland, and Dr. Woodward. The former, who seems to have 'considered the ground more attentively than any other author,' states his belief that the sagacious Romans would never have made choice of so noisome a place for a station, as St. George's Fields must then have been: "for to me it is evident," he continues, "that at that time those fields must have been *overflowed by every spring-tide*. For, notwithstanding the river's being at present confined by artificial banks, I have frequently, at spring-tides, seen the small current of water which issues from the river Thames through a common sewer at the Falcon, not only fill all the neighbouring ditches, but also, at the upper end of Gravel Lane, overflow its banks into St. George's Fields. And considering that above a twelfth part of the water of the river is denied passage [when the tide sets up the river] by the piers and starlings of London Bridge, (it flowing, at an ordinary spring-tide, upwards of nineteen inches on the east more than on the west side of the said bridge,) I think this is a plain indication, that, before the Thames was confined by banks, St. George's Fields must have been *considerably* under water *every high tide*; and that part of the said fields called Lambeth Marsh, was *under water not an age ago*: and upon observation it will still appear, that, *before* the exclusion of the river, it must have been overflowed by *most neap tides*."† Maitland's argument will acquire proof from a circumstance communicated by Robert Mitchell, Esq. architect, who, about the year 1775, having erected some houses on the Blackfriars Road, near to the Magdalen Hospital, afterwards supplied them with water by means of a machine which raised it from some ancient ditches that extended to the river, and were regularly filled by the flowing of the tides.

Dr. Woodward opposes the authority of Tacitus to that of Ptolemy; and intimates, that if the discovery of Roman remains in St. George's Fields could be regarded as a proof of Roman London

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* Antonini Itin. p. 65.

† Maitland's Lond. p. 8.

don being situated on the southern bank of the Thames, its site might as well be assigned to any part of the ground between that place and Blackheath, as 'the like antiquities have been discovered for some miles eastward.' "I have now in my custody," he states, "the hand of an ancient Terminus, with two faces: there were found along with it large flat bricks, and other antiquities, that were unquestionably Roman: all these were retrieved about twenty years since, in digging in the gardens (Mr. Cole's) along the south side of the Deptford Road. I have seen, likewise, a Simpulum that was digged up near New Cross: and there were several years ago discovered two urns, and five or six of those vials that are usually called lachrymatories, a little beyond Deptford. Nay, there have been very lately a great number of urns, and other things, discovered on Blackheath.'[*] Tacitus, who had the most authentic information on the affairs of Britain, and was somewhat prior in time to Ptolemy, evidently restricts the operations of the brave, but unfortunate, Boadicea, to the *northern* side of the Thames; and as London is known to have fallen beneath her vengeance, that circumstance alone disproves Ptolemy's assertion: and further, had London really stood in St. George's Fields, it never could have been noticed by Tacitus as possessing any 'sweetness,' or 'attractions,' in its 'situation:' the marshiness of the ground must have belied the description.

Presuming, then, that the site of London was ever where it now stands, there can be little hesitation in assigning the Roman remains discovered along the southern shore of the Thames, to the ages subsequent to the Embankment of that river: this, in all probability, was a Roman work;[†] and a Roman *Castrum*, as Dr,

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[*] See a Letter to Mr. Hearne, written in 1711, and printed in Leland's Itin. Vol. VIII. Edit. 3d, and Preface to it, p 7.

[†] "When the Britons," says the late venerable historian Whitaker, in a communication to the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LVII. p. 685, (Aug. 1787,) "were the sole lords of this Island, their rivers, we may be sure, strayed at liberty over the adjacent country, confined by no artificial

Woodward has conjectured, may have been erected where the coins, bricks, &c. were found in St. George's Fields; yet that supposition is somewhat affected by the name *South-werc*, which is clearly Saxon. The more plausible conjecture is, that the Romans had villas, and perhaps other buildings, both for pleasure and retirement, in different directions around the Metropolis.

The etymology of the name of London is involved in a similar incertitude to the period of its origin. Tacitus calls it LONDINIUM, and COLONIA AUGUSTA: Ammianus Marcellinus mentions it as an ancient place, once called *Lundinium*, but when he wrote, AUGUSTA; and the same author styles it AUGUSTA TRINOBANTUM: Bede calls it LONDONIA; and King Alfred, in his translation of the passage in Bede, LUNDENCEASTER: other appellations given to it by the Saxons, were LUNDENBERIG and LUNDENWIC.

Some writers have supposed the word *London* to be derived from the British *Llong*, a ship, and *Din*, a town; but this could not

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artificial barriers, and having no other limits to their overflow, than what Nature herself had provided. This would be particularly the case with the Thames. London itself was only a fortress in the woods then; and the river at its foot roamed over all the low grounds that skirt its channel: thus it ran on the south from the west of Wandsworth to Woolwich, to Dartford, to Gravesend, and to Sheerness; and on the north, ranged from Poplar and the Isle of Dogs, along the levels of Essex to the mouth of the Thames.

"In this state of the river the Romans settled at London, which, under their management, soon became a considerable mart of trade. It afterwards rose to the dignity of a military colony; and it was even made at last the capital of one of those provinces into which the Roman parts of Britain were divided. The spirit of Roman refinement, therefore, would naturally be attracted by the marshes immediately under its eye, and would naturally exert itself to recover them from the waters. The low grounds in St. George's Fields, particularly, would soon catch the eye, and soon feel the hand of the improving Romans; and from those grounds the spirit of embanking would naturally go along both the sides of the river; and in nearly four centuries of the Roman residence not have been the case till the place became noted for its concourse of shipping.* Some prior appellation must therefore have been given to it, and that, according to the learned editor of the Welch Archaiology, William Owen, Esq. F. A. S. was *Llyn-Din*, or the 'Town on the Lake:' *Llyn* being the British term for a broad expanse of water, or lake;† and this appearance must have been strikingly exhibited when all the low grounds on the Surrey side of the river were overflowed, as well as those extending from Wapping Marsh to the Isle of Dogs, and still further for many miles along the Essex shore: the transition from Llyn-Din to London would be of easy growth. The name *Augusta* is evidently Roman; and though some antiquaries have stated it to have been given to the City in honor of Helena, mother to Constantine the Great, and others suppose it to have been acquired from the *Legio Secunda Augusta*, which is known to have been stationed in London, yet the more probable opinion is, that it only obtained the

appellation

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residence here, would erect those thick and strong ramparts against the tide, which are so very remarkable along the Essex side of the river; and a breach in which, at Dagenham, was with so much difficulty, and at so great an expense, closed even in our own age.

"Such works are plainly the production of a refined period. They are therefore the production either of these later ages of refinement, or of some period of equal refinement in antiquity: yet they have not been formed in any period to which our records reach. Their existence is antecedent to all our records. They are the operation of a remoter age; and then they can be ascribed only to the Romans, who began an era of refinement in this Island, that was terminated by the Saxons, and that did not return till three or four centuries ago—The wonderful work of embanking the river, was the natural operation of that magnificent spirit which intersected the surface of the earth with so many raised ramparts for roads. The Romans first began it in St. George's Fields, probably; they then continued it along the adjoining, and equally shallow marshes of the river; and they finally consummated it, I apprehend, in constructing the grand sea-wall along the deep fens of Essex."

* Pennant's Lond. p. 14. † Ibid.

appellation *Augusta*, when it became the capital of the British province, and in consequence only of its having become so.* Tacitus expressly states, that 'London was so called from its situation, and Augusta from its magnificence.'†

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF ROMAN LONDON, AND PARTICULARS OF VARIOUS ROMAN ANTIQUITIES THAT HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED IN IT, AS COINS, INSCRIBED STONES, TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS, SEPULCHRAL REMAINS, &C.

THE earliest mention of London by the Roman historians, occurs in the Annals of Tacitus. That nervous writer, in his account of the revolt of Boadicea, which broke out in the reign of Nero, and about the year 61, describes the London of that day, as 'the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce; though not dignified with the name of a Colony.'‡ This description may be adduced as an additional argument for the British origin of London; for it cannot be supposed, on rational grounds, that any place should be characterized as the *great mart of trade and commerce*, and the *chief residence of merchants*, the foundation of which was so recent as that of London must have been at this period, had it actually been indebted for its origin to the Romans. The expedition which subjected Britain to the Roman arms, was that under Aulus Plautius, in the year 43: scarcely eighteen years, therefore, had elapsed from that date to the time mentioned by Tacitus; and this was a term much too short to admit of such high prosperity. It is also extremely improbable that the Romans should not have bestowed the privileges of a Municipium on a city founded by themselves; and as London was then, and even long after, governed by Præfects, and not by its own laws, and its own magistrates, the inference of the priority of its origin can hardly be disputed.

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* "Triers, in Germany, was for the same reason, called *Augusta* Treverorum; Basil, *Augusta* Rauracorum; Merida, in Spain, *Augusta* Emerita; and Aousta, in Piedmont, another *Augusta* of the Romans, with almost twenty more of similar etymology, might be cited to support the opinion." *Mod. Lond. p. 2.*

† Ann. Lib. XIV. c. 33. ‡ Ibid. c. 32.

In the dire vengeance taken by the Iceni, under Boadicea, for Roman insults and Roman perfidy, *Camalodunum*, *Verulamium*, and *Londinium*, were all laid waste by fire and the sword. The two former places were already destroyed, when Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman General who commanded in Britain, and had marched from the extremity of Wales to quell the revolt, though almost hopeless of success, arrived in London; but quickly found it necessary to 'quit that station, to secure the rest of the province.' "Neither the supplications nor the tears of the inhabitants," says Tacitus, "could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All those who chose to follow the banners, were taken under his protection; but of those who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the barbarians."* The heart shudders at the recital of the dreadful calamities inflicted on the wretched inhabitants.

From the conduct of Suetonius on this occasion, it would seem that London was not then either surrounded by walls, or otherwise fortified; and if it were not, that circumstance alone would be decisive against its supposed foundation by the Romans. How soon it recovered from its late calamity is unknown; but in the time of the Emperor Severus, who reigned from 193 to 211, it was distinguished as 'a great and wealthy city;' and Tacitus describes it as "illustrious for the vast number of merchants who resorted to it, for its widely extended commerce, and for the abundance of every species of commodity which it could supply."†

'The consequence which ancient London had acquired at this early period, may also be satisfactorily deduced from the celebrated Itinerary of Antoninus, from which it appears, that no fewer than seven of the fifteen Iters commence or terminate here: and that it was considered by the Romans as the Metropolis of Britain,

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* Ann. Lib. XIV. c. 33. † Ibid.

is further established by the fact of its being the residence of the Vicar of Britain under the Roman Emperors. The abode of an officer of such distinction, clearly marks London to have been the seat of government, of justice, and of the finances; which consequently contributed to her magnificence and wealth. The commerce of London was also so extended, that, as early as the year 359, eight hundred vessels were employed in her port for the exportation of corn only.'*

At what particular era the original *Walls* of London were erected, has not been correctly ascertained. That they were of Roman building is certain, both from the testimony of different authors, and from the many Roman remains discovered in and about them. Stow imagines that they were not built so late as 296, " because in that yeare, when Alectus the tyran was slaine in the field, the Frankes easily entred London, and had sacked the same, had not God of his greate favour, at the very instant brought along the river of Thames certeine bandes of Romaine souldiers, who slew those Franks in everie streete of the cittie."† He also states, on the authority of Simeon of Durham, that Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, 'was the first' that walled the city 'aboute the year of Christ 306;'‡ and in proof of this it has been said, that 'numbers of coins of Helena' have been found under the walls.§ Camden says, that the work was executed by Constantine himself, through the persuasions of Helena: Maitland ascribes it to Theodosius, who was Governor of Britain in 379.‖

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* Hughson's Lond. Vol. I. p. 14. † Stow's Lond. p. 4,-5

‡ Ibid. § Pennant's Lond. p. 6; from Camden.

‖ The direct course of the City Walls was as follows. Beginning at a fort that occupied a part of the site of the present Tower of London, the line was continued by the Minories, between Poor Jury Lane and the Vineyard, to *Ald-gate*. Thence forming a curve to the north-west, between Shoemaker Row, Bevis Marks, Camomile Street and Houndsditch, it abutted on *Bishops-gate*, from which it extended in nearly a straight

Dr. Woodward, who had an opportunity to examine the foundation of the wall in Camomile Street, near the site of Bishopsgate, about the year 1707, says, that it lay about eight feet beneath the present surface; and that almost to the height of ten feet, it was compiled of rag-stone, with single layers of broad tiles interposed, each layer being at the distance of two feet from each other. The tiles were all of Roman make, and of the kind called *Sesquipedales;* or in English measure, seventeen inches $\frac{4}{10}$ in length, eleven

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straight line through Bishopsgate Church-yard, and behind Bethlem Hospital and Fore Street, to *Cripple-gate.* At a short distance further on it turned southward by the back of Hart Street, and Cripplegate Church-yard, and thence continuing between Monkwell and Castle Streets, led by the back of Barber-Surgeons' Hall and Noble Street, to Dolphin Court, opposite Oat Lane, where turning westerly, it approached *Alders-gate.* Proceeding hence towards the south-west, it described a curve along the back of St. Botolph's Church-yard, Christ's Hospital, and Old Newgate; from which it continued southward to *Lud-gate,* passing at the back of the College of Physicians, Warwick Square, Stationer's Hall, and the London Coffee-House on Ludgate Hill. From Ludgate it proceeded westerly by Cock Court to New Bridge Street, where turning to the south, it skirted the Fleet Brook to the Thames, near which it was guarded by another fort. The circuit of the whole line, according to Stow's admeasurement, was two miles, and one furlong, nearly. Another wall extended the whole distance along the banks of the Thames, between the two forts; but this, which measured one mile, and about 120 yards, was 'long since subverted,' says Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry the Second, 'by the fishful River, with his ebbing and flowing.' The walls were defended at different distances by strong towers and bastions; the remains of three of which, of Roman masonry, were in Maitland's time to be seen in the vicinity of Houndsditch and Aldgate. London Wall, and some other parts of this ancient precinct, that are yet standing, will be noticed in proceeding. The height of the wall, when perfect, is thought to have been twenty-two feet; and that of the towers, forty feet. The superficial contents of the ground within the walls, has been computed to amount to about three hundred and eighty acres.

inches $\frac{6}{10}$ in breadth, and one inch $\frac{3}{10}$ in thickness.[*] The mortar was so firm and hard, that the stone itself might as easily be broken: the thickness of this part, which was the whole that remained of the Roman masonry, was nine feet.[†]

Various Roman antiquities are described by Dr. Woodward as having been discovered at the same time, and near the same spot, in digging some cellars. The principal of these was a Tessellated Pavement, lying about four feet below the level of the street, and situated only three feet and a half from the City wall. Its breadth was ten feet, and its length upwards of sixty: the colours of the tesseræ were red, black, and yellow; scarcely any of them exceeded an inch in thickness. Four feet below the pavement, in a stratum of clay, various urns were discovered of different forms and sizes; the largest sufficiently capacious to hold three gallons; the least more than a quart. These contained ashes and burnt human bones: and along with them were found a simpulum and patera of pure red clay, a lachrymatory of blue glass, several beads, copper rings, a fibula, and a coin of Antoninus Pius.[‡]

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[*] 'It is remarkable,' says Dr. Woodward, 'that the foot-rule followed by the makers of these bricks, was very nearly the same with that exhibited on the monument of *Cossutius* in the Colotian Garden of Rome, which that admirable mathematician, Mr. Greaves, has, with great reason, pitched upon as the Roman foot."

[†] Vide Letter from Dr. Woodward to Sir Christopher Wren. From the remainder of the Doctor's account, it appears, that 'the wall was carried up to the height of about eight or nine feet more chiefly with rag-stone, having only a few bricks occasionally interposed, and that without regularity. On the outside the stone was squared and wrought into layers of five inches in thickness; between these were double courses of large bricks, eleven inches long, five broad, and two and a half thick: but not a single Roman tile; neither was the mortar of such strength and durability as that before mentioned. Another line of wall, erected upon the last, and composed of statuteable bricks, and having battlements coped with stone, rose to the height of eight feet more.'

Ibid.

[‡] Letter to Sir Christ. Wren, p. 12—14.

In the account of the ancient state of London, given in the '*Parentalia,*' from the papers of Sir Christopher Wren, who had the best opportunities of acquiring information on that head, through the facilities afforded by the Great Fire in 1666, it is affirmed, that 'the north boundary of the Roman colony, or city, ran along a causeway (now Cheapside) skirted by a great fen or morass; that it extended in breadth from the same causeway to the river Thames, and in length from Tower Hill to Ludgate; that the Pretorian Camp was situated on the west side; and that the Pretorian Way, and principal middle street, was the present Watling Street.' The causeway was discovered at the depth of eighteen feet, in digging the foundations for the steeple of the present Church of St. Mary le Bow in Cheapside: its thickness was four feet: the upper part was of rough stone, close and well rammed; and the bottom of Roman brick and rubbish, and all firmly cemented.* In the vallum of the Camp, near Ludgate, was dug up a sepulchral stone, with an inscription and the figure of a Roman soldier, which is now preserved among the Arundellian Marbles at Oxford: the inscription was as follows:

D. M.
VIVIO MARCI
ANO ML. LEG. II.
AVG. IANVARIA
MARINA CONIVNX
PIENTISSIMA POSV
IT ME MORAM.†

In digging the foundations for the present Cathedral of St. Paul's, on the north and north-east sides, Sir Christopher Wren discovered

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* Parentalia, p. 265.

† Ibid. p. 266. This stone, which is much mutilated, has been several times engraved, yet never with entire accuracy. The sculptured figure, according to Pennant, represents the deceased, Vivius Marcianus, "as a British soldier, probably of the *Cohors Britonum*, dressed and armed after

discovered the remains of an ancient Burying-place, which is described as follows. "Under the graves of the latter ages, in a row below them, were the burial-places of the Saxon times. The Saxons, as it appeared, were accustomed to line their graves with chalk-stones; though some, more eminent, were entombed in coffins of whole stones. Below these were British graves, where were found ivory and wooden pins, of a hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of about six inches long. It seems the bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in woollen shrouds, which being consumed, the pins remained entire. In the same row, and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep, or more, and belonged to the Colony when the Romans and Britons lived and died together. The more remarkable Roman urns, lamps, lachrymatories, fragments of sacrificing vessels, &c. were found deep in the ground, towards the north-east corner, near Cheapside: these were generally well wrought, and embossed with various figures and devices. Among those preserved, were a fragment of a vessel in the shape of a bason, whereon Charon is represented with his oar in his hand, receiving a naked ghost; a *patera sacrificalis*, with the inscription PATER. CLO.; a remarkable small urn, of a fine hard earth, and leaden colour, containing about half a pint; many pieces of urns, with the names of the potters embossed on the bottoms; a sepulchral earthen lamp, figured with two branches of palms, supposed Christian; and two lachrymatories of glass."*

Many of the above remains were found about a pit excavated by the Roman potters in a stratum of close and hard pot-earth which extends beneath the whole site of St. Paul's, varying in thickness

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after the manner of the country, with long hair, a short lower garment fastened round the waist by a girdle and fibula, a long *Sagum*, or plaid, flung over his breast and one arm, ready to be cast off in time of action, naked legs, and in his right hand a sword of vast length, like the *clymore* of the later Highlanders; the point is represented as resting on the ground: in his left hand is a short instrument, with the end seemingly broken off." *Pennant's Lond. p.* 10.

* Parentalia, p. 266,-7.

thickness from four to six feet.[*] This pit was directly under the north-east angle of the present choir; and here the urns, broken vessels, and pottery-ware, were found in great abundance.[†] Not any of the discoveries, however, made by Sir Christopher, could induce him to adopt the popular opinion of there having been a Roman Temple of Diana on the site now occupied by the Cathedral. His own words, speaking of the Temple of Apollo, asserted traditionally to have stood on the site of the Abbey Church at Westminster, and to have been ruined by an earthquake in the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, are these: "Earthquakes break not stones to pieces; nor would the Picts be at that pains: but I imagine that the Monks, finding the Londoners pretending to a Temple of Diana where now St. Paul's stands, (horns of stags, and tusks of boars, having been dug up there in former times, and it is said also in later years,) would not be behind-hand in antiquity: but I must assert, that, having changed all the foundations of Old St. Paul's, and upon that occasion rummaged all the ground thereabouts, and being very desirous to find some footsteps of such a Temple, I could not discover any; and therefore can give no more credit to Diana than to Apollo."[‡]

Dr. Woodward, on the contrary, was fully impressed with the belief of Diana having a Temple upon this spot; and he informs us, that in his Collection were the tusks of boars, the horns of oxen and of stags, and sacrificing vessels with representations of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon them, all of which were dug up at St. Paul's Church.[§] He also mentions a small brass figure of Diana, two inches and a half in height, which was found in digging between the Deanery and Blackfriars, and which "the best judges of different nations admitted to have all the characters of Roman work."[‖]

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[*] Parentalia, p. 286. [†] Ibid. p. 287. [‡] Ibid. p. 296.

[§] Ibid. p. 303.

[‖] For a full description of this figure, and a Dissertation on it, see Malcolm's Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 509—12, printed from an unfinished manuscript by Dr. Woodward, now in the possession of Alexander Chalmers, Esq

Among the other discoveries of Roman antiquities made in rebuilding the City after the Fire of London, were numerous coins of different Emperors, utensils of various kinds, figures of household gods, and foundations and remains of buildings. The most remarkable of the latter were met with under Bow Church, Cheapside, and " appeared to be the walls, with the windows also, and the pavement, of a Temple or Church of Roman workmanship, entirely buried under the level of the present street."* In clearing Fleet-ditch of the rubbish of the fire, there were found, at the depth of fifteen feet, many Roman utensils; and still lower, a great quantity of Roman coins, in silver, brass, copper, and other metals: the silver coins were of different sizes, from that of a silver two-pence to a crown-piece.

Sir Christopher Wren presented to the Royal Society, a curious Roman urn, or ossuary, of glass, which was sufficiently large to contain a gallon and a half, and was encompassed by five parallel circles: it had a handle, and a very short neck, with a wide mouth, of a white metal.† This vessel was found in Spital-fields; most probably in the ancient Cemetery discovered in Queen Elizabeth's time, and noticed by Stow in the following manner.

" On the east side of this Church-yard (St. Mary Spital) lieth a large field, of old time called *Lolesworth,* but now *Spittle-fielde,* which, about the year 1576, was broken up for clay to make brick; in the digging whereof, many earthen pots, called urns, were found full of ashes, and of burnt bones of men, to wit, of the Romans that inhabited here: for it was the custom of the Romans to burn their dead, to put their ashes into an urn, and then to bury the same with certain ceremonies in some field appointed for the purpose, near unto their city. Every of these pots had in them with the ashes of the dead, one piece of copper money, with the inscription of the Emperor then reigning. Some of them were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Antoninus Pius, of Trajan, and others. Besides those urns, many other pots were there found made of a white earth, with long necks and handles, like to our stone jugs: these were empty, but seemed to have been buried full of some liquid, long since consumed, and soaked through; for there were found divers vials [lachrymatories] and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought, such as I have not seen the like, and some of chrystall, all which had water in them; nothing differing, in clearness, taste or savour, from common spring water. Some of these glasses had oil in them very thick, and earthy in savour: some were supposed to have had balm in them, but had lost the virtue. There were also found divers dishes [pateræ] and cups of a fine red coloured earth, which showed outwardly such a shining smoothness, as if they had been of coral: those had in the bottom Roman letters printed. There were also lamps of white earth, artificially wrought with divers antiques about them: some three or four images [penates] made of white earth, about a span long each of them: one was of Pallas; the rest I have forgotten. I myself have reserved, amongst divers of those antiquities there found, one pot of white earth, very small, not exceeding the quantity of a quarter of a wine pint, made in shape of a hare squatted upon her legs, and between her ears is the mouth of the pot. There hath also been found in the same field divers coffins of stone, containing the bones of men: these I suppose to be the burials of men in time of the Britons or Saxons, after that the Romans had left to govern here."*

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* Parentalia, p. 265. † Ibid. p. 267.

The next discovery in point of time, appears to have been made by Sir Robert Cotton in 1615: this also was of a Roman Cemetery in what is now called Sun Tavern Fields, at Shadwell, where formerly gravel was dug for ballasting ships. Here were found divers urns; a coin of Pupienus, who associated with Balbinus against Maximus, and was slain with him in a sedition of their own soldiers about the year 237; and two coffins; "one whereof, being of stone, contained the bones of a man; and the other, of lead, beautifully embellished with escallop shells, and a crotister border, contained those of a woman, at whose head and feet were placed two urns, of the height of three feet each; and at the sides divers beautiful red earthen bottles, with a number of lachrymatories of hexagon and octagon forms; and on each side of the inhumed bones were deposited two ivory sceptres, of the length of eighteen inches each; and upon the breast, the figure of a small Cupid, curiously wrought, as were likewise two pieces of jet, resembling nails, of the length of three inches."*

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* Stow's Lond. p. 130—133. Some bodies interred in the same cemetery had been buried in timber coffins, with thick plank lids, fastened down by large iron nails, a quarter of a yard long. *Ibid.*

When Bishopsgate Church was rebuilt, about the year 1725, several urns, pateræ, and other remains of Roman antiquities, were discovered, together with a coin of Antoninus Pius, and a vault, arched with equilateral Roman bricks, fourteen feet deep, and within it two skeletons. Dr. Stukeley, also, saw there, in 1726, a Roman grave, constructed with large tiles, twenty-one inches long, which kept the earth from the body.†

Many more sepulchral remains were found in digging the foundations of the new Church in Goodman's Fields: and when the Tenter Ground there was converted into a garden, in the year 1787, several fragments of urns, and lachrymatories, were dug up about seven feet below the surface, together with a sepulchral stone, measuring about fifteen inches by twelve, inscribed thus:

D· M·
FL· AGRICoLA· MIL·
LEG· VI· VICT· V· AN·
XLII· D· X· ALBIA·
FAVSTINA· CoNINGI·
INCoNPARABILI·
F· C·

Another sepulchral stone was found in the year 1776, at no great distance from Goodman's Fields, in a burial-ground in White

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* Malcolm, Vol. IV. p. 566; from 'a New and Com. Sur. of Lond.' 1742.

† Gough's Cam. Vol. II. p. 93. Edit. 1806; from A. S. Min.

Chapel Lane, near the end leading into Rosemary Lane, about six feet under ground: the inscription was as follows:

D· M
IVL· VALIVS
MIL· LEG· XXVV
AN· XL· H· S· E
C· A· FLAVIO
ATTIO· HER·*

These various discoveries of sepulchral remains made in the eastern quarter of the Metropolis, suggest the idea, that a great portion of the ground beyond the wall on this side, was in the Roman age set apart as one grand cemetery; it being an express provision of the Roman law, that 'no one should be buried within the walls of their cities.' It is probable, however, that this law was not always enforced with strictness, or that exceptions were made in favor of particular persons, for otherwise the memorials of interment found beneath St. Paul's, and at some few other places within the circuit of the walls, would not admit of consistent explanation.

When the foundations of the new Church of St. Martin in the Fields were dug in 1722, a Roman brick arch was found, with several ducts, fourteen feet under ground; and Gibbs, the architect, said, that 'Buffaloes heads' were also dug up there. Sir Hans Sloane, likewise, had a glass vase, bell-shaped, that was found in a stone coffin, among ashes, in digging the foundations of the portico.† At Mary-le-Bone a large brass Roman key, with many Roman coins, have been discovered.‡

Returning to the discoveries made within the Roman city, and noticing them in order of time, we learn, that, on rebuilding the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, in 1730, numerous fragments of vessels, both sacrificial and domestic, were found, together with medals, tusks and bones of boars and goats, pieces of metal, a tessellated pavement, an earthen lamp, some remains of an aqueduct,

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* Malcolm's Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 450,-51.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 93, from A. S. Min.

‡ Ibid.

duct, and a well: the latter is now in use. In June, 1774, in laying the foundations of a sugar-house in the Parish of St. Mary Hill, two earthen vessels were found buried beneath the brick pavement of an old cellar; these contained an abundance of small Saxon coins of silver, and some Norman ones; most of them were pennies of Edward the Confessor; and others of Harold the Second, and William the Conqueror. On digging still deeper, human bones, both of adults and children, were found, together with fragments of Roman bricks, and coins of Domitian of the middle brass.*

That the Romans had a Fort on the site of the Tower, was corroborated by some discoveries made in September, 1777, by workmen employed in digging the foundations of a new office for the Board of Ordnance. At a very considerable depth they came to some foundations of ancient buildings, below which, on the natural ground, was a silver ingot, and three gold coins. The ingot was in form of a double wedge, four inches long, and weighed ten ounces, eight grains, troy: on the centre was impressed EX. OFFIC. HONORII, in two lines. One of the coins was also of the Emperor Honorius; the others of Arcadius, his brother, who reigned over the Empire of the East, as Honorius did over that of the West, at the same time: these were in excellent preservation, and each of them weighed the sixth part of a Roman ounce, or seventy-three grains, troy. A ring, supposed to have been made of a shell, a small glass crown, and an inscribed stone, two feet eight inches by two feet four, were also found at the same depth: the inscription was as follows:

DIS' MANB' T. LICINI ACAN'VS F†

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* For a more particular account, see Archæologia, Vol. IV. p. 356, from a communication by Dr. Griffith, Rector of St. Mary Hill.

† Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 291. Dean Milles, President of the Society of Antiquaries, who communicated the account of the discovery, supposed the coins to have been minted at Constantinople, and to have been part of the money transmitted to pay the last legion ever sent to the assistance of the Britons.

In digging a new sewer, beneath Lombard Street and Birchin Lane, in the autumn and winter of 1785, numerous Roman antiquities were found, as coins, fragments of earthenware, tessellated and other pavements, glass, &c. of which a very particular account has been printed in the eighth volume of the Archæologia, from communications by different gentlemen. The sewer was commenced towards that end of Lombard Street next the Mansion House; and near Sherbourn Lane, at the depth of twelve feet, a Roman pavement was found, 'composed of small irregular bricks, in length two inches, in breadth one and a half, mostly red, but some few black and white: they were strongly cemented with a yellowish mortar, and were laid in a thick bed of coarse mortar and stones.' The breadth of this pavement, from west to east, was about twenty feet; its length was not discovered. Between it and the Post Office, but on the north side of the sewer, was a wall constructed with 'the smaller sized Roman bricks,' in which were two perpendicular flues; the one semicircular, the other rectangular and oblong:'* the height of the wall was ten feet, its length eighteen; the depth of the top of it from the surface, was also ten feet. Further on, opposite to the Post Office, was another wall, of the common kind, of Roman masonry; and near it, at the depth of nine feet, a pavement of thin flat tiles, each seventeen inches $\frac{4}{10}$ in length, twelve inches $\frac{3}{10}$ broad, and about three tenths of an inch in thickness. Beyond this was another pavement, much decayed, and about a foot lower, chiefly composed of red bricks about an inch square, with a few black bricks, and some white stones, irregularly intermixed. 'This pavement, as well as most of the rest, was laid on three distinct beds of mortar: the lowest very coarse, about three inches thick, and mixed with large pebbles; the second, of fine mortar, very hard, and reddish in colour, from having been mixed with powdered brick: this was about one inch in thickness, and upon it the bricks were embedded in a fine white cement.'

Many other fragments of walls and pavements were dug up in proceeding along Lombard-Street, together with burnt wood, and wood ashes, and many other things exhibiting marks of conflagration. Some of the walls were of rough stones, and others of chalk. Similar discoveries of walls and pavements were made in Birchin-Lane; together with one angle of a fine tessellated pavement, composed of black, red, green, and white squares, about a quarter of an inch in size, and forming a beautiful border: the extent of this pavement was not ascertained, as its course appeared to run below the adjacent footway and houses.

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* Would not this discovery imply, that the Romans introduced the use of Chimneys into Britain?

Fragments of Roman pottery, or earthenware, were found in abundance throughout the whole extent of the excavation, as well as Roman coins, and pieces of glass urns, bottles, &c. with Roman keys, and horns and bones of different animals. The earthenware was of various colours, red, brown, grey, white, black, &c. some glazed, and some not: many of the fragments were of fine coral-coloured ware, called Samian, and these were mostly ornamented with figures on the outside: some were impressed with names and inscriptions on the rims. The center compartment of one beautiful vessel of red earthenware, (of which the principal fragments were found,) represented a combat, partly of naked figures, opposed to each other, and to two horsemen: the attitudes were very spirited, and the whole design in a good tast On other fragments were represented armed men, satyrs, hare dogs, birds, foliage, a boar's head, and fancy ornaments of various descriptions. Many handles of jugs, and pieces of round shallow vessels of coarse clay, which seemed to have measured about a foot in diameter when entire, with broad rims, having a channel across them to pour off the contents, were also found: the latter appeared to have been worn by trituration, as if they had been used for grinding some substance.

The coins were of various descriptions, gold, silver, and brass. Among them was a beautiful gold coin of Galba, a Nero, and an Antoninus Pius; and a silver one of Alexander Severus. The others were brass ones of Claudius, Nerva, Vespasian, Dioclesian, Gallienus, Antonia, Constantinus, and Tetricus: nearly 300 of the two last Emperors were found together on one spot opposite to the end of St. Nicholas Lane; the workmanship of these was extremely

rude.

rude. These discoveries were all made within the depth of from nine to sixteen feet. In the more recent depositions of soil above, some Nuremberg counters, coins of Elizabeth, and other relics of later times, were found; but not any thing that appeared to belong to the Saxon period.*

The more recent discoveries of Roman antiquities that have been made in London, are principally confined to Tessellated Pavements; one of which, and the most beautiful in its design, was found in Leadenhall Street: another, of a more simple pattern, was dug up in Lothbury; and others, but of which few particulars are known, are said to have been opened within these few years in Broad Street, behind the Old Navy Pay Office; in Northumberland Alley, Fenchurch Street; and in Long Lane, Smithfield.

The *Tessellated Pavement* in Leadenhall Street was discovered in December, 1803, at the depth of nine feet six inches below the carriage-way pavement, in searching for a sewer opposite to the easternmost columns of the portico of the East India House. The whole eastern side had been before cut away, probably at the time of the making of the sewer: what remained was about two-thirds of the floor of an apartment of uncertain dimensions, but evidently more than twenty feet square; the ornamented centre, although not quite perfect, appeared also to have been a square of eleven feet. The device which occupied the centre, was a highly-finished figure of Bacchus, who was represented reclining on the back of a tyger, his thyrsus erect in his left hand, and a small two-handed Roman drinking cup pendant from his right: round his brow was a wreath of vine leaves: his mantle, purple and green, falling from his right shoulder, was thrown carelessly round his waist; and his foot guarded with a sandal, the lacing of which extended to the calf of his leg. The countenance of Bacchus was placid, his eyes well set; and all his features, as well as the beast on which he was riding, were represented with much freedom of design, and accuracy of delineation, in appropriate tints. Round the circle which contained the above, were three borders of the same figure; the first exhibited the inflections of a serpent, black back, and white belly, on a party-colored field, composed of dark and light grey, and red, ribbands; the second consisted of indented cornucopiæ in black and white; and the third of squares diagonally concave. In two of the angles, which were formed by the insertion of the outer circle in the inner square border, was represented the Roman drinking-cup on a large scale; and in the counter angles, were delineations of a plant, but too rude to be designated: these were wrought in dark grey, red, and black, on a white ground. The inner square border bore some resemblance to a bandeau of oak, in dark and light grey, red and white, on a black ground. The outer border consisted of eight lozenge figures, with ends in the form of hatchets in black, on a white ground, inclosing circles of black, on each of which was the common ornament, a true lover's knot. The whole was environed by a margin at least five feet broad, of plain and red tiles an inch square. This pavement was bedded on a terras of lime and brick-dust, an inch in thickness; but the hazard which would have attended digging deeper, prevented the inquiry whether any considerable sepulchral remains were deposited beneath it, as was the case in Camomile Street. A small fragment of an urn, and part of a jaw-bone, were found under one corner of the pavement; and also foundations of Kentish rag-stone, and Roman bricks, in opening the ground on the opposite side of the street. This pavement was taken up at the charge of the East India Company, but broken to pieces in the process; and the mutilated remains were deposited in their Library.*

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* Archæologia, Vol. VIII. p. 116—132. The account given of these discoveries in that work, is illustrated by several engravings, in which many of the fragments of pottery, vessels, urns, coins, &c. are represented.

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* "In this beautiful specimen of Roman mosaic," says Mr. Fisher, who published a fine print of the Pavement, coloured after the original, from a drawing by himself, and to whose pen we are indebted for the above description, "the drawing, colouring, and shadows, are all effected with considerable skill and ingenuity by the use of about twenty separate tints, composed of tesselæ of different materials, the major

part

The Lothbury Pavement was taken up *entire* in the spring of 1805, by direction of John Soane, Esq. F. S. A. Architect to the Bank, and has been deposited in the British Museum, to which it was presented by the Bank Directors. 'The depth at which it lay is stated to have been about eleven feet; its situation about twenty feet westward from the westernmost gate of the Bank opening into Lothbury, and about the same distance south of the carriage-way. It consisted of the ornamented square centre, measuring four feet each way, of the floor of an apartment eleven feet square. Within a circle in the centre, is a figure apparently designed to represent four leaves, perhaps acanthus, expanded in black, red, and dark and light grey, tessellæ on a white field; round this a line of black; in the angles four leaves of black, red, and grey; and a square bandeau border, similar to that mentioned in the former pavement, environed the whole: beyond this were tiles of an inch square, extending to the sides of the room. On examining the fragments of the marginal pavement which had been taken up with it, evident marks of fire were observed on the face of them; and to one piece adhered some ashes of burnt wood, and a small piece not quite burnt.'

In July, 1806, in making some new accommodations at the back of the London Coffee-house, on Ludgate Hill, which stands on part of the site of the ancient Lud-gate, the trunk of a statue of Hercules, half the size of life, the figure resting on his club, with the lion's skin cast over the left shoulder; the mutilated head of a

part of which are baked earths; but the more brilliant colours of green and purple, which form the drapery, are glass. These tessellæ are of different sizes and figures, adapted to the situations they occupy in the design. They are placed in rows, either straight or curved, as occasion demanded, each tessella presenting to those around it a flat side: the interstices of mortar being thus very narrow, and the bearing of the pieces against each other uniform, the work in general possessed much strength, and was very probably, when uninjured by damp, nearly as firm to the foot as solid stone. The tessellæ used in forming the ornamented borders, are in general somewhat larger than those in the figures, being cubes of half an inch."

woman; and a sexagon pedestal, about three feet eleven inches high, were found within the ruins of the old wall of London, between the remains of a circular staircase and a circular tower: the upper part of the pedestal was sculptured with foliage, and it had a corresponding base and cornice: in front was the following inscription:

D. M.
CL. MARTI
NAE. AN. XI
ANENCLE
TVS
PROVINC.
CONIVGI
PIENTISSIME
H. S. E.*

This was read by Mr. Gough as follows: *Diis Manibus; Claudiæ Martinæ; Annorum xi, Anencletus Provincialis Conjugi Pientissimæ hoc Sepulchrum*, or *hanc Statuam, erexit.* By the term *Provinciales*, as appears from various inscriptions in Grævius, is to be understood men raised in the province where the Romans were stationed.

The most recent discovery belonging to the Roman period, has been made during the present month, December, 1808: this was a coin of the Emperor Titus Vespasian, found in digging in Leadenhall Street.

This review of Roman antiquities discovered in the Metropolis, would be very incomplete without the mention of LONDON STONE, which, now reduced comparatively to a fragment, and encased in free-stone, stands against the south wall of St. Swithin's Church, in Cannon Street. In former ages a sort of superstitious veneration was paid to this monument, and, like the *Palladium* of Troy, it was supposed to be connected with the safety of the City. The earliest known record relating to it, is at the end, says Stow, " of a fayre a fayre written Gospell booke given to Christes Church in Canterburie, by Ethelstane, King of the West Saxons,"* where a parcel of land belonging to that Church is described "to ly neare unto London Stone."† It is again noticed in a record of a fire, which, in the first of King Stephen, 1135, "began in the house of one Ailwarde, neare unto London Stone,"‡ and consumed a considerable part of the City.

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* A curious print of these antiquities has been published by Mr. Fisher, from a drawing executed by himself on *stone*.

This ancient monument is also noticed by Holinshed, who, in his account of the insurrection headed by Jack Cade, says, that when that rebellious chieftain had forced his way into the City, he struck his sword upon London Stone, and exclaimed, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this City;' as if, Pennant remarks on this passage, "that had been a customary way of taking possession."§

Most antiquaries of the two last centuries, seem, with Camden, to consider this Stone as a Roman Milliary, or, more properly, as the *Milliarium Aureum*,‖ of Britain, from which the Romans

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* Sur. of Lond. p. 177.   † Ibid.   ‡ Ibid.

§ Fabian has been quoted (Vide Maitland's Hist. Vol. II. p. 1047, Edit. 1756; and Malcolm's Lond. Vol. IV. p. 621) as noticing London Stone in the doggerel rhymes which he has attached, by way of Prologue, to the second volume of his Chronicle; yet, on referring to the original, it will be evident that London only was intended to be described. Rome, Carthage, and Jerusalem, says Fabian, have been 'caste downe,' with 'many other *Cytyes*,' yet

'Thys so oldely founded,
Is so surely grounded,
That no man may confounde yt,
It is so sure a stone,
That yt is upon sette,
For though some have it thrette
With Manasses, grym, and great,
Yt hurte had yt none:

Chryste is the very stone
That the Citie is set upon;
Which from all hys foon
Hath ever preserved yt.
By meane of dyvyne servyce,
That in contynuall wyse
Is kept in devout guyse
Wythin the mure of yt.'

‖ *Milliarium Aureum fuit columna in capite fori Romani, sub Saturni æde, prope arcum Septimii, in quæ omnes Italiæ viæ incisæ finierunt, et a qua ad singulus portas mensuræ regionum currerunt.*
Plin. Lib. III. Chap. V.

began the admeasurement of their roads as from a centre. This is stated to be confirmed by the 'exact coincidence which its distance bears with the neighbouring stations mentioned in Antonine's Itinerary;' yet Sir Christopher Wren was of opinion, that, "by reason of its *large foundation*, it was rather some more considerable monument in the Forum; for, in the adjoining ground to the south, upon digging for cellars after the Great Fire, were discovered some tessellated pavements, and other extensive remains of Roman workmanship and buildings."*

Stow's description of London Stone is as follows: speaking of Wallbrook, he says, "on the south side of this high street, neere unto the channell, is pitched upright a great Stone, called London Stone, fixed in the ground very deep, fastened with bars of iron, and otherwise so stronglie set, that if cartes do runne against it through negligence, the wheeles be broken, and the stone itselfe unshaken. The cause why this stone was there set, the verie time when, or other memory hereof, is there none; but that the same hath long continued there, is manifest, namely since, or rather before, the time of the Conquest.—Some have saide this stone to have beene set as a marke in the middle of the Cittie within the walles; but in truth, it standeth farre nearer unto the river of Thames than to the wall of the City. Some others have saide the same to bee set for the tendering and making of paymentes by debtors to their creditors at their appointed daies and times, till of later time, paymentes were more usually made at the font in Pontes Church, and nowe most commonly at the Royall Exchange. Some againe have imagined the same to bee set up by one John or Thomas Londonstone, dwelling there against; but more likely it is, that such men have taken name of the stone, rather than the stone of them, as did John at Noke, Thomas at Stile, William at Wall, or at Well, &c."*

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* Parentalia, p. 265,-6. "Probably this might in some degree have imitated the *Milliarium Aureum* at *Constantinople*, which was not in the form of a Pillar, as at *Rome*, but an eminent building; for under its roof, according to Cedrenus and Suidas, stood the statues of Constantine and Helena; Trajan; an equestrian statue of Hadrian, a statue of Fortune; and many other figures and decorations." *Ibid.*

From these different notices of London Stone it is apparent, that it was formerly of much greater magnitude, and was held in far higher estimation, than it is at present. It now, indeed, appears reduced to a fragment, 'not much larger than a bomb-shell,' and is enclosed in a sort of pedestal, which admits it to be seen through an aperture near the top. Some small portion of its decay may be ascribed to the lapse of ages, but the chief mischief must have been committed by the hands of man. It was probably much mutilated after the Great Fire, when its 'large foundation' was seen; and again when it was removed from 'the south side' of the street, in December, 1742,† to the edge of the kirb-stone on the north side. That it is now in existence at all, is in a great measure due to the interposition of Mr. Thomas Maiden, of Sherbourn-Lane, who, at the beginning of the year 1798, when St. Swithin's Church was about to undergo a complete repair, and this venerable relic had been nearly doomed to destruction as a nuisance by some of the parishioners, prevailed on one of the parish officers to give his consent that London Stone should be removed to the situation which it now occupies against the Church-wall.

It has been conjectured, that the Roman garrison of London had a *Summer-Camp* on the hill at Highbury, beyond Islington; and evident remains of another ancient *Camp*, traditionally said to have been occupied by Suetonius Paulinus, about the period of Boadicea's revolt, may be still seen in the fields between White Conduit House and Copenhagen House, near Islington. A Roman *Specula*, or watch-tower, is stated, also, to have stood without the walls beyond Cripplegate, somewhere near to the street still called Barbican: Stow says, 'on the north side therof.'‡

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* Sur. of Lond. p. 177,-8.

† Malcolm's Lond. Red. Vol. II. p. 507, note.

‡ Sur. of Lond. p. 241.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF LONDON FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS TILL THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST.

WHEN the distractions of the Roman Empire, in the early part of the fifth century, had occasioned the withdrawing of the Roman troops from all the distant provinces, London once more became a British town, and is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle as early as the year 457; at which time the Britons, under Vortimer, fled hither in 'great feare,' on their discomfiture by the Saxons under Hengist, at *Crecan-ford,* (now Crayford,) in Kent. Eighteen or twenty years afterwards, Hengist, having treacherously slain the principal nobility of Britain, and made Vortigern, their King, prisoner, obliged the captive Monarch to give up, for his ransom, the whole of the extensive tract from which the kingdoms of Essex and Sussex were formed: soon after he made himself master of London, most probably through the operation of this assignment. On the death of Hengist, in 498, Ambrosius, the successor of Vortigern, retook London, which appears to have been retained by the Britons during a considerable part of the following century; and Mordred, the base nephew to the great Arthur, was crowned here when he usurped his uncle's kingdom, about the year 532.

The Saxon kingdom of Essex had now been established some years; and London, though in what manner, or at what particular period, has not been ascertained, became subjected to that state. Its walls and fortifications had doubtless preserved it from the ravages that had been inflicted in most other parts of the Island, whilst its favourable situation for commerce contributed to increase its population.

After the partial conversion of the East Saxons to Christianity, in the time of King Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert, King of Kent, the latter Monarch, to whom all the country south of the river Humber was feudatory, erected a Cathedral Church on the site of St. Paul's, about the year 610; London having been chosen for a Bishop's See by Augustine, the 'Apostle of the English,' and Mellitus, one of the companions of his mission, having been nominated first Bishop in 604. Bede, in mentioning this fact, describes London as an 'emporium of many nations, who arrived thither by land and [by sea:"* yet this appears rather to apply to the period in which he himself lived, viz. the beginning of the eighth century, than to the time about which he was writing. On the decease both of Ethelbert and Sebert, in 616, their subjects relapsed into Paganism; and Mellitus was expelled from his See by the three sons of Sebert, to whom he had refused the Communion of the Sacrament, unless they would also consent to be baptized.†

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* Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. iii. Bede's words are, '*Londonia civitas est, super ripam prœsuti fluminis [Thamesis] positu, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium.*'

† Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. v. The whole account is interesting: the transaction itself, most probably, took place within the Church of St. Paul. "The death of King Sabareth," [Sebert,] says Bede, "much increased the trouble and persecution of the Church. He departing to the everlasting kingdom of Heaven, left his three sons, who were yet Pagans, heirs of his temporal kingdom on earth. Immediately on their father's decease, they began openly to practice idolatry, though whilst he lived they had somewhat refrained, and also gave free license to their subjects to worship idols. At a certain time, these Princes, seeing the Bishop administering the Sacrament to the people in the Church, after the celebration of Mass, and being puffed up with rude and barbarous folly, spake (as the common report is) thus unto him.

"Why dost thou not give us, also, some of that white bread, which thou didst give to our father Saba, (for so they were wont to call their father Sabareth,) and which thou dost not yet cease to give to the people in the Church?" He answered, 'If ye will be washed in that wholesome font, wherein your father was, ye may likewise eat of this blessed bread, whereof he was a partaker; but if ye contemn the lavatory of life, ye can in no wise taste the bread of life.' 'We will not,' they rejoined, 'enter into this font of water, for we know we have no need to do so; but we will eat of that bread nevertheless.' And when they had been often and earnestly warned by the Bishop, that it could not be, and that no man could partake of this most holy oblation, without purification, and cleansing by baptism, they at length, in the height of their rage, said to him, 'Well, if thou wilt not comply with us in the small matter we ask, thou shalt no longer abide in our province and dominions;' and straightway they expelled him, commanding that he, and all his company, should quit their realm." *Ibid.*

During the confused period of the Saxon Heptarchy, but very few notices of London seem to have been recorded. In 664 it was ravaged by the plague; and in 764, 798, and 801, it suffered greatly from fires: in that of 798, it was almost wholly burnt down, and numbers of the inhabitants perished in the flames.*

It has been stated by Noorthouck, and other writers on the history of this City, that on the union of the Saxon kingdom under Egbert, in 827, London was appointed to be the Royal residence; and Pennant says, that the great Alfred 'made it the capital of all England;' yet both these assertions are erroneous; for the seat of government, for more than two centuries after the period spoken of, was continued at Winchester, which having long been the residence of the West Saxon sovereigns, became naturally the metropolis of the kingdom after the Saxon States were rendered feudatory by Egbert.† That London was still advancing in consequence, may, however, be presumed, from the circumstance of a *Wittenagemot* having been held here in 833,‡ to consult on the best means of repelling the Danes, who had now begun to desolate the country by their ravages. At this assembly, Egbert himself was present, together with Ethelwolf, his son; Withlaf, the tributary King of Mercia; and most of the prelates and great men of the realm; yet their deliberations were but little effectual; for the Danes, who swarmed over the Island like devouring locusts, plundered the City twice within the ensuing twenty years, and massacred numbers of its inhabitants. The first time of their obtaining possession was in 839, when they committed, says Rapin, "unheard-of cruelties:"§ the next was in 851, or 852, when, having landed from a fleet of 350 sail,‖ they pillaged and laid waste by fire, both London and Canterbury. In the same year, however, their whole army was routed at Okely, in Surrey, after a most sanguinary conflict, in which but very few Danes escaped the sword.

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* Sim. Dun. Hist.

† See under Winchester, Beauties of Eng. Vol. VI. p. 21—35.

‡ Spel. Con. An. 833.

§ Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 84.

‖ Asser, and Sax. Ann. p. 155: Hen. of Huntingdon says but 250 sail, p. 348.

This victory freed the country from its ravagers till about 860, when the Danes renewed their invasions, and being continually reinforced by fresh bodies from beyond sea, they were enabled to obtain a permanent settlement in England in the reign of Ethelred the First; though not till they had fought many desperate battles with that Sovereign, and with the great Alfred, his brother. In the year 872, Alfred having recently succeeded to the Crown, was constrained to make a treaty with the Danes, who retiring to London, which they had again taken in the late wars, made it a a place of arms, and garrisoned it.

During the following ten or twelve years, all the resources of Alfred's genius were brought into exertion by Danish perfidy and rapine; yet, after many struggles, and various success, he at length obtained a decided superiority. This was principally accomplished by the creation of a fleet, with which he frequently chased the foe from his shores, or overwhelmed them in the deep. To this measure of the truest policy, he united the further one of securing the interior of the kingdom, by building or repairing castles and walled towns; and knowing the importance of London, both from its extent and situation, he forced it to surrender, after a short siege, about the year 884. Immediately afterwards, he repaired and strengthened the fortifications, and having also erected some additional buildings, he conferred the government of the City, with extraordinary powers, on his son-in-law, Ethelred, whom he at the same time made Earl of Mercia.*

In the subsequent wars of Alfred's reign, the Londoners behaved with exemplary bravery; yet nothing material is recorded of their City. In 894, the wife and two sons of the Danish chief, Hastings, were brought prisoners to London, by the "citizens and others,"

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* Asser. Flor. Wor. Malms. de Gest. Reg. Ethelred is supposed to have held London *in fee*, as, after his death, it was delivered up, with Oxford, by his widow, the Princess Elfleda, to her brother, King Edward.

others,"[*] from Beamfleote, (now South Bemfleet,) in Essex, where Hastings had erected a castle, which Earl Ethelred reduced; and in 896, when Alfred had forced the Danes to abandon their fleet, by diverting the current of the river Lea, "so that where shippes before had sayled, now a smal boate could scantly rowe,"[†] all the Danish vessels that were preserved after the stream had been restored to its former channel, were brought round to this City.

There cannot be a doubt but that London was now greatly advanced in maritime consequence, though it had not yet risen to the dignity of a Metropolis. That period, however, was fast approaching; for King Athelstan, who succeeded Edward the Elder in 925, had a Palace in London; though the principal residence of the Saxon Monarchs was still at Winchester. Its comparative greatness, indeed, may in some degree be estimated by the laws of Athelstan respecting coinage, which, after commanding that 'no man coin but in a town,' &c. ordain, that "In Canterbury there shall be seven minters; at Rochester, three; at London, *eight*; at Winchester, six; at Lewis, two; at Hastings, one; at Chichester, one; at Hampton, two; at Werham, two; at Exeter, two; at Shaftesbury, two; and at every other town, one." The direct inference from this record is, that the trade and population of London were then greater than at any other of the places enumerated.

In 945, as appears from Brompton's Chronicle, Edmund the First, the brother and successor of Athelstan, convoked a Wittenagemot in London, for the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs; in 961, a malignant fever carried off a great number of the inhabitants; and in 982, the whole City was almost destroyed by a casual fire.[‡] This latter accident happened in the fourth of King Ethelred the Second; in whose disastrous reign London was several times assaulted by the Danes, yet the assailants were always repulsed by the determined bravery of the inhabitants.

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[*] Stow's Annals, p. 104. [†] Ibid.

[‡] Bromp. Sax. Chron. Sim. Dun. Flor. Wor.

The incapacity of its sovereigns is the greatest curse to which a country can be subject when exposed to invasion. Ethelred, whom posterity has stigmatized by the epithet of *the Unready*, with a policy as unwise as cowardly, sought to buy off the predatory incursions of the Danes, by presenting them with large sums of money; and for this purpose he even established that oppressive rate called *Dane-gelt:* this tax appears to have been imposed in a national council, or Wittena-gemot, assembled at London,* where Ethelred usually resided.

The general and barbarous massacre of the Danes during an interval of peace, in November, 1002, deprived the nation altogether of even the short-lived security that had been obtained by these wretched expedients. Sweyn, King of Denmark, in the fell spirit of revenge for the death of his sister, Gunilda, who was among the number put to death under the cruel orders of Ethelred, carried fire and desolation for three successive years through almost every part of the Island; and when, at length, he had partly satiated his vengeance, and returned to Denmark, the work of destruction was still continued by fresh bodies of his countrymen. The calamities spread through the land by these sanguinary invaders, were augmented by domestic treason, and by the weakness of Ethelred, who having lost nearly the whole of his dominions except London, once more resorted to the measure of bribing the Danes to quit the kingdom; and this they agreed to do, on receiving the enormous sum, at that period, of 48,000l.

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* For the payment of the Dane-gelt, every hide of land in the kingdom was taxed twelve-pence yearly; and as the whole number of hides was computed to be 243,600, the produce of the tax, at one shilling, was 12,100 Saxon pounds; which was equal in quantity of silver to about 36,540l. sterling, and equivalent in efficiency to about 400,000l. according to the present value of money. At different periods Dane-gelt was raised from one up to seven shillings the hide of land, according to the exigencies of the government, or rather, to the rapacity or generosity of the reigning Prince. While the Danish visits were annually repeated, the Saxon Sovereign could put little into his coffers of the surplus of the tax, as the whole, and sometimes more, was expended in fighting or bribing the invaders; but when the government of the country became Danish, Dane-gelt became one of the principal sources of revenue to the Crown. Edward the Confessor remitted it wholly; but it was levied again under William the Norman, and William Rufus: it was once more remitted by Henry the First, and at length finally, by King Stephen, seventy years after the Conquest.

Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. I. and Rapin's Hist. Vol. I. p. 119, *note.*

This new sacrifice was attended only by a short respite; for in the same year, 1013, Sweyn entered the Humber with a powerful fleet, and having overrun all the northern and midland parts of the country, he advanced southwards, and invested London, where Ethelred had taken refuge. The citizens bravely defended themselves; and Sweyn being ill-provided with necessaries for a long siege, drew off into Wessex, to pursue his accustomed ravages. Meeting with no opposition, he marched a second time towards London, and, whilst making preparations to re-invest it with additional vigor, he was informed that Ethelred, who dreaded to fall into the hands of his mortal foes, had retired to Normandy with all his family. Thus deserted by their Prince, the Londoners, to avert the menaced destruction, opened their gates to the Danes; and shortly afterwards Sweyn was proclaimed King of England, no one daring to dispute his assumption of that dignity.

On the death of Sweyn, and the accession of Canute his son, in the following year, 1014, the English resolved to attempt to free themselves from bondage; and London, as it had been the last to submit, so also was it among the first to throw off the yoke of servitude. Ethelred was recalled; and Canute was impelled in his turn to quit the kingdom; though to this step he was partly induced by events in Denmark, where Harold, his younger brother, having been left regent, had possessed himself of the throne.

Ethelred, to whom adversity had not taught wisdom, still continued to disregard the interests of his subjects, and the general murmur emboldened Canute to hasten his preparations for a new invasion. Landing at Sandwich in 1016, that warlike chief found his conquests facilitated by the treachery of Edric Streon, Duke of Mercia, who deserted to the Danes with a large force; and all the address of Prince Edmund was unable to retrieve the disorders generated by the imbecility of Ethelred, his father, who, under pretence of sickness, kept himself shut up in London. On one occasion only could he be induced to take the field; but, overcome by his fears, he again hastened to secure himself within the walls of the City, whither the mortified Edmund was soon obliged to join him with the remainder of his dispersed forces. Ethelred, now the object of general scorn, soon afterwards fell sick in reality, and dying in a short time, was succeeded by the gallant Edmund, who was crowned in London amidst the fervent acclamations of the citizens.

The increased importance of London at this eventful period, rendered it a principal object of Canute's efforts; and he thrice besieged it in the course of the year 1016, though every time without success. On his first attack, Edmund was absent in the west; "but the brave resistance of the citizens giving Edmund time to throw in succours from the other side of the Thames, Canute saw himself obliged to raise the siege. Having thus lost his aim, he used many stratagems to surprize the enemy, or draw him off from London; and this last project succeeding, he went and laid siege a second time to the City."* It was probably on this occasion, that Canute "caused a broad and deep cut, or canal, to be made through the marshes on the south side of the river Thames, in order to carry his ships to the west of the bridge, that he might invest the City on all sides, to prevent supplies from entering, and to facilitate its reduction."† The facility with which

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* Rapin's Hist. Vol. I. p. 125.

† Maitland's Lond. p. 26, Edit. 1739. The course of the trench dug by Canute, is stated by Maitland, from his own observation and inquiries, to have had its outfall 'at the great Wet Dock below Rotherhithe,' and to have been carried across the Deptford road near the bottom of Kent Street towards Newington Butts, and thence by Kennington 'through the Spring Garden at Vauxhall,' to its influx with the Thames 'at the lower end of Chelsea Reach.' To this it has been objected, that

Edmund had thrown in succours, and the inability of Canute to pass the bridge, which the citizens had fortified, were doubtless the prevailing motives to this undertaking. Yet Canute was still unsuccessful; for the Londoners defended themselves till Edmund again advanced to their relief, and 'chased the Danes to their ships.'[*] Soon afterwards, both armies met in the field; and King Edmund, but for the defection of Edric Streon, his traitorous relation, would have obtained a complete victory: as it was, night parted the combatants; and Canute retreating to his ships, rowed along the coast for some time, till, thinking that his absence might have excited a false security in the inhabitants, he suddenly returned, and once more laid siege to London, but with the same ill success as before.

In the final arrangement and division of the Kingdom between Edmund and Canute, after several severe battles, in which victory was repeatedly chased from the Saxon standard by the traitor Edric, London was retained by Edmund;[†] and shortly afterwards it became the scene of his base assassination, which was effected by Edric's contrivance.

On the death of Edmund, Canute claimed the entire sovereignty, which, after a short delay, was awarded to him in a general Council, held in London in 1007, there being no one in the then state of the kingdom sufficiently powerful to dispute his claim. By the end of the following year, the wisdom of Canute's edicts, and his

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that the time, expense, and needless labour, attending the excavation of a channel so very circuitous as that described, must be great obstacles to the opinion of its having been made by Canute; and that the greater probability is, that the real direction of Canute's trench was 'from Dock-head, in a much smaller semi-circle, [than the one described,] by St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, to St. Saviour's Dock above bridge."

Maitland's Lond. Vol. I. p. 35, *Edit.* 1756.

[*] Stow's Ann. p. 113.

[†] Maitland, Hist. of Lond. p. 26, 1st Edit. says that London was delivered up to Canute as part of Mercia, but this is erroneous: it did not fall into the possession of Canute till after Edmund's decease.

his marriage with Emma, Ethelred's widow, had so firmly secured to him the affections of his new subjects, that he determined to send home the greater part of his Danish army. To discharge the arrears due to these troops, and most probably to reward their services by additional gifts, the vast sum of 83,000l. Saxon, was levied upon the English; 11,000l. of which was raised in London only. This year also was distinguished for the well-merited punishment of the traitor Edric Streon, who, at the 'feast of Christmas,' which Canute kept in this City, had the temerity to reproach his Sovereign with not having enough rewarded him 'for ridding him of such a formidable rival as Edmund had been.' Canute immediately ordered him to be put to death, for daring to avow so black a crime. "Some say, hee was tormented to death wyth fire-brandes and linkes. Some say one way, some another; but dispatched he was; for the King feared, through his treason, to be circumvented of his kingdome, as his predecessors had been before. His bodie hee caused to be layde foorth on the wall of the Citie, there to remayne unburyed to bee scene of all men."*

In a Wittena-gemot held at Oxford, to determine the succession of the Crown, on the demise of Canute, in 1036, with the Thanes were assembled the *Lithsmen* of London. Bishop Gibson, in his translation of the Saxon Chronicle, has rendered the appellation Lithsmen, by the word *Nautæ*, or Seamen; yet the probability is, that they were rather a superior rank of municipal officers. In another general Council of the Clergy and People, held in this city in 1041, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, son to Ethelred the Second, was chosen King through the address and influence of Earl Goodwin. In another great Council held in London, anno 1047, fourteen ships of war were ordered to be fitted out, to protect the coasts against the Danish piracies.

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* Stow's Ann. from Marianus, p. 115. Will. of Malms. and Matt. West. affirm, that he was beheaded in the King's Palace, and that his body was cast out of a window into the Thames. Brompton says, that his head was fixed on the highest gate in London by Canute's order; Hen. of Hunt. says, on the highest tower in London. *Vide Rapin.*

From the account given in Stow's Annals from Marianus, of the contests between Earl Goodwin and King Edward, it appears that the Earl had a house in Southwark;* and that, after he had assembled a fleet and army in 1052, he sailed through London Bridge on the south side, for the purpose of attacking the Royal fleet, then consisting of fifty sail, and lying at Westminster. "His armie," says the historian, "placing it selfe upon the bankes side, made shewe of a thicke and terrible battayle:"† but the great men on both sides interfering, to prevent the effusion of blood, an accommodation was effected, and Goodwin was restored to his former honours and possessions. One of the last acts of Edward's life, was the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, which he designed for his sepulchre; and on the completion of the Abbey Church in 1065, he summoned a General Assemby to meet at London, to increase the solemnity of its dedication. His decease, within a few days afterwards, led the way to the accession of Harold, Earl Goodwin's son, who had sufficient interest to prevail on the Assembly which Edward had summoned, and at which all the Bishops and great men of the kingdom were present, to elect him for their Sovereign, though in opposition to the superior claims which hereditary descent gave to Edgar Atheling.

After the defeat and death of Harold at the battle of Hastings, the Conqueror advanced towards London; but the majority of the citizens having declared for Edgar, through the spirited representations of the Earls of Mercia and Northumberland, he was opposed in Southwark by a detachment which sallied from the City, but was repulsed with considerable slaughter by the Norman horse. He then laid Southwark in ashes; yet finding that the Londoners were not yet disposed to surrender, he proceeded along the banks of the Thames, and took post at Wallingford, from whence he continually sent out parties to ravage the adjoining counties, and prevent the City from laying in stores.

The Earls Morcar and Edwin still laboured to animate the people to a determined resistance, but all their endeavours were counteracted by the base counsels of the clergy, who, with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York at their head, wrought such an effectual opposition, that the two Earls, despairing to effect their purpose, quitted the City, and retired into the north. The chief Prelates immediately afterwards proceeded to Berkhampstead, whither the Duke of Normandy was now arrived, and swore fealty to him, as if he had been already their Sovereign; and this degrading example being soon imitated by many persons of rank and consideration, and even by Edgar himself, the Londoners were at length drawn into the vortex. A deputation of the Magistracy was appointed to go forth, and meet the Duke, and to present him with the keys of the City, which he soon afterwards entered; yet, fearing a sudden reverse, he had a fortress run up in haste, and garrisoned it with Norman soldiers.* On the Christmas-day following, anno 1066, he was solemnly crowned King of England, having been 'invited' to accept that title by the Magistrates of London, conjointly with the Prelates and Nobility who were then in the City.† These various events prove the high consequence to which London had now attained; and from this period we may consider it as the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 121. † Ibid. p. 122.

HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF LONDON, FROM THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST TILL THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE FIRST; WITH FITZ-STEPHEN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND.

AT the commencement of his reign, William, with a view to the consolidation of his power, affected to govern by the pure maxims of justice and clemency; and, on the solicitation of the then Bishop of London, who was a Norman, and had been promoted to his See by Edward the Confessor, he granted a charter

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* Gul. Pict. Sim. Dunelm. Will. Malm. Flor. Wig. Rog. Hov. Stow says, but without quoting his authority, that William's entry into London was opposed by the citizens, who assembled in the streets, and that they did not submit till after a great slaughter. *Ann. p.* 131.

† Will. Malm. Matt. Par. Gul. Pict. Ingulph.

to the citizens in the year 1067. This charter, which is beautifully written in the Saxon character and language, is still preserved among the City archives; it consists of but little more than four lines written on a slip of parchment, six inches long, and one broad:* Maitland gives the following as an exact transcript.

'*Willm. kyng gret Willm bisceop & Gosfregth porterefan & ealle tha burhwaru binnan Londone Frencisce & Englisce freondlice. And ic kythe eow that ic wille, that get beon eallra thæra laga weorthe the gyt weran on Eadwerdes dæge kynges. And ic wylle thæt ælc cyld beo his fæther yrfnume æfter his fæther dæge. And ic nelle gewolian that æing man eow ænig wrang beode. God eow gehealde.*'†

In English thus: William the King greeteth William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreve, and all the Burgesses within London, friendly. And I acquaint you that I will that ye be all there law-worthy, as ye were in King Edward's days. And I will that every child be his father's heir, after his father's days. And I will not suffer that any man do you any wrong. God preserve you.‡

In 1077, according to the Saxon Chronicle, happened 'the greatest casual fire that till this time ever befel the City,' whereby 'the greatest part of it was laid in ashes.' In the following year, King William appears to have founded the fortress now called the White Tower, within the Tower of London, for the purpose of keeping the citizens in awe, as he had now began to suspect their fidelity, his numerous exactions having excited great murmurs.

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* Maitland's London, p. 28.

† The comprehensive import of this charter, which furnishes such a striking contrast to the verbosity of the grants of later ages, has given rise to some ingenious explanatory remarks in Madox.

Hist. Treat. Bur. which see.

‡ Another charter or grant of King William in the Saxon language, is preserved with the former among the City archives; yet it does not appear to whom it was granted: this also consists of a small slip of parchment having on it three lines finely written. A small seal was attached to each charter; but both of them have been long broken, though the pieces are preserved.

In the year 1086, says Stow, "a devouring fire spread abroad over almost all the principall cities of England; the Church of St. Paul's in London was burnt, with the most part of the Citie, which fire began at the entry of the west gate, and consumed to the east gate. Maurice, then Byshoppe of London, afterward began the foundation of the newe Church of St. Paul, a worke that men of that time judged would never have been finished, it was then so wonderfull. King William gave toward the building of the east ende of this Church, the choyce stones of his castell, standing neare to the banke of the river Thames, at the west ende of the Citie.* After Maurice, Richard, his successor, did also wonderfully increase the same Church, purchasing of his own cost, the large streets about it, where were wont to dwell many lay people, which ground he began to compasse about with a strong wall of stone, and gates: and King Henry the First gave to the sayd Richard, Bishop of London, so much of the mote or wall of the castell on the Thames side, to the south, as shoulde bee needfull, to make the sayde wall of the Church, and so much as should suffice to make a way without the wall on the north side, &c."

It is a remarkable fact, that the Domesday Book, which is usually so minute in regard to our principal towns and cities, is wholly silent in respect to London. 'It only mentions a vineyard in Holborn belonging to the Crown, and ten acres of land nigh Bishopsgate, (now the Manor of Norton Falgate,) belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's:'† yet certainly, continues Mr. Ellis, 'no mutilation of the manuscript has taken place, since the account of Middlesex is entire, and is exactly coincident with

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* This confutes the opinion of Maitland, Noorthouck, &c. that the *Tower* was built on the same spot where William had constructed a *fort* at the beginning of his reign.

† Mod. Lond. p. 13.

the abridged copy of the Survey, taken at the time, and now lodged in the office of the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer.'

In the fourth of William Rufus, anno 1090, upwards of 600 houses, and many churches, were blown down in London by a tremendous Hurricane, which occurred in the month of November:[*] the 'Tower of London was also broken;'[†] and about two years afterwards, great part of the City was again destroyed by fire. In the succeeding years the Tower was repaired by Rufus, and strengthened by additional works; and in 1097 and 1098, the same King built the great Hall at Westminster, where, on his return from Normandy in 1099, 'he kepte his feast of Whitsuntide very royally.'[‡]

On the decease of Rufus, in 1100, the Throne was seized by his younger brother, Henry, who was crowned at London within five days afterwards; and, as a reward for the ready submission of the Londoners to his usurped authority, he granted to the city an extensive charter of privileges. This is the earliest record that is known to exist, in which the ancient customs and immunities of London are particularly noticed; though Maitland's supposition, that the City, before the grant of this charter, was "intirely subject to the arbitrary will of the King,"[§] is manifestly erroneous; for the charter given by the Conqueror was still in force; and, however general in its terms, it furnishes full proof that the citizens were in possession of independent franchises. Among the privileges granted or confirmed by Henry, was the perpetual Sheriffwick of Middlesex; exemption from scot and lot, dane-gelt, trial by battle, impleading without the walls, payment of tolls, &c. with liberty to make reprisals on any borough or town exacting toll from any citizen of London; and the still more extraordinary liberty of seizing for debt, the goods (if found within the City) of the borough, town, or county, 'wherein he remains who shall owe the debt,' provided 'he has not cleared himself in London.' The ancient right of the citizens to hunt in the chaces of Middlesex, Surrey, and the Chiltern district, was also confirmed by this charter. The Sheriffwick was granted in consideration of a fee-farm rent of 300l.

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[*] Flor. Wig. Chron. Lib. II. and Will. Malms. de Vit. Will. II. Lib. IV.

[†] Stow's Ann. p. 178.

[‡] Ibid. p. 182.

[§] Hist. of London, p. 30.

In 1125, a solemn Synod was held in London by Cardinal John Cremensis, the Pope's Legate, to enforce the celibacy of the clergy; and in the following year, the King, with 'all the states of the realm,' came from Winchester to London, "and there, at the King's commandment, William the Archbishop, and the Legate of the Romish Church, and all other Bishops of the English nation, with the Nobilitie, tooke an othe to defend against all men the kingdome to his daughter, if she survived her father; except, that before his decease, he begate some sonne to succeede him."* Another Synod or Council was held in London in 1129.

On the death of Henry the First, in 1135, the Crown was usurped by Stephen, who being assisted by the chief Prelates and Ecclesiastics, though in direct violation of their late oath to defend the rights of the Empress Maud, or Matilda, and by the citizens of London, met with little opposition to his claim. In the following year, a fire beginning near 'London Stone, consumed eastward to Aldgate, and westward to St. Erkenwald's Shrine in St. Paul's Church, together with London Bridge, which was then of wood.'† In 1139 the citizens purchased from Stephen, the right of appointing their own Sheriffs, for 100 marks of silver.‡

During the contest for empire between Stephen and the Empress, the Londoners were in general firm in their allegiance to Stephen; and, even after he had been made prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, in 1140, by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, they continued to support his cause. This greatly irritated the haughty Maud, who, on the ascendancy of her affairs, "resolved to revenge herself upon her enemies; and as the citizens of London were the

principal,

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* Stow's Ann. p. 197. † Ibid. p. 202.

‡ Madox's Hist. Exch.

principal, she began with them, by making a convention with Geffrey, Earl of Essex, wherein she granted to him all the possessions which his grandfather, father, or himself, had held of the Crown, in lands, tenements, castles, and baliwicks, among which were the Tower of London, and the Sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex, at a fee-farm rent of 300l. per annum, as they had been held by his grandfather. And, as a greater mortification to the citizens, Matilda granted to Geffrey also, the office of Chief Justiciary of their City, and of the County of Middlesex; so that no person whatsoever could hold pleas, either in the City or County, without his special permission. This convention was ratified by the Empress upon oath, and attested by divers of the prime nobility; for the performance of which, several of the English and Norman nobility were given as hostages; and, as a farther corroboration of the same, it was to be confirmed by all the English clergy under her dominion."*

About this time, 1141, a general Council was summoned to meet at Winchester by the Pope's Legate, as a preliminary measure to the recognition of the Empress as Queen of England; yet the Deputies from the Magistracy of London, and the Barons who had retired thither, instead of assenting to the proposal, required that Stephen should be set at liberty, though without success. Shortly afterwards, from motives of policy, the City was surrendered to Matilda, who entered it in much pomp, and taking up her residence at Westminster, prepared for her coronation.

The extreme arrogance of Maud, and her disdainful refusal to revive the laws of Edward the Confessor, for which the citizens had petitioned, occasioned her to lose the Crown that now seemed so fully within her grasp. The Bishop of Winchester, who thought his own services were not enough rewarded, fomented the popular discontents so strongly, that a conspiracy was formed to seize the person of the Empress in her palace; but she being timely apprised of the scheme, secured her safety by flight. Soon afterwards,

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* Maitland's Lond. p. 31, from Hen. Hunt. Will. Malms. Madox's Hist. Exch. &c.

wards, she was besieged in Winchester by Stephen's adherents, of whom the Londoners composed the chief body; and Robert, the brave Earl of Gloucester, her brother, having been made prisoner, was subsequently exchanged for the King. Through this event, and the steady assistance of the Londoners, Stephen obtained a complete ascendancy; yet the Tower of London, which had been fortified for Geffrey, Earl of Essex, held out till 1143, when that nobleman having been made prisoner at St. Alban's, was obliged to consent to its being given up, together with his Castles of Waltden and Plessy. In the same year a Synod, or Council, was held in London, in which Stephen obtained the promise of an aid from the Clergy, on engaging to protect the Church. Another Council was held by Stephen in this City, in 1152, for the purpose of securing the accession of Eustace, his son; but the opposition and subsequent flight of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some 'other Bishops,' prevented the fulfilment of the King's design: Stow says it was defeated by the 'subtil policy of Thomas Becket,'[*] who thus early begun to display that contumacious spirit which distracted the kingdom in the following reign.

Henry the Second is stated to have granted to the citizens, a charter confirmatory, &c. of the one bestowed by his grandfather, Henry the First; yet the names of the subscribing witnesses, as printed by Maitland,[†] and others, are calculated to excite strong doubts as to its authenticity. Among the witnesses, are *Robert,* Bishop of London, *Philip,* Bishop of Bath, *Edward,* Bishop of Exon, and *Richard de Lucy,* the Chief Justiciary. Now as Henry came to the Throne in 1154, and Richard de Lucy died in 1179, it is evident that the charter, it genuine, must have been given some time within the period bounded by those years; yet, on referring to Godwin,[§] Le Neve,[‖] Newcourt,[¶] &c. it will be found, that the only Bishops of London who lived at the time

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 208.

[†] Hist. of London, p. 36.

[‡] Howe's Stow, p. 155.

[§] Cat. of Eng. Bishops.

[‖] Fas. Ecc. Angli.

[¶] Repert.

so limited, were *Richard* and *Gilbert;* the only Bishops of Bath, *Robert* and *Reginald;* and the only Bishops of Exeter, *Robert* and *Bartholomew.* These discrepancies, with others that might be suggested, seem effectually to disprove the validity of the charter under notice. Indeed, Henry the Second does not appear to have held the City in any great degree of favor; as we learn from Madox,[*] that several large sums were paid by the citizens at different times, under the name of *Donums,* or free-gifts, but which should rather be regarded as forced benevolences.

The great imperfections in the police of the Metropolis in this reign, may be estimated from the following passage, given in Stow's Annals, from Roger Hoveden, and Walter of Coventry. "Anno 1175. A brother of the Earle Ferrers was in the night privily slaine at London, which when the King understood, hee sware that hee would be avenged on the citizens: for it was then a common practice in the Citie, that an hundred or more in a companie of yong and olde, would make nightly invasions upon the houses of the wealthy, to the intent to robbe them; and if they founde any man stirring in the Citie within the night, they would presently murther him; in so much, that when night was come, no man durst adventure to walke in the streetes. When this had continued long, it fortuned that a crew of yong and wealthy citizens assembling together in the night, assaulted a stone house of a certain rich man, and breaking through the wall, the goode man of that house having prepared himself, with others, in a corner, when hee perceived one of the Theeves, named Andrew Burquinte, to leade the way, with a burning brande in the one hande, and a potte of coales in the other, which he assayed to kindle with the brande, he flewe upon him, and smote off his right hande, and then with a loude voyce cryed Theeves, at the hering whereof the Theeves took their flight, all saving hee that had lost his hande, whome the good man in the next morning delivered to Richard de Lucy, the King's Justice. This theefe upon warrant of his life, appeached his confederates, of whome manie were taken, and many were fledde; but among the rest that were apprehended, a certayne Citizen of great countenence, credite, and wealth, surnamed John the Olde, when hee coulde not acquite himselfe by the water-dome [water-ordeal] offered the King for his life five hundred markes; but the King commanded that he shoulde be hanged, which was done: and the Citie become more quiet." In 1176, the building of a new Bridge of stone was commenced at London, at a short distance westward from the wooden bridge; yet it was not completed till the year 1209, tenth of King John.

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[*] Hist. of Exch. Anno 1159, 1170, 1172, 1173, and 1188.

The curious Tract written about 1174, by Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, and intituled, '*Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Londoniæ*,'* contains an interesting picture of the Metropolis, and its customs, in Henry the Second's time. According to this author, the City was then bounded on the land-side by a high and spacious wall, furnished with turrets, and seven double gates;† and had in the east part 'a tower palatine,' and in the west two castles well fortified.‡ Further westward, about two miles, on the banks of the river, was the Royal Palace, [at Westminster,] 'an incomparable structure, guarded by a wall and bulwarks. Between this and the City was a continued suburb, mingled with large and beautiful gardens and orchards belonging to the citizens, who were themselves every where known, and respected above all others, for their 'civil demeanour, their goodly apparel, their table, and their discourse.' The number of conventual Churches in the City, and its suburbs, was thirteen, besides 126 'lesser parochial ones.' On the north side were open meadow and pasture lands; and beyond, a great forest,§ in whose woody coverts lurked 'the stag, the hind, the wild boar, and the bull.' With the three principal Churches were connected, by 'privilege and ancient dignity,' three 'famous schools;' and other schools had been established in different parts: upon holydays the scholars 'flocking together about the Church where the master hath his abode,' were accustomed to argue on different subjects, and to exercise their abilities in oratorical discourses. The handicraftsmen, the venders of wares, and the laborers for hire, were every morning to be found at their distinct and appropriated places, as is still common in the bazars of the East; and on the river's bank was a public cookery and eating place, belonging to the City, where 'whatsoever multitude,' and however daintily inclined, might be supplied with proper fare. Without one of the gates also, in a certain plain field [Smithfield] on every Friday, unless it be a solemn festival, was 'a great market for horses, whither Earls, Barons, Knights, and Citizens, repair, to see and to purchase.' To this City 'merchants bring their wares from every nation under Heaven. The Arabian sends his gold; the Sabeans, spice and frankincense; the Scythians, armour; Babylon, its oil; Egypt, precious stones; India, purple vestments; Norway and Russia, furs, sables, and ambergrease; and Gaul, its wine.'

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* This was first printed in Stow's Sur. 1598.

† Supposed to have been Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldergate, Newgate, Ludgate, and a Postern near the Tower.

‡ These were the Castles of Baynard and Montfichet.

§ Of this forest, Enfield-chace is a small remainder.

'I think there is no City,' continues Fitz-Stephen, 'that hath more approved customs; either in frequenting the churches, honouring God's ordinances, observing holydays, giving alms, entertaining strangers, fulfilling contracts, solemnizing marriages, setting out feasts and welcoming the guests, celebrating funerals, or burying the dead.—The only plagues are, the intemperate drinking of foolish people, and the frequent fires.'—'Most of the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility, of England, have fair dwellings in London, and often resort hither.'

In describing the sports and pastimes of the citizens, our author goes into a minute and curious detail. 'London,' he says, in allusion to the exhibitions and sports of ancient Rome, 'instead of theatrical interludes, and comic shows, hath plays on more sacred subjects, as the miracles wrought by holy Confessors, or the glorious constancy displayed by suffering Martyrs.—Besides these diversions, to begin with the sports of youth, seeing that we were all once children, the boys of every school do yearly, at Shrove-tide, bring game-cocks to their masters, and all the forenoon is spent at school in seeing these cocks fight together. After dinner, all the youths of the City go into the fields to play at ball. The scholars of every school have their balls; and the teachers also, that train up others to feats and exercises, have each of them their ball. The aged and wealthy citizens ride forth on horseback to see the sports of these youngsters, and feel the ardour of their own youth revive in beholding their agility and mirth.

'Every Friday* afternoon in Lent, a company of young men ride out on horses fit for war and racing, and trained to the course. Then the citizens' sons flock through the gates in troops, armed with lances and shields, and practice feats of arms; but the lances of the more youthful are not headed with iron. When the King lieth near, many courtiers, and young striplings from the families of the great, who have not yet attained the warlike girdle, resort to these exercises. The hope of victory inflames every one: even the neighing and fierce horses shake their joints, chew their bridles, and cannot endure to stand still. At length, they begin their race: afterwards the young men divide their troops, and contend for mastery.

'In the Easter holydays they counterfeit a fight on the water: a pole is set up in the midst of the river, with a target strongly fastened to it, and a young man standing in the fore part of a boat, which is prepared to be carried on by the flowing of the tide, endeavours to strike the target in his passage: in this if he succeeds so as to break his lance, and yet preserve his footing, his aim is accomplished; but if he fail, he tumbleth into the water, and his boat passeth away with the stream: on each side of the target, however, ride two vessels, with many young men ready to snatch him from the water, as soon as he again appeareth above the surface. On the bridge, and convenient places about the river, stand numerous spectators to behold the diversions, well prepared for laughter.

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* Some copies of Fitz-Stephen's tract read Sunday.

'On all the summer holydays, the youths are exercised in leaping, shooting with the bow, wrestling, casting stones, and darting the javelin, which is fitted with loops for the purpose: they also use bucklers, like fighting men: the maidens dance with timbrels, and trip it as long as they can well see. In winter, on almost every holyday before dinner, the boars fight for their heads; or else some lusty bull or huge bear is baited with dogs.

'When the great moorish lake on the north side of the City wall is frozen over, great companies of young men go to sport upon the ice. Some taking a run, and setting their feet at a distance from each other, and their body sideways, slide a long way: others make seats as great as mill-stones of the ice, and one sitting down, is drawn along by his fellows, who hold each others hands; and in going so fast, they sometimes all fall down together. Those who are more expert, fasten bones to their shoes, (as the tibia of some animals,) and impelling themselves forward by striking the ice with staves shod with iron, do glide along as swiftly as a bird through the air, or as a dart from a warlike engine. Sometimes two persons, starting from a distance, run against each other with these staves as if they were at tilt, whereby one or both of them are thrown down, not without bodily hurt; and, after their fall, are, by the violent motion, carried onward, and grazed by the ice; and if one fall upon his leg or arm, it is usually broken: yet our youth, who are greedy of honour, and emulous of victory, doe thus exercise themselves in counterfeit battles, that they may sustain the brunt more strongly when they come to it in good earnest.

'Many citizens take delight in birds, as sparrow-hawks, goshawks, &c. and in dogs to sport in the woody coverts; for they are privileged to hunt in Middlesex, in Hertfordshire, in all the Chilterns, and in Kent as low as Cray-water.' We are also told by Fitz-Stephen, but evidently through mistake or exaggeration, that, in the wars of King Stephen, 'there went out to a muster,' from this City, of 'men fit for war, 20,000 armed horsemen, and 60,000 foot." The more probable fact is, that the muster was a general one, and that London was only the place of rendezvous.

On the coronation of Richard Cœur de Lion, in September, 1189, a sad massacre of the Jews who were settled in London, was made by the brutal and ignorant populace. On the preceding day, Richard had given orders that neither Jews nor Women should be present at the solemnity, 'for feare,' says Stow, 'of enchantments, which were wont to be practised;'* yet, either through the strong impulse of curiosity, or from a desire to conciliate the favour of the new Sovereign by rich gifts,† a number of Jews assembled at Westminster, and endeavoured to gain admittance into the Abbey Church. Being foiled in their attempt by the royal attendants, a rumour spread through the surrounding multitude, that the King had commanded them to be put to death, and, under this impression, 'the unruely people falling oppon the Jewes with staves, battes, and stones, beate them to their houses, and, after assayling them therein, sette them on fire, and burnt them in their houses, or slewe them at their coming out.' On the following day, however, the ringleaders in this dreadful tumult were apprehended, and immediately executed by Richard's order. At the coronation feast, as appears from Hoveden and Diceto, who were eye-witnesses of the ceremony, 'the citizens of London officiated as the King's Butlers; and those of Winchester served up the meat.' The principal Magistrate of London, who was then styled the Bailiff, acted as chief Butler.‡

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* Stow's Ann. p. *226.*

† Rog. Hov. p. 657. Bromp. p. 1159,-60. Matt. Paris, p. 154.

‡ When Richard was preparing for his departure to the Holy Land in 1190, he directed his precept to Henry de Cornehill, Sheriff of London, commanding him to provide a certain number of 'helmets, steel caps, shields, knives, spears, iron, cordevan, pavilions, and other military accoutrements, together with silken habits, mitres, caps, dalmatics, coats, and wine, for the King's use.' *Madox's Hist. Exch.*

When Richard left England on his expedition to the Holy Land, he entrusted the government of the Kingdom to a Regency, of which Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, his favorite, was at the head. This Prelate so disgusted all classes by his arrogance and pride, that in 1191, a conspiracy was formed against his power, and he was summoned to appear before a great Council of the nobility, bishops, and citizens of London,* that had been convened to assemble in St. Paul's Church-yard. Longchamp, instead of complying, took refuge in the Tower, where he was besieged by Prince John, with the earls, barons, and citizens; but after one night he consented to relinquish all his castles, on being permitted to retire to the Continent.† The ready concurrence of the Londoners in this affair, was so agreeable to the Council, that the City was rewarded with a recognition and confirmation of all its ancient privileges.

On the return of Richard to England in 1194, after his captivity in Germany, he judged it expedient to be again crowned; and at this second coronation, the office of Chief Butler was finally awarded to the citizens of London, though in opposition to the claims of those of Winchester, yet not till they had paid 200l. in support of their right. Soon afterwards, the King granted the City a new charter, with additional privileges, and a full confirmation of all its liberties, as enjoyed in the time of Henry the First. Four years afterwards, on the payment of 1500 marks, Richard granted another charter to the City, which provided for the removal of all wears, &c. erected on the river Thames; and on this charter the Corporation of London found their claims to the conservatorship of that noble stream.

In the year 1196, a great sedition arose in London, through the practices of one William Fitz-Osbert, alias Long-beard, who, "poore in degree, evill favoured in shape, but yet very eloquent, mooved the common people to seeke libertie and freedome, and not to be subject to the rich and mightie; by which meanes he drew to him many great companies, and with all his power defended the poore men's cause against the rich: fifty-two thousand Londoners he allured to him to be at his devotion and commandement."* His opposition to some tax which had been ordered to be levied on the people, but which he argued had been so unjustly proportioned, that the poor had to sustain nearly the entire burthen, had been the means of raising a commotion in St. Paul's Church-yard, wherein many persons lost their lives. This exciting alarm in the King's Council, he was summoned before the Chief Justiciary, Archbishop Hubert, and he obeyed the summons, but was accompanied by such a multitude of his followers, that it was thought adviseable to dismiss him with only a gentle admonition. Means however were employed to secure his person; yet he effected his retreat to Bow Church, the 'steeple' of which he had "fortified with munition and victualles." He was now promised his life if he would quietly surrender; but he refused "to come foorth; wherefore the Archbishop called together a great number of armed men, lest any stir should be made. The Saterday, therefore, being the Passion Sonday even, the steeple and church of Bowe were assaulted, and William with his complices taken, but not without bloodshed; for he was forced by fire and smoake to forsake the Church, and he was brought to the Archbishop in the Towre, where he was by the Judges condemned; and by the heeles drawn from thence to a place called the Elmes [without Smithfield] and there hanged with nine of his fellowes." After his death, and partly through the artifices of a designing priest, his relation, it was reported among the people, that miracles were wrought at the place of his execution, "insomuch that they steale away the gibbet whereon he was hanged, and pared away the earth, that was be-bled with his blood, and kept the same as holy reliques to heale sickemen." These delusions were at length dispelled by the excommunication of the priest; and the publication of a life of Fitz-Osbert, in which his pretended virtues were contrasted with his "numerous villainies," and all belief in his superior sanctity removed by the exposure of his unhallowed conduct.* This is one of the first instances upon record of a tumultuary assemblage in defence of popular rights.

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* Madox's Hist. Exch.

† Bromp. p. 1225,-6. Gerv. 1577,-8. Diceto, 663,-4.

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* Rog. Hov. An. P. post.

In the reign of King John, the civic importance of London was greatly increased; and its Corporation finally assumed that form and predominancy, which, with a few alterations, it has maintained till the present times. John was crowned in London on the twenty-sixth of May, 1199; and within a month afterwards, he confirmed the liberties of the City, and granted further privileges to the citizens by two new charters, for which, however, they paid him the sum of 3000 marks. On the fifth of July following, he re-granted to the citizens, the Sheriffwick of London and Middlesex, at the former annual rent of 300l. and conferred upon them the additional rights of choosing their own Sheriffs, and of removing them at pleasure. In a fourth charter, granted by King John in 1202, the Guild or Fraternity of Weavers was expelled the City, at the request of the "Mayor and citizens;"† but through what alleged offence does not appear. This charter is the earliest published record in which the chief Magistrate of London has the appellation of *Mayor;* though that title is said to have been assumed by Henry Fitz-Alwyn, as early as the first of Richard Cœur de Lion. Fabian and Arnold, in their respective Chronicles, affirm, that Fitz-Alwyn first took the name of Mayor in 1207; yet their statement is disproved by the above charter.‡ The office of Chamberlain, which was yet in the Crown, was purchased in 1204, of the King, by William de St. Michael, for the sum of 100l. and the annual rent of 100 marks.§ In the following year, the Emperor Otho, the King's nephew, arrived in London,

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* Stow's Ann. p. 233,-4; and Mait. Lond. p. 38; from Matt. Paris, and other Historians.

† See the translation of the charter in Mait. Lond. p. 41.

‡ Arnold states under the date 1280, that thirty-five men were chosen by the Wise Men of the City, and sworn to maintain the assizes in London.

§ Madox's Hist. Exch.

don, and was entertained by the citizens with great magnificence. In 1209, the two Sheriffs so highly offended the King, by not suffering his Purveyor to take away a quantity of corn which he had purchased in London, that he commanded the City-council, which consisted of 'five-and-thirty members,' to imprison and degrade them; yet they were afterwards restored to favor, on its being shewn, that their conduct did not originate in contumacy, but from a desire to prevent an expected tumult.*

The opposition of John to the measures of the Papal See, and his own arbitrary proceedings against the liberties of the people, had now excited great discontents; and the King removed his Exchequer to Northampton, because the Londoners had disobliged him. The kingdom was at this time under interdict; and the citizens, for domestic security, encompassed their wall with a broad and deep ditch. When the interdict was taken off, the City was tallaged at 2000 marks towards the sum of 40,000, which Pope Innocent exacted as the price of restitution. This was a short time subsequent to the second degrading relinquishment of all his royalties, which King John made to the Pope's Legate in a general assembly at Westminster.

In the year 1212, a dreadful calamity befel many of the inhabitants of London, through a fire which commenced at the bridge end in Southwark, and occasioned a destruction of lives almost unparalleled from such a cause. Stow relates this disaster in the following words.—"In the yeare 1212, on the 10th of July, at night, a marvellous terrible chance happened, for the Citie of London upon the south side of the river of Thames, as also the Church of our Ladie of the Chanons in Southwerke, being on fire, and an exceeding greate multitude of people passing the Bridge, eyther to extinguish and quench it, or els to gaze at and behold it, suddenly the north part, by blowing of the south winde, was also set on fire, and the people, which were even now passing the Bridge, perceiving the same, would have returned, but were stopped by fire; and it came to passe, that as they stayed or protracted

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* Fabian's Chron.   † Matt. Paris.

tracted time, the other ende of the Bridge also, namely the south ende, was fired, so that the people thronging themselves betweene two fires, did nothing else but expect present death: then came there to aide them many ships and vessels, into the which the multitude so unnaturally rushed, that the ships being drowned, they al perished. It was said, that through the fire and shipwracke, there were destroyed about three thousand persons, whose bodies were found in parte, or halfe burned, besides those that were wholy burnt to ashes, and could not be found."*

In the civil feuds which marked the latter years of King John, the Londoners sided with the Barons, who had been compelled to arms in order to maintain the expiring liberties of the Kingdom, as well as to defend their own domestic comforts and homes. Among the causes that gave offence to the citizens, was the demolition of Baynard's Castle, which then belonged (anno 1214) to Robert Fitz Walter, Castellan and Standard-bearer to the City, whose daughter Maud, the Fair Maid of Essex, the King had sought to deflower. In the following year, the King, by a charter dated from the New Temple, in London, sought to conciliate the citizens, by granting to the 'Barons of the City of London,' the right of choosing a Mayor, annually, out of their own body, or to continue the same person in that situation from year to year, at their own pleasure.

About the same time, the Barons of England, having previously assembled at Bury St. Edmunds, and sworn at the high altar of the Abbey Church there, to obtain the re-establishment of the laws of Edward the Confessor, and the confirmation of the famous charter of Henry the First, repaired to John at the New Temple, and made the demands required by their oath. The King declined giving an immediate answer, but appointed a time for that purpose; and the Barons acquiesced in the delay, with a view to strengthen themselves in the interval for an appeal to arms, without which, it was evident they could not accomplish their design. At length the answer was given: it contained a contemptuous refusal,

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* Sur. of Lond. p. 21,-22.

fusal, and the sword was drawn. The Londoners, in a secret negociation, agreed to admit the Barons, who, by forced marches, came in two days from Bedford, and entered the City at Aldgate, on the morning of Sunday, the 24th of May, 1215, whilst most of the inhabitants were employed at their devotions, and the King was reposing in the Tower, entirely unsuspicious of their approach. Their first act was to plunder the houses of the Royalists, and of the Jews; and those of the latter they pulled down, and with great diligence began to repair the City walls with the materials. They next laid siege to the Tower; and the King finding the defection of his partizans becoming general, consented to grant the whole of their demands; and, after a short negociation, the meadow called Runnimede, between Staines and Windsor, was fixed on by both parties as the place for a final adjustment. In a few days afterwards, the King and the Barons met on the appointed spot; and on the fifteenth of June, the humbled Monarch affixed his signature to those memorable records of British Freedom, *Magna Charta*, and the *Charta de Foresta;* by an article in the first of which it was expressly stipulated, that "the City of London should have all its ancient privileges and free customs, as well by land as by water."* By another engagement, the City and Tower of London were for a certain time to remain in the possession of the Barons and the Archbishop of Canterbury.†

No sooner had these concessions relieved the King from immediate danger, than he sought the means of re-instating himself in all the fullness of arbitrary power; and having procured the assistance of a vast army, composed of foreign mercenaries of different nations, he compelled the Barons to take refuge within the walls of London, whilst his troops ravaged and destroyed their estates in various parts of the kingdom.

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* —'*et civitas London. habeat omnes antiquas libertates, et liberas consuetudines suas tam per terras quam per aquas.*'

† Matt. Paris. Matt. West. Gualt. Cov. Chron. Act. Reg. Rym. Fæd.

In the alarming extremity to which the Barons were now reduced, they had recourse to the desperate project of offering the Crown of England to Prince Lewis, son to Philip, King of France, provided he would bring with him a sufficient force to preserve them from ruin, and swear to maintain the ancient laws, rights, and privileges, of the nation. This overture, which no excuse could justify, had not John himself set the base example, by engaging to divide the lands of his opponents among his foreign mercenaries, was readily accepted by the French King, who immediately began his preparations to invade England, on receiving hostages from the Barons for the due fulfilment of their engagements. In the mean time, a body of John's troops, which had approached the City, was routed by the Londoners, and Saverie de Mallion, their commander, being much wounded, escaped with difficulty. "The Londoners also," says Stow, "tooke the 65 ships of pirates, besides innumerable others that were drowned, that had besieged the river of Thamis.*"

On the arrival of Lewis, who, in May 1116, landed at Sandwich from a fleet of nearly 700 vessels, the citizens received him with much pomp, and, with the Barons, 'swore fealty to him, after his solemn oath to restore to all their lost inheritances, and to the nation its ancient privileges.'† Whether this oath would, or would not, have been observed, had success crowned his enterprize, is difficult to say; unless we give credit to what Matthew Paris and Knighton relate of the Viscount de Melun, one of Lewis's principal confidents, 'who being seized with a mortal distemper in London, when at the point of death, disclosed to certain English Barons, that the Prince, in the event of his final triumph, had resolved to banish all the Nobles that had opposed King John, as traitors to their country, and also to destroy their posterity.' Certain it is, that the Barons had been very soon convinced of their imprudence in calling in foreign aid; and at the time of the King's death at Newark, in the October following, many of them were preparing to return to their allegiance. The accession of Henry the Third occasioned a still more important change in the state of affairs; and through the politic conduct of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, who was declared Regent, the French Prince was constrained to shut himself up in London,[*] and ultimately to relinquish all his claims to the throne, and to quit the Kingdom. He obtained pardon, however, for his English adherents, and conditioned that the city of London should retain all her ancient privileges. This attention to their interests was so gratifying to the citizens, that, on the departure of Lewis for France, they lent him 5000 marks to discharge his debts.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 253.

† Rapin's Hist. Vol I. p. 278.

During the greater part of the reign of the new King, the growing prosperity of London was kept in check by a most galling system of oppression; and almost every opportunity, and every kind of pretence, was employed to extort money from the inhabitants. Henry, who, in the time of his minority, seems to have been impressed with the most unfavourable opinion of the citizens by Hubert de Burgh, the Chief Justiciary, endeavoured rather to overawe them by his tyranny, than to conciliate them by his kindness; and when, on any occasion, he was induced to relax from his general severity, he took effectual care that his seeming courtesy should be well paid for. The first direct invasion on their privileges was made in 1222, in consequence of an event which is thus related by our historians.

At a great wrestling match that was held without London[†] on St. James's day, between the citizens and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, the Londoners obtained the victory from the people of Westminster, who being thus exposed to the insulting raillery of the conquerors, sought an insidious revenge; and, at another match appointed in the following August by the Steward of the Abbot of Westminster, the Londoners were treacherously assailed by armed men, by whom some of them were wounded, and the rest beaten, and put to flight. This baseness caused a great

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[*] Where, says Matthew Paris, he was besieged both by land and by water. *Hist. p.* 298

[†] At St. Giles's in the Fields.

great commotion in the City, and the populace assembling in great numbers, were, notwithstanding the efforts of the Mayor, excited to vengeance by an eminent citizen named Constantine Fitz-Arnulph, who "represented to them, that it was in vain to expect justice from Magistrates regardless of the honour of the City, and therefore they ought, without delay, to make their enemies know, that the Citizens of London were not to be attacked with impunity. This speech meeting with applause, he cried with a loud voice, *Monjoye St. Dennis,* the watch-word of the French, [of whom he had been a zealous partizan during the late troubles,] and marching towards Westminster at the head of the mob, caused the Steward's house to be pulled down to the ground, and then returned in triumph to London." The Abbot of Westminster, who afterwards repaired to the City to complain of the loss he had sustained, was himself insulted, and with great difficulty effected his escape by water. When the tumult was appeased, the Chief Justiciary, Hubert, came with an armed force to the Tower, and summoning the Mayor and principal citizens before him, inquired for the authors of the late riot. Fitz-Arnulph, who was present, with a boldness worthy of a better cause, avowed himself to be one; and said, that 'they had done no more than what they ought, and were resolved to stand by what they had done.' Hubert, highly incensed at this speech, ordered Constantine to be hanged on the following morning; though, when the latter "sawe the rope about his necke," he offered the vast sum of 15,000 marks[*] to have his life spared. With him were executed his nephew, and one Geoffrey, who had "proclaimed his proclamation:" and within a few days afterwards, the Justiciary entering the City with a strong guard, had many other of the principal rioters apprehended, and, without any form of trial, or legal proceedings, he caused them to be barbarously mutilated; some having their hands or feet, and others their noses and ears, cut off. Not satisfied by these cruelties, he next degraded the Mayor and Aldermen, set a *Custos* over the City, and obliged thirty persons of his own choosing to become sureties for the future conduct of the citizens;* who were forced to give validity to this oppression by an instrument signed with their own common-seal. At length, after "heavy threatenings," says Stow, "the citizens paying to the Kinge *many thousand marks*,"† procured a restoration of their privileges. These arbitrary proceedings occasioned the Parliament, which met at London in the following year, to petition the King to cause the 'Charter of Liberties' (*Magna Charta*) to be observed throughout the kingdom.

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[*] Matthew Paris, p. 315.

Henry, still acting under the despotic guidance of Hubert, was scarcely of age when he obliged the City (anno 1227) to present him with 5000 marks, under the pretence that a like sum had been given to Prince Lewis when in England; and in the same year, he exacted from the citizens a fifteenth of their personal estates, on the plea of having granted to them five charters. Four of these charters were confirmatory only of the grants of his predecessors; the fifth related to the security and rights of those who had purchased lands in the lately disafforested warren of Staines. Two years afterwards, in 1229, he exacted another vast sum from the City, under the head of tallage: this was partly assessed on the different wards, and partly levied as a poll-tax on the principal citizens, some of whom were rated at ten and twelve, and others at forty marks.‡

In 1232, a great part of the City was again destroyed by fire;§ and shortly afterwards, the citizens were compelled to purchase the King's 'favor' with the immense sum of 20,000 marks;‖ though from what cause they had been disgraced does not appear. In the same year, their bitter enemy, Hubert de Burgh, was degraded from his offices, and accused of so many crimes, that, seeing his ruin was determined on, he took sanctuary at Merton Priory in Surrey. Henry, with his natural violence, ordered the

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* Brad. Hist. Eng. App.

† Stow's Ann. p. 263.

‡ Madox's Hist. Exch. Matt. Par. Matt. West.

§ Fab. Chron. p. 7.

‖ Madox's Hist. Exch.

Mayor of London to force him from his sanctuary, either dead or alive; and the citizens, rejoicing at the command, immediately flocked together to the number of 20,000, and were with great difficulty prevailed on to disperse, when the King, in his cooler moments, had been induced to countermand his order. Soon afterwards, however, they had the pleasure of seeing the object of their hatred conveyed to the Tower in chains, amidst the shouts of a triumphing populace.

In 1236, Henry, with Eleanor, his Queen, whom he had just married at Canterbury, made a public entry into London on the day appointed for the Queen's coronation. "The citizens," says Stow, "rode to meet the King and Queene, being clothed in long garments, embrodered about wyth golde and silke of diverse couloures, their horses finely trapped in array to the number of 360, every man bearing golden or silver cups in their hands, and the King's trumpetters before them sounding. The Citie was adorned with silkes, and in the night with lamps, cressets, and other lights, without number, besides many pageants and strange devices which were shewed.—To this coronation resorted so great a number of all estates, that the Citie of London was scarce able to receive them. The Archbishop of Canterbury did execute the office of coronation: the citizens of London did minister wine as Butlers: the citizens of Winchester tooke charge of the kitchen; and other citizens attended their charges."† Three years afterwards, rejoicings equally splendid, and of several days continuance, were made in London, to celebrate the birth of Edward, the King's first born son, at Westminster; and in the following year (1240) Henry caused the citizens to swear fealty to the young Prince. Between this period and 1244, the King several times interfered in the choice of the municipal officers; and in the latter year, he forced the citizens to pay 1500 marks by way of fine, for having admitted into the City a banished criminal; notwithstanding they proved that the person complained of had been pardoned several years before. In 1245, another 1000 marks were extorted from the

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* Matt. Par.

† Stow's Ann. p. 271,-2.

the citizens, and their liberties were for a time committed to two Keepers, on account of a false judgment given by the Mayor against a poor widow.

On St. Valentine's eve, 1247, "there was a great Earthquake in many places of England, especially at London, about the bankes of the Thamis."*

In 1248, Henry having been denied pecuniary aid at a Parliament held at Westminster, in which he was plainly told, that "they would not impoverish themselves to enrich strangers, their enemies," was "faine for want of money to sell his plate and jewelles, greatly to his loss;" and when he was afterwards informed, that the Londoners had purchased them, he exclaimed passionately, "If Octavian's treasure were to be sold, the City of London would store it up."†—As a means, therefore, of lessening the affluence of those 'rustical Londoners, who call themselves Barons on account of their wealth,'‡ he soon after devised the expedient of granting a fifteen days annual fair to the Abbot of Westminster, to be held at Tuthill, or Tothill, (now Tothill Fields,) strictly commanding that during that time 'all trade should cease within the City.' All remonstrances were ineffectual; and so far was he from attending to the complaints made on this occasion, that he gave fresh marks of his displeasure by keeping his Christmas in London, and compelling the citizens to present him with valuable new year's gifts. Yet even these were not sufficient to satisfy his rapacity, and the City was soon afterwards constrained to give him the sum of 2000l. sterling.§ "Besides this," says Stow, "the King tooke victuals and wine where any could be found, and paide nothing for it."‖ At length, in 1250, Henry, alarmed by a short-lived fear, commanded the chief citizens to attend him in Westminster Hall, and there, in presence of his nobility, he promised never more to oppress them by grievous taxations.¶

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* Stow's Annals, p. 277. † Ibid. p. 278. ‡ Ibid.

§ Rapin, Vol. I. p. 321, from Matt. Par. p. 751—757.

‖ Stow's Ann. p. 279. ¶ Matt. Par. p. 774.

But neither integrity nor honour resided in the breast of this unworthy Sovereign: he still continued his tyrannical exactions, and in 1252, after he had assumed the cross, in the hope of making even religion subservient to his views, he upbraided the citizens, who, with the exception of three persons, had refused to follow his example, as a set of 'base and ignoble mercenaries and scoundrels;' forced them to present him with twenty marks of gold; and afterwards, in the depth of winter, compelled them to shut up their shops, and expose their merchandize for sale at the Abbot's fair at Westminster.* About the same time, as if in the bitterness of contempt, he directed his precept to the Sheriffs, commanding them to pay fourpence per day for the maintenance of a white bear and its keeper, in the Tower of London.† The next year, also, the King taking advantage of a broil that had been excited by some of his domestics and the City youths at the diversion of the *Quintin*, extorted from the citizens the payment of 1000 marks. Soon afterwards, in consequence of a dispute with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, the City liberties were seized, and a *Custos* appointed; nor was it till the citizens had consented to pay 600 marks to the Earl, and 500 more to the King for a new charter, that they could procure the restoration of their privileges.

To particularize at any length, all the numerous extortions and oppressions inflicted by Henry upon the City, would occupy too extensive a space; it must be stated briefly, therefore, that in 1254, the Mayor and Sheriffs were sent to prison; in 1255, the citizens were obliged to present the King with a valuable piece of plate of fine workmanship; and in the same year, the Sheriffs were imprisoned and degraded, and the citizens amerced in the sum of 3000 marks: in 1256, they were amerced in the additional sum of 3900 marks, and the Mayor was deposed; in 1264, the Mayor and chief citizens were imprisoned for their concern in the late troubles, and forced to pay large sums for their ransom; in 1265, 20,000 marks were raised upon the City, as the price of a general pardon for a like conduct; in 1267, 1000 marks were exacted as a remuneration for the demolition of the palace at Isleworth, belonging to Richard, King of the Romans, Henry's brother; and in 1270, the government of London was conferred on Prince Edward, who appointed a *Custos* of the City, and chose the two Sheriffs from six persons named for the purpose by the citizens.

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* Matt. Paris

† Madox's Hist. Exch. The same author says, that in the next year, the Sheriffs were ordered, by another precept, 'to find a muzzle, an iron chain, and a cord, for the King's white bear; and to build a stall, and provide necessaries, for the elephant and his keeper, in the Tower of London.' *Firm. Burg.*

In 1258, the price of corn was so excessive, that a partial *Famine* ensued, and, according to a report recorded in the Chronicles of Evesham, 20,000 persons died of hunger in London only in the course of this year. Matthew Paris attributes this calamity as much to the want of money, as to the scarcity of provisions; the vast sums that had been exacted by the King and by the Pope, having completely drained the country. No less than 700,000l. sterling, is said to have been carried out of the Kingdom this year, by Earl Richard, when he went to be crowned King of the Romans.

The multiplied extortions of the King had now so completely alienated the affections of his people, that the *Statutes of Oxford* were framed by the Barons to restrain his power; and the citizens soon afterwards became a party in those celebrated provisions, by binding themselves under their common seal, as well as by oath, to see them duly fulfilled. Immediately after, they made proclamation, in divers parts of the City, that the "King's Purveyors should take nothing in London without consent of the owners, except the two tons of wine which he had out of every wine ship." In the following year, (November, 1259,) Henry, before his departure for France, to sign the treaty of Abbeville, caused a *Folkmote* to be assembled at St. Paul's Cross, where he told the citizens that he would 'faithfully maintain all their rights and privileges;' at the same time, he enjoined the Mayor to pay particular regard to the peace of the City during his absence.* At another Folkmote, held in the same place, in 1260, the King commanded "the Mayor that hee should the next day following, cause to be sworne before the Aldermen, every stripling of twelve yeeres of age or upwards, to be true to the King and his heires, Kings of England: and that the gates of the City should be kept with harnessed men."† In the following year, he caused the same oath to be renewed; and having determined to be no longer governed by the Statutes drawn up by the Barons, he took possession of the Tower, and immediately proceeded to improve the fortifications, which he had before strengthened and augmented by additional works: he also ordered the City to be strongly guarded; and made proclamation, that whoever would enter into his service should be maintained at his expense. Every thing now portended a Civil War: the King called a Parliament in the Tower; and the Barons assembled another in the New Temple, in which they discharged all the Sheriffs and Justices that had been appointed by the King, and filled their places with their own adherents.

In 1263, an unwarrantable act of Prince Edward's determined the citizens to aid the Barons, notwithstanding the late engagements to which they had been impelled by the King. Edward, on his return from the war in Wales, finding himself in want of money to pay his troops, broke open the treasury of the Knights' Templars at the New Temple, and took out to the amount of 10,000l. which had been deposited there for safety by the citizens: the latter, enraged at this violation of property, instantly flew to arms, and assaulted and plundered the houses of the Lord Grey, and other courtiers; and in a short time afterwards, they declared in favor of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who had been chosen Generalissimo by the Barons. They were, however, obliged to act with great caution, as the King, by having a garrison in the Tower, possessed a forcible means of annoyance. At length, de Montfort, fully aware of the advantages which the possession of the Metropolis would be to the cause of his party, advanced towards the Surrey side of the City, in hopes that his friends would open to him the gates of London Bridge. The King, being informed of this design, left the Tower, and encamped with his troops about Southwark, that he might intercept the passage of his enemy. The Earl, though he had but few soldiers, scrupled not to begin the attack, in the expectation that the Londoners would advance to his assistance, and they actually did so; yet their efforts were retarded for some time, through the Bridge gates having been locked by some of the King's partizans, and the keys thrown into the river. During this delay, the Earl was in great danger; but the gates being at last forced, and the citizens sallying out in multitudes to his aid, Henry was compelled to retire, and de Montfort entered the City: this success led to a temporary accommodation.

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* Fab. Chron. p. 7. † Stow's Ann. p. 285.

In the short interval of peace, a barbarous massacre of the Jews took place in London. On the plea, real or pretended, that one of that persecuted race had endeavoured to extort more than legal interest from a Christian, upwards of five hundred Jews were cruelly put to death by the populace, and their houses and synagogues, which Henry had permitted them to build in the beginning of his reign, were destroyed: this was in Passion-week, 1264.

The complete abrogation of the Statutes of Oxford having again impelled the Barons to arms, the Londoners were once more involved in warfare. Among the upper classes, the King had many adherents; but the commonalty, having assumed the direction of affairs, chose a Mayor and Captains of their own, and bound themselves to assemble in arms at the tolling of St. Paul's great bell. Their first atchievement under their new leaders, was to burn the palace of Richard, King of the Romans, at Isleworth; and in their way back, they also destroyed a summer-house belonging to the King at Westminster. Soon afterwards a body of them, amounting to 15,000 men, marched out with the Earl of Leicester to strengthen the army of the Barons, and fight the King, who was encamped at Lewes, in Sussex. In the battle which ensued, the Londoners were defeated with dreadful slaughter, and pursued for four miles by Prince Edward, whose asperity had been provoked by some unmanly insults that had been recently offered to the Queen, his mother, when attempting to pass London Bridge on her way from the Tower to Windsor. Through this very conduct, however, the battle was lost; for, during his absence from the field, the Earl of Leicester had gained such a decided advantage, that, in the end, Henry, his brother Richard, and even Edward himself, were all compelled to yield.

In the following year, the address of the Prince in effecting his escape from Gloucester, his celerity in re-assembling an army, and his bravery and conduct in the battle of Evesham, in which de Montfort and his son Henry were slain, effectually retrieved the Royal affairs; and in a Parliament assembled at Westminster, about Christmas, it was enacted, "that the City of London, for its late rebellion, should be divested of its liberties, its posts and chains taken away, and its principal citizens imprisoned, and left to the mercy of the King." The inhabitants, in this extremity, threw themselves on the King's clemency; yet their prayers were for a time but little regarded: the opportunities for extortion were too good to be lost; and, besides deposing the Magistrates and appointing four persons in their place, as guardians of the City, Henry "seized on the estates of many of the chief citizens, and gave to his domestics their houses, moveable effects, lands, and chattels. He likewise caused the sons of other citizens to be imprisoned in the Tower, as a security for the good behaviour of their parents; and he detained four of the richest citizens till they had purchased their liberty at an enormous expense."

Whilst in this disastrous situation, the citizens made the most humble remonstrances to the King, both in their individual and corporate capacities; and at length, after many intreaties, they obtained a pardon under the broad seal; for this, however, they had to pay the sum of 20,000 marks, which in the then distressed state of the City, was raised with much difficulty, lodgers and servants being obliged to contribute to the assessment, as well as householders. Some authors record, that before the City liberties were completely restored, an additional 3000 marks was exacted.

In 1267, the City experienced a renewal of its troubles. The faithlessness of Henry's promises had provoked the Earl of Gloucester (Gilbert de Clare) to assemble an army; and, under some fictitious pretences, he obtained possession of London, which he immediately began to fortify; and being joined by numbers of the disaffected, he invested the Tower, and summoned Othobon, the Pope's Legate, who then held it for the King, to an immediate surrender; alleging, 'that it was not a post to be trusted in the hands of a foreigner, and much less of an ecclesiastic.' The Legate, instead of complying, made such a stout resistance, by the assistance of the Jews who had retired thither for security, that the King had time to advance to his relief: the latter, also, encamping with his troops in the neighbourhood of Stratford-le-Bow, made several assaults on the City, but was every time beaten off. The Earl, however, finding his affairs becoming desperate, made a timely submission, and, through the intercession of the King of the Romans, was pardoned: and the Londoners were included in the general amnesty, yet not till they had agreed to pay 1000 marks to Prince Edward, as a remuneration for the demolition of his palace at Isleworth, as mentioned above.

In the following year, (1268,) the King, by an extended charter, dated in March, from Westminster, remitted all past offences, and confirmed all the ancient privileges of the City, with the exception of the election of the Magistrates. In this year also, the Legate, Othobon, held a national Synod in London, in which many ordinances were made for the better government of the English Church; and some of them are still in force, and make part of our canon law. In 1270, the government of the City was conferred on Prince Edward; who, in the same year, re-obtained for the citizens the privilege of electing their own Magistrates; on which occasion, the fee-farm paid by the City was increased to 400l. per annum. The citizens, also, in testimony of their gratitude, presented the Prince with 500 marks; and to the King, who, in the July following, confirmed all their ancient rights and immunities, they gave 100 marks. Henry died at Westminster in November, 1272, and was buried in the Abbey Church, which had been rebuilding during almost the whole of this reign.

HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF LONDON DURING THE REIGNS OF THE EDWARDS, FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD.

On the death of Henry, the Barons assembled at the New Temple, and appointed a Regency to govern the Kingdom during the absence of Edward, who was then in Sicily on his return from Palestine. Shortly afterwards, the new King, by a letter directed to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonalty, of London, ordered the Flemings to be expelled the City, and charged the Magistrates to be careful to preserve the peace. In July, 1274, Edward landed in England with his Queen, and on their arrival at London, they were received with great rejoicings and pomp. 'The outsides of the houses were hung with the richest silks and tapestry; the conduits ran with the choicest wines; and the most wealthy citizens scattered gold and silver profusely among the populace.'* On the nineteenth of the following month, Edward and his Queen were crowned at Westminster; and "at this coronation, five hundred great horses were turned loose, catch them who coulde."† Soon afterwards, the King appointed a *Custos* over the City, till some violent dissentions which had arisen about the choice of a Mayor, could be appeased. About this time also, various laws were made for the punishment of fraudulent bakers and millers within the City; and for the prevention of the practice since called regrating, particularly in poultry and fish. Numerous municipal regulations, and local improvements, were also made during the twelve or fifteen succeeding years.

In the year 1279, Edward caused all the Jews in England to be apprehended in one day, on a charge of being the chief authors of the great mutilations which the coin had undergone during the preceding reign; and in a short time after, about 280 persons,‡ of both sexes, were executed in London for that crime, besides many others in different parts of the Kingdom.

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* Mait. Lond. p. 63; from Hol. Chron. and Nic. Triv.

† Stow's Ann. p. 298.

‡ Stow says 267; Ibid. p. 299.

In the year 1285, in consequence of some real or imputed offence, the City liberties were seized, the Mayor was degraded and imprisoned, with many of the principal citizens, and a Custos was appointed by the King. These innovations produced many disorders; and robbery and murder became so frequent in the City, that it was ordered, that "none be found in the streets, either with spear or buckler, after the curfew-bell of the parson of St. Martin's-le-Grand rings out, except they be great lords, and other persons of note: also, that no tavern, either for wine or ale, be kept open after that bell rings out, on forfeiture of forty pence; nor any fencing school be kept in the City, or non-freemen be resident therein." About sixty persons, also, some of whom had been active in the Barons' wars against the late King, were banished from the capital for life. In 1296, all the privileges of the City were restored, excepting the power of choosing the Mayor; and this latter right was again awarded to them, after Edward's return from his victorious campaign in Scotland in 1298,* on payment of a fine of 20,000 marks into the Exchequer: soon afterwards the King confirmed the liberties of the City by a new charter; by which, also, was granted some further privileges of minor importance.

"In the feast of Pentecost, 1306, King Edward honored his eldest sonne, Edward of Carnarvon, with the degree of Knighthood, and with him also moe than a hundred noble yong men at Westminster."† On this occasion the City paid 2000l. to the King.‡ In the same

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* "The Citizens of London hearing of the great victorie obtained by the King against the Scottes, made great and solemne triumph in their Citie, every one according to their crafte; especially the fishmongers, which, with solemne procession, passed through the Citie, having, among other pageants and shows, four sturgeons, gilded, carryed on foure horses: then foure salmons of silver on foure horses: and after, sixe and fortie knights, armed, riding on horses, made like luces of the sea: and then St. Magnus, with a thousand horsemen: this they did on St. Magnus's day, in honour of the King's great victorie and safe returne." *Stow's Ann.* p. 311.

† Stow's Ann. p. 315.

‡ Madox's Hist. Exch.

year, the use of *Sea Coal,* which had become somewhat general, was forbidden in London: first, by Royal Proclamation; and afterwards under a Commission of Oyer and Terminer: the Commission ordered that all who had 'contumaceously' disobeyed the Proclamation, should be punished by 'pecuniary mulcts.'

During the reign of Edward the Second, who, with Isabella, his Queen, daughter of Philip the Fair, of France, was crowned in London, in February, 1308, the citizens submitted to various exactions in the way of forced loans and benevolences, in order to preserve their privileges from yet greater violation, by unjust tallages, and other impositions.

Between the years 1314 and 1317, the City, in common with the rest of the Kingdom, suffered greatly from a scarcity of provisions, which eventually produced a complete *Famine,* although different ordinances were made by the Parliament, to limit the consumption, and restrain the prices of corn, meat, poultry, &c. "There followed this Famine," says Stow, "a grievous mortalitie of people, so that the quicke might vnneath bury the dead. The beasts and cattell also, by the corrupt grasse whereof they fedde, dyed; whereby it came to passe, that the eating of flesh was suspected of all men, for flesh of beasts not corrupted was hard to finde: horse-flesh was counted great delicates: the poore stale fatte dogges to eate; some, (as it was saide,) compelled through famine, in hidde places, did eate the flesh of their owne children; and some stale others, which they devoured. Theeves that were in prisons, did plucke in peeces those that were newly brought amongst them, and greedily devoured them halfe alive."* This Famine is stated to have been brought on by a continuance of wet weather.

In 1318, great discontents were excited among the citizens, through the arbitrary proceedings of the Magistracy, who not only assumed the right of continuing themselves in office during pleasure, but likewise that of appointing other officers, as well as of infringing the liberties of the commonalty in various different respects.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 328.

At length, as a means of settling all disputes, a body of 'new Articles' was drawn up by the consent of both parties, and ratified, after some alterations, by the King;[*] yet within two years, the Mayor and Aldermen again assumed illegal authority, and imposed taxes, &c. in an arbitrary manner. For this a presentment was made against them before the Lord Treasurer, and other Judges, then sitting at the Tower, by the Jury of Aldermanbury; but whether any further proceedings were instituted, does not appear.[†]

In 1320, when the insolence of the Spencers, Edward the Second's favorites, had incensed the Barons to confederate against them, the *Parliament of the White Bands*[‡] met at Westminster; and the Barons, to secure their purpose, marched their army to London, and encamped in the suburbs of the City. The Mayor, from motives of precaution, and to restrain the license of these troops, appointed a guard of a thousand citizens, completely armed, to keep watch at the City gates, and other places, from four in the morning till six in the evening; after which they were to be relieved by a night-guard, consisting of the same number of men, attended by two aldermen, and other officers, who patroled the streets to keep the guard to their duty.[§] Soon afterwards, however, the Barons' army was admitted into the City by the orders of the King,[‖] who found himself compelled to ratify the sentence of banishment against the Spencers. The temporary calm which this produced, was soon broken, through an incident that eventually occasioned the confirmation of one of the most important of the City privileges.

About the feast of St. Michael, the Queen, Isabella, being on pilgrimage to Canterbury, was refused admittance into Leedes

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[*] Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 461,-2.

[†] Mait. Lon. p. 75.

[‡] So called, says Rapin, "on account of certain white marks by which the adherents of the Barons were to know one another."
Hist. Vol. I. p. 395.

[§] Fab. Chron. p. 7.

[‖] Wal. Hist. Angl.

Castle, of which Bartholomew de Badlesmere, one of the associated Barons, was then owner; and though he was not present when this indignity was offered, he afterwards justified it in a very insolent letter written by himself to the Queen.* Edward, incensed at the affront, and stimulated to vengeance by Isabella, assembled an army, principally composed of Londoners, and besieged the Castle; and having forced it to surrender, he caused Sir Thomas Culpeper, the governor, and some other inferior officers, to be immediately hanged. Flushed with this success, he turned his arms against the Barons, who not being prepared for such an unexpected change, were either obliged to fly the Kingdom, or throw themselves upon his mercy. In reward for the eminent services rendered by the Londoners on this occasion, Edward, by his Letters Patent, dated in December, in the fifteenth of his reign, granted as follows:—"Edward, &c. greeting. Know ye, that whereas the Mayor, and the good men of the City of London, have of late thankfully done us aid of armed footmen at our Castle of Leedes, in our county of Kent; and also aid of like armed men now going with us through divers parts of our Realm for divers causes: we, willing to provide for the indemnity of the said Mayor and men of our City of London in this behalf, have granted to them, for us and our heirs, that the said aids to us so thankfully done, shall not be prejudicial to the said Mayor and good men, their heirs and successors; nor shall they be drawn into consequent for time to come."†

Notwithstanding this charter, the King's favor proved but of short duration; for, availing himself of the dissentions which still prevailed on account of the last presentment, Edward seized on the City liberties; but was afterwards persuaded to grant permission to the Aldermen and Commonalty, by a mandate from Glocester, anno 1322, to elect their own Custos, or Mayor. This privilege, however, seems to have been awarded only under the contemplation of an aid of 2000l. which the citizens soon afterwards advanced towards the Scottish war.

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* Rapin's Hist. Vol. I. p. 595-,6.

† Mait. Lon. p. 76.

‡ Madox's Hist. Exch.

The ascendancy which Edward had obtained over the refractory Barons, was but short lived, though it had been cemented with blood. He recalled the Spencers, who quickly assumed their wonted arrogance, and were the means of bringing many of the old nobility to the scaffold. At length, the popular discontents grew too strong to be controlled; and the Queen herself, after enduring many affronts, resolved to engage in the overthrow of the favorites. With this intent, after intriguing for some months in France, she procured assistance, in troops and vessels, from the Earl of Hainault, and landed in England in September, 1322.

Edward immediately demanded a supply of men and money from the citizens of London; but, instead of complying, they made answer, that "they would with due obedience honour the King and Queen, and their Son, who was lawful heir to the Realm, and that they would shut their gates against all foreign traitors; yet they would not go out of their City to fight, except they might, according to their liberties, return home the same day before sun-set."* This answer was dictated through the incensed opposition which had been excited by some recent conduct of the King, who, in violation of his late charter, had compelled the citizens to furnish him with one hundred men at arms, to be 'maintained at their own expense, and to march wherever commanded.'†

Edward being greatly provoked with this reply, gave the custody of the City to Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter; and having ordered the Tower to be supplied with every kind of military stores, left his son, John of Eltham, therein, under the government of Sir John de Weston, and hastened into the western parts, to raise an army. Meanwhile, the Mayor and Citizens received two letters from the Queen, exhorting them, in a strenuous manner, to unite in defence of the common cause, and free their oppressed country from the bondage of favoritism. The second letter was stuck upon the Cross in West-Cheap, and many copies of it put up in other places:

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* Stow's Chron. p. 338.

† Mait. Lond. p. 76.

places: this led the Bishop of Exeter, by virtue of his commission, to demand the keys of the City from the Mayor; upon which, the populace assembling in a riotous manner, seized upon that magistrate, and obliged him to swear to obey only their orders. Afterwards, says Stow, "without respect of any, they beheaded such as they tooke to be the Queen's enemies, among which they beheaded one of their owne citizens, named John Marshall, because hee was familiar with Hugh Spencer the Yoonger." They next proceeded in search of the Bishop of Exeter, and having burnt the gates of his palace, they entered; but not finding him, they carried off his jewels, plate, and furniture. In the interim, the unfortunate Prelate, returning on horseback from the fields, endeavoured to take sanctuary in St. Paul's Cathedral, but was seized by the rabble at the north door, and beaten in a very inhuman manner. They then dragged him to the standard in West-Cheap, where having proclaimed him a traitor, they cut off his head, together with those of two of his domestics, and afterwards buried their bodies under the rubbish of a fortress which the Bishop was erecting near the Thames,

On the following day, the keys of the Tower were taken by force from the Constable, Sir John de Weston, and the prisoners being all set at liberty, the citizens dismissed the King's officers, and appointed others under John of Eltham, whom they constituted Guardian of the City. Soon afterwards, Robert de Baldock, the Chancellor, to whom most of the miseries of the Kingdom were imputed, having been brought from Hereford to London, and committed to the Bishop's Prison, was taken thence by the mob, and dragged to Newgate, as a place of more security; but the unmerciful treatment he met with on the way, occasioned him to die there within a few days in great torment from the blows which had been inflicted.

At length, the Queen's party were completaly successful; the King was made prisoner, and both the Spencers were hung. The head of the younger one was sent up to London, and received there with brutal insult, and set up on a pole upon the bridge. Shortly after, Isabella entered the Metropolis in triumph, with Prince

Edward, and many of the prelates and nobility; and a Parliament being summoned for the purpose, the captive Monarch was solemnly deposed, and the crown given to his eldest son, Edward the Third.

The services rendered by the citizens had been so grateful to the ministers of the young King, that, in the march following his accession, they procured his signature to two new charters; by the first of which, all the ancient privileges of the City were confirmed, and many additional ones bestowed; and by the last, the village of Southwark was granted to the citizens in perpetuity.*

During ten or twelve years after the commencement of the new reign, the peace of the City was frequently disturbed by bodies of ruffians, composed principally of the lower classes of the populace, who rambled about the streets in desperate gangs, armed with swords, and other weapons, and committed many outrages, as assaults, robberies, and mutilations; and sometimes they even proceeded to the guilt of murder.† The measures pursued by the King and the Magistracy, were for some time ineffectual in preventing these villanies; yet at length an instance of well-timed severity had its due effect: this was the instant execution of two daring wretches, named Haunsart and Le Brewere, who, with others, had resisted the Mayor and Sheriffs in their endeavours to quell

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* These charters will be further noticed in another part of the Volume.

† To what a height these outrages had proceeded, may be seen from a letter written by the King from Scotland, in 1336, to the Mayor and Sheriffs, "Concerning many malefactors of the City, and disturbers of the peace, as well of the City as elsewhere, that made mutual confederacies, assemblies, and unlawful conventicles, as well by day as by night, going armed, and carrying arms, and leading an armed power, and procuring them to be led, wandered and ran about beating and wounding men, and depriving some of their limbs, and spoiling others of their goods and properties; and taking others, and detaining them in prison privily, until they should make certain fines and redemptions, according to their wills; and wresting from some, by threats and fear of death, and other such like hardships, great sums of money," &c.

See Mait. Lon. p. 80, 81, & 83.

quell a tumult that had arisen between the companies of Fishmongers and Skinners: being overpowered, they were immediately carried to Guildhall, where having pleaded guilty, they were condemned to die, and were forthwith carried into West-Cheap, and beheaded.

On the arrival of Edward's Queen, Philippa of Hainault, in London, in 1328, she was received with great pomp, and magnificently entertained by the Mayor and Citizens. It is not improbable that the remembrance of this reception disposed her the more to clemency, when, in the following year, the King's anger was excited by an accident that happened at a solemn '*Justing*,' or Tournament, in Cheapside. The lists were appointed 'betwixt the great crosse," says Stow, (which stood opposite to the end of Wood Street,) "and the great conduite nigh Soper Lane," (now Queen Street;) and across the road, near the cross, was erected a stately scaffold, resembling a tower, in which the Queen, and principal ladies of the court, were seated, to behold the spectacle. The justings continued three days, on one of which the scaffold brake down, and the Queen, and many ladies, were precipitated to the ground, but fortunately escaped unhurt. Edward threatened the builders with exemplary punishment; but, through the intercession of Philippa, made "on her knees," the King and Council were pacified, "whereby," says Stow, "shee purchased greate love of the people."*

In the spring of 1335, corn was so much injured by excessive rains, that a general dearth ensued; and provisions of all kinds becoming very scarce in the Metropolis, through the arts of regrators, and the abuses committed with bad weights and measures, the King gave a severe reprimand to the Mayor and Sheriffs, for not taking better measures against a time of scarcity. "He also upbraided them for the little regard they had had to their oaths, by suffering bread, wine, beer, and other kinds of victuals, to be sold in the City at such excessive rates;" and strictly commanded the Mayor, upon the penalty of his all, forthwith to convene the

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* Stow's Chron. p. 351.

Aldermen and Commonalty, to regulate the prices of provisions according to the prime cost, so that the citizens might be no more imposed on. The measures pursued in consequence of this command, combined with the want of specie, which had been drained by the sums levied throughout the kingdom to support the Scottish war, were so effectual in reducing the high prices, that soon afterwards, as appears from Fabian's Chronicle, the best wheat was sold at two shillings per quarter, the best ox for six shillings and eight-pence, the best sheep for eight-pence, the best goose for twopence, the best pig for one penny, and six of the best pidgeons for a like sum.*

In 1339, the King being in great want of money for the French war, 20,000 marks were advanced by the City, in part of the aid to be levied on the inhabitants towards a subsidy that had been voted by the Parliament. The assessments then made upon each Ward, as given in Fabian, were as follows. Aldersgate Ward, 57l. 10s. Aldgate, 30l. Bassishaw, 79l. 13s. 4d. Billingsgate, 763l. Bishopsgate, 559l. 6s. 8d. Bread-Street, 461l. 16s. 8d. Broad-Street, 588l. Bridge, 765l. 6s. 8d. Candle-Wick-Street, 133l. 6s. 8d. Castle-Baynard, 63l. 6s. 8d. Cheap, 517l. 10s. Coleman Street, 1051l. 16s. 8d. Cordwayners-Street, 2195l. 3s. 4d. Cornhill, 315l. Cripplegate, 462l. 10s. Dowgate, 660l. 10s. Faringdon Within, 730l. 16s. 8d. Faringdon Without, 114l. 13s. 4d. Langbourn, 352l. 6s. 8d. Lyme-Street, 110l. Portsoken, 27l. 10s. Queenhithe, 435l. 13s. 4d. Tower, 365l. Vintry, 634l. 16s. 8d. Wallbrooke, 911l.

Edward's vast expenditure in his wars, obliged him to have recourse to various expedients for raising money, and, among others, to compulsory loans; generally from the clergy and religious houses, but sometimes from laymen. One instance of the latter occurred in 1346, when a thousand pounds was demanded from John de Charleton, a citizen of London: and the City itself was obliged to supply the Róyal army with one hundred men at arms, and five hundred armed foot soldiers, who were taken into the King's pay on their embarkation at Portsmouth.[*] In the same year, the *Leprosy* had become so prevalent in the City, that the King commanded the Mayor and Sheriffs to make proclamation in every ward, that every leprous person should depart the same within fifteen days, or should be removed into some of the outparts, from 'the company and conversation of the healthy.'

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* Mait. Lond. p. 81.

At the siege of Calais, in 1346,-7, towards the investment of which all the maritime towns furnished their quota of shipping, in proportion to their wealth and commerce, the Londoners supplied twenty-five ships, and 662 mariners.

In 1348, the terrible *Pestilence,* which, breaking out in India, spread itself westward through every country on the globe, reached England, "and so wasted and spoyled the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive."[†] Its ravages in London were so great, that the common cemeteries were not sufficiently capacious to receive the dead; and various pieces of ground, without the walls of the City, were therefore assigned for burial-places. Among them was the waste land now forming the precinct of the Charter House, which was purchased and appropriated for the purpose by Sir Walter Manny, and in which upwards of 50,000 bodies of those who died of the Pestilence were then interred. This destructive disorder did not entirely subside till the year 1357.[‡]

The following singular enactment, "made at the instance of the Londoners,"[§] is recorded in Stow's Annals under the year 1353. "After the Epiphanie, a Parliament was holden at Westminster, wherein an Ordinance was made, that no knowen whore should weare from thenceforth, any hoode, except reyed or striped of divers colours, nor furre, but garments reversed, or turned the wrong side outward, upon paine to forfeit the same." In the same year, the staple, or mart, for wool, was removed from Bruges, in Flanders, to the principal cities in England and Ireland: one of the places appointed was Westminster, which, from this period and circumstance, began to attain an enlarged degree of that consequence which it now possesses.*

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[*] Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. p. 493.

[†] Stow's Ann. p. 578.

[‡] Ibid. p. 380.

[§] Ibid. p. 392.

In 1354, Edward granted to the Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. that the Serjeants belonging to the City, should have liberty to bear maces either "of gold, or silver, or silvered, or garnished," any where within the City and its liberties, and the County of Middlesex, or in the presence of the King, his 'mother, consort, and children.' All other Serjeants were at that time restricted to carry maces of copper only. In the following year, the citizens, to testify their affection for the King, raised, at their own expense, for the army then preparing for the conquest of France, twenty-five men at arms, and 500 archers, all arrayed in one livery.†

The year 1356 will be ever memorable in the history of Britain, from the victory obtained by Edward the Black Prince at the battle of Poictiers, in which John, King of France, was taken prisoner. The Prince made his public entry into London, after this victory, on the twenty-fourth of May, in the succeeding year, accompanied by the captive Monarch, whom he treated with the most generous respect. The citizens met them in Southwark, with a splendid triumphal procession, in which more than a thousand persons rode on horseback, richly accoutred; and at the foot of London Bridge, they were received by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other corporate officers, attended by the City companies, all "in their formalities," with stately pageants. Every street through which the cavalcade passed, exhibited a display of all the riches, beauty, and splendor, of an opulent metropolis. Hangings of tapestry, and streamers of silk, decorated every mansion; whilst vessels of gold and silver ostentatiously announced the wealth of its inhabitants. The implements and ornaments of war, were displayed with peculiar exultation from the windows and balconies: and the concourse of people from all parts of the Kingdom, to enjoy this rare spectacle, was so great, that the procession continued from the dawn of morning till the middle of the day. The captive John, arrayed in regal robes, was mounted on a stately white courser, caparisoned in the most costly trappings; whilst the victorious Prince of Wales, as modest as brave, rode by his side in a plain dress, and on a little black palfry, with the air of an attendant rather than of a conqueror. The Royal Edward, sitting on his throne, and surrounded by all the pomp of sovereignty, received them in Westminster Hall; and, after a magnificent entertainment, the French King was for a time lodged in Edward's Palace: but afterwards the Palace of the Savoy was assigned to him for a residence. "In the winter following were great and Royal *Justs* holden in Smithfield at London, where many knightly fights of arms were done, to the great honour of the King and Realme, at the whiche were present, the Kings of England, France, and Scotland, with many noble estates of all those Kingdoms, whereof the more part of the strangers were prisoners."*

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* The place called the *Wool-Staple* at Westminster, is mentioned in the Act for building Westminster Bridge; and the remains of the old buildings were taken down about 1740, to make way for the abutment of the new Bridge.

† Hol. Chron. An. 1355.

In 1361, the *Plague* having made its re-appearance in France, measures of precaution were taken to prevent its spreading in England; and Edward sent a letter to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, commanding that "all bulls, oxen, hogs, and other gross creatures, to be slain for the sustentation of the said City," should not be killed at a less distance than Stratford [le Bow] on the one side, and Knightsbridge on the other. This was done that the air of the City might no longer be rendered corrupt and infectious, by means of the putrid blood and entrails which the butchers had been accustomed to throw into the streets, or cast into the Thames. Every precaution, however, proved ineffectual; the pestilence reached London, and its ravages were so destructive that upwards of 1200 persons are recorded to have fallen victims in the course of two days.

In 1363, a most sumptuous *Entertainment* was given in the City, by Henry Picard, Vintner, who had been Mayor of London in 1357, to the Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, Edward the Black Prince, and a long train of nobility and gentry. After the banquet was concluded, the "saide Henry Picard," says Stow, "kept his hall against all commers whosoever, that were willing to play at dice and hazard; and in like manner the Lady Margaret, his wife, did also keepe her chamber, to the same intent. The King of Cyprus playing with Henry Picard in his hall, did winne of him fiftie markes; but Henry being very skilful in that arte, altering his hand, did after win of the same King, the same fiftie markes, and fiftie markes more, which when the same King began to take in ill part, although he dissembled the same, Henry sayd unto him, My Lord and King, be not agreeved; I covet not your gold, but your play; for I have not bid you hither that I might greeve you, but that, amongst other things, that I might trie your play; and gave him his money againe, plentifully bestowing of his owne amongst the retinue: besides, he gave many rich gifts to the King, and other nobles and knights which dined with him, to the great glorie of the citizens of London in those dayes."*

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* Stow's Ann. p. 409.

† Mait. Lond. p. 86.

The practice of *Archery* having grown into considerable disuse in London, through the prevalence of more ignoble amusements, Edward, in his thirty-ninth year, commanded the Sheriffs of London to make proclamation, that "every one of the said City, strong in body, at leisure times or holidays, should use in their recreations, bows and arrows, or pellets, or bolts, and learn and exercise the art of shooting: forbidding all and singular on our behalf, that they do not after any manner apply themselves to the throwing of stones, wood, iron, bandy-ball, cambuck, or cock-fighting, nor such other like vain plays, which have no profit in them."† In 1369, the *Plague* again made great ravages in this City, and the calamity was heightened by a dearth of corn.

About the year 1374, the practice of *Usury* was carried to so great an extent in London, that the Mayor and Aldermen were obliged to enforce the laws against extortion with all possible strictness;

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* Stow's Ann. p. 410.

† Rot. Claus. 39th Edw. III.

ness; and with so good an effect, that the King and Parliament enjoined the rest of the nation to follow their example. In the same year, a grand *Tournament* was held in Smithfield, to gratify the pride of Alice Pierce, or Perrers, whom Edward, in his dotage, had chosen for his mistress, and on that occasion had dignified with the appellation of *Lady of the Sun*. She appeared by the King's side, in a triumphal chariot, clothed in gorgeous apparel, and accompanied by a great number of ladies of high rank, each of whom led a knight on horseback by the bridle. The procession set out from the Tower, and was attended by the principal nobility, richly accoutred; and many gallant feats of arms were performed by the knights who entered the lists, which were kept open during seven successive days. Alice is represented by our historians as a woman of high ambition, but little principle. By her overmuch familiarity with the King, says Stow, "she was cause of much mischiefe in the realme; for, exceeding the manner of women, shee sate by the King's Justices, and sometimes by the Doctors in the Commons, perswading and diswading in defence of matters, and requesting things contrary to lawe and honestie."†

At different periods in the reign of Edward III. complaints and remonstrances were made by the Citizens against the privileges that the King's policy had occasioned him to bestow on foreign merchants, some of whom had even obtained grants of liberties wholly abrogatory of certain parts of the City charters. Redress was at length awarded by the King's letters patent in the year 1376; and under this grant two merchants, who had procured licenses to act contrary to the ancient franchises of the Citizens, were severely punished by imprisonment, and confiscation of property. Still the City had at that time but little interest with the King's Council, and various grievances that had been complained against, were passed over either in a slight or contemptuous manner.

In the same year, the City, to divert the young Prince of Wales, Richard of Bourdeaux, whose warlike father had recently expired, and who was now in his tenth year, devised a sumptuous *Disguising*,

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* Stow's Ann. p. 423. † Ibid.

sing, or masquerade. The masqueraders, who were the principal citizens, to the number of one hundred and thirty-two, went in grand cavalcade to the Prince's residence at the palace at Kennington, where they were received by the Prince, the Dowager Princess of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster, and most of the court; and, after various amusements, in which a pair of dice, "artfully prepared," was made the means of distributing rich presents to the Prince and company, they were entertained with a supper and dance, and returned "joyfully to the City."

Shortly afterwards, a great commotion among the Londoners arose from circumstances which the historian Rapin has thus detailed. "John Wickliff, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, began to publish his belief upon several articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. Pope Gregory XI. being informed of it, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation, and, in case of refusal, to summon him to Rome. It was not easy to execute this commission. Wickliff had now many followers in the kingdom, and for protector the Duke of Lancaster, whose authority was very little inferior to the King's. Nevertheless, to obey the Pope's orders, the Archbishop held a synod at St. Paul's at London, and cited Wickliff to appear. Accordingly he appeared, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Percy, Marshal of England, who believed their presence necessary to protect him. After he had taken his place according to his rank, and been interrogated by the Bishop of London, (Courteney,) he would have answered sitting, and thereby gave occasion for a great dispute. The Bishop insisted upon his standing, and being uncovered; but the Duke of Lancaster pretended that Wickliff was there only as doctor to give his vote and opinion, and not as a party accused. The contest grew so high, that the Duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and gave the Bishop very hard words; whereupon, the people that were present, thinking the Bishop in danger, took his part with such heat and noise, that the Duke and the Earl Marshal thought fit to withdraw, and take Wickliff with them,

them. Their withdrawing appeased not the tumult. Some incendiaries spread a report, that, at the instance of the Duke of Lancaster, it was moved that day to the King in Council, to put down the office of Lord Mayor, take away the City privileges, and reduce London under the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal. This was sufficient to enrage the people: they ran immediately to the Marshalsea, and freed all the prisoners: but they did not stop there. The mutineers, whose numbers continually increased, posted to the Duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, and missing his person, plundered the house, and dragged his arms along the streets. The Duke was so provoked at this affront, that he could not be pacified, but by the removal of the Mayor and [several] Aldermen, whom he accused of not using their authority to restrain the seditious.*

The dissentions between the Duke and the Citizens were not wholly subsided, when the King, worn out by a lingering disease, died at his palace of Shene, near Richmond, in Surrey: this was on the twenty-first of June, 1377.

HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF LONDON FROM THE ACCESSION OF RICHARD THE SECOND, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

ON the very day of Edward's decease, a deputation of Citizens, with the celebrated John Philpot, sometime Mayor of London, at their head, waited upon Prince Richard, his grandson, at Kennington, and acknowledged him for their lawful Sovereign, requesting him to favor the City with his presence, and future residence. Soon afterwards, they submitted all differences between themselves and the Duke of Lancaster to his decision; and a final accommodation being effected in consequence within a few days, the new King came from Shene to London, accompanied by his chief officers of state, and principal nobility. On his entry into the capital, he was met by the Mayor and Citizens in splendid procession;

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* Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p 444.

cession; and, during his course through the City, a stately pageant, resembling a castle, that had been erected in Cheapside, continued to flow with wine. The mantling liquor was served out from golden cups to the youthful Monarch, and his nobility, by four beautiful damsels, about the King's own age; and they also bestrewed his head with gilt leaves, and distributed 'florins resembling gold' among the populace. The general festivity was heightened by the affability of the Duke of Lancaster, who, on this occasion, strove to obtain the good will of the citizens. On the sixteenth of the following month, Richard was solemnly crowned in Westminster Hall; the Mayor, with his attendants, as customary, performing the office of Chief Butler.

The year 1378 is memorable in the City annals, for the *Expedition* fitted out by the above John Philpot against Mercer, the Scottish pirate, who, taking advantage of the little attention that had been lately given to naval affairs by the government, carried off all the shipping from the port of Scarborough; and continuing to infest the northern coast, was frequently making considerable prizes. The complaints made by the suffering merchants were but little regarded by the Council, when Philpot, with an ardent desire to revenge the insults offered to his country, and protect the commerce of his native city, fitted out a fleet at his own expense, and manning it with a thousand men, completely armed, went himself on board as commander in chief, and sailed in pursuit of the piratical Scot. In a short time he came up with Mercer, and a long and desperate engagement ensued; but at length Philpot obtained the victory, and obliged the pirate to surrender, with most of his ships, among which were fifteen Spanish vessels, richly laden. The conqueror returning in triumph to London, was received with great exultation by his fellow citizens; yet the lordlings of the court were so much offended at "his presumption and contempt, in undertaking an affair of so high a nature without the King's permission," that he was summoned to answer for it before the King and Council: but "he made so good a defence," says Rapin, "and with so much modesty, that he was dismissed without further trouble."

In 1380, at a Parliament held in St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, in November,* was passed an Act for levying a *Poll-Tax* on "every person in the Kingdom, being man or woman, passing the age of fifteen years, and being no beggar: twelve pence to be levied of every person of every parish, according to their estate; so as the rich doth bear with the poor; and the richest, for him and his wife, be not set above twenty shillings; and the most poor, for him and his wife, no lesse than one groat."† This was the occasion of producing, in the following year, one of the most dangerous INSURRECTIONS that ever threatened to overthrow the Monarchy of this Kingdom; and in which the Metropolis particularly suffered.

The tax was exacted with great rigour from the people, it having been farmed out to a set of rapacious courtiers, who were desirous, as Stow remarks, "to enrich themselves with other mennes goods;" and the clause enjoining the rich to assist the poor, was so extremely vague, that it was evaded in most instances, and rendered the people more sensible of the weight of the imposition. The insolence of the collectors, and the many acts of base indecency which they committed, to ascertain the age of the females whom they set down as liable to the charge, were additional causes of irritation, and at length kindled the sparks of that sedition, which soon after burst into an open flame.

The Insurrection begun in Essex, but very quickly spread through the neighbouring counties, and particularly in Kent, where the daughter of Wat Tyler, so called from his trade, which was that of a tyler and slater, of Dartford, having been most indecently treated by a collector, the father "smote him with his lathing staffe, that the brains flew out of his head, where-through great noyse arose in the streetes, and the poore people being glad, every one prepared to support the said Tyler."

Thus the "commons being drawne together," says Howes, from whose edition of Stow's Annals the ensuing extracts are made, "went to Maidstone, and from thence backe to Blackheath, and so in short time they stirred all the country, in a manner, to the like commotion, and forthwith bessetting the waies that lead to Canterbury, arrest all passengers, compelling them to sweare; first, that they should keepe their allegiance unto King Richard, and to the commons; and that they should accept no king that was named John, for envy they bare unto John, Duke of Lancaster, who named himselfe King of Castile; and that they shoulde be ready whensoever they were called, and that they shoulde agree to no taxe to be levied from thenceforth in the Kingdome, nor consent to any, except it were a fifteene.

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* Cott. Rec. p. 188. † Ibid. p. 189.

"The fame of these doings spread into Sussex, Hertford, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, Norfolke, Suffolke, &c. and when such assembling of y^e common people daily tooke increase, and y^t their number was now almost infinite, so that they feared no man to resist them, they beganne to shew some such actes as they had considered in their minds, and tooke in hand to behead all men of lawe, as well apprentises, as utter baristers, and olde justices, with all the jurers of the countrey, whom they might get into their hands: they spared none whom they thought to be learned: especially, if they found any to have pen and inke, they pulled off his hoode, and all with one voice of crying, 'Hale him out, and cut off his head.'

"They also determined to burne all court-rolles and olde monuments, that the memory of antiquities being taken away, their lordes should not be able to challenge any right on them from that time forth. These commons had to their chapleine, or preacher, a wicked priest, called Sir John Ball, who counsailed them to destroy all the Nobility and Cleargy, so that there should be no Bishop in England, but one Archbishoppe, which should bee himselfe; and that there should not bee aboue two religious persons in one house; and their possessions should be deuided among the laye men: for the which doctrine they held him as a Prophet. They going towardes London, met diuers lawyers, and twelue knights of that countrey, whom they forced to swere to maintaine them, or else to be beheaded. This being knowne to the King, on Wednesday following hee sent messengers to demaund the cause of their rising; who aunswered, y^t they were gathered together for his safety, to destroy those that were traytors

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to him and his kingdome. The King by messengers replied, that they shoulde cease their assemblies vntill hee mought speake with them, and all matters should be amended. Whereupon the commons requested the King to come and see them on the Blackheath; and the King, the third time, sent word that hee would willingly come to them the next day. At what time, the King being at Windsore, remooued in all haste to London; whom the Maior mett, and safely brought to the Tower, whither the Archbyshop of Canterburie, Chancellor; the Byshop of London; the Pryor of St. John, Treasurer; the Earles of Buckingham, Kent, Arundale, Warwicke, Suffolke, Oxford, and Salesburie; and other of the nobility and gentlemen, to the number of sixe hundred, did come; and on Corpus Christi eeve, the commons of Kent came to Blackeheath, three miles from London, to meete with the King, hauing displayed before them two banners of Saint George, and threescore penons. The commons of Essex came on the other parte of the riuer Thames, to haue also aunswere from the King; at what time the King being in the Tower, commaunded barges to bee made ready, and taking with him his counsell, and foure barges for his retinue, was rowed to Greenewich; where the Chancellor and Treasurer perswaded the King, that it were great follie to goe to a number of menne without reason: and thereupon hee stayed. The commons therefore sent to him, requiring to haue the heades of John, Duke of Lancaster, and fifteene other lordes, whereof fourteene were present with him in the Tower; to wit, Simon Sudburie, Chancellor; Sir Robert Hales, Treasurer; the Bishoppe of London; Iohn Fordham, Clearke of the Privie Seale; Robert Belknape, Cheife Justice; Sir Ralph Ferers; Sir Robert Plessington, Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer; John Legge, Sergeant at Armes; Thomas Bampton, and others; whereunto the King would not assent, but willed them to come to him to Windsore on Monday next, where they should have sufficient answere to all their demaunds. The commons hadde a watch-word, which was this, 'With whome hold you;' and the answere was, 'With King Richard, and the true Commons;' and who could not that watch word, off went his head. The King being warned that

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if he came to the commons, hee should be carried about by them, and forced to grant them their requests whatsoeuer, he returned toward London, and entred the Tower about three of the clock.

"The commons being certified that the King was gone, they on the same day, toward euening, came to Southwarke, where they brake down the houses of the Marshalsey, and loosed the prisoners: amongst other, they brake downe the house of Iohn Inworth, then Marshall of the Marshalsey, the King's Bench, and all the houses of the Jurers and Questmongers; continuing that outrage all the night. At what time the commons of Essex went to Lambeth, a mannor of the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, entred the house, spoyled and burnt all the goods, with the bookes, registers, and remembrances of the Chancery. The next day being Thursday, and the feast of Corpus Christi, or the thirteenth of June, the commons of Essex, in the morning, went to the Mannor of Highbery, two miles from London, north; this Mannor, belonging to the Pryor of St. John of Jerusalem, they wholy consumed with fire. On which day also, in the morning, the commons of Kent brake down the Stew-houses neere London Bridge, at that time in y^e hands of the frowes of Flaunders, who had farmed them of the Maior of London. After which they went to London Bridge, in hope to have entered the City; but the Maior comming thither before, fortified the place, caused the bridge to be drawne up, and fastened a great chaine of yron acrosse to restraine their entrie. Then the commons of Surrey, who were risen with other, cried to the Wardens of the Bridge to let it downe, whereby they mought passe, or else they would destroy them all; whereby they were constrained for feare to let it downe, and give them entry: at which time y^e religious persons were earnest in procession and prayer for peace. The commons passed through the City, and did no hurt; they take nothing from any man, but bought all things at a just price; and if they found any man with theft, they beheaded him. Now talking with the simple commons of procuring them libertie, and apprehending traytors, (as they termed them, especially the Duke of Lancaster,) they shortly got all the poore citizens to conspire with them; and the same day, after the sunne was got on some height that it waxed warme, and that they had tasted at their pleasures of diuers wines, whereby they were become as madde as drunken, (for the rich citizens had set open their sellers to enter at their pleasure,) they beganne to talke of many things; amongst the which, they exhorted each other, that going to the Sauoy, the Duke of Lancaster's house, to the which there was none in the Realme to bee compared in beauty and statelinesse, they mought set fire on it, and burne it: this talke pleasing the commons of the Citie, they straight ranne thither, and setting fire on it round about, applied their trauaile to destroy that place; and, that it mought appeare to the communalty of the Realme, that they did not any thing for coveteousnes, they caused proclamation to be made, that none, on paine to lose his head, shoulde presume to conuert to his owne use, any thing that there was, or mought be found, but that they should breake such plate and vessells of gold and silver, as were in that house in great plenty, into small peeces, and throw the same into the Thames, or in to some priuies; clothes of gold, silver, silke, and veluet, they should teare; rings and jewels set with precious stones, they shoulde bruse in mortars, that the same mought bee to no vse, &c. and so was it done. Henry Knighton writeth, that when the rebelles burnt the Sauoy, one of them (contrary to the proclamation) tooke a goodly silver peece, and hid it in his bosome, but an other that espied him tolde his fellowes, who forthwith hurled him and the peece of plate into the fire, saying, we bee zealous of truth and iustice, and not theeves or robbers. After this, they getting a rich garment of the Duke's, (commonly called a jacke, or jackquit,) setting it on a speare's point for a marke, they shoote at it with their bowes and arrowes; but when they coulde that way doe it little hurte, they tooke it downe, and laying it on the ground, with their swordes and axes they all tō broke it. To the number of two and thirtie of those rebels entred a seller of the Sauoy, where they dranke so much of sweete wines, that they were not able to come out in time, but were shut in with wood and stones yͭ mured up the doore, where they were heard crying and calling seuen days after, but none came to helpe them out till they were dead.

"In this meane time, the commons of Kent brake up the Fleet, and let the prisoners goe where they would. They destroyed and burnt many houses, defaced the beautie of Fleete-streete: from thence they went to the Temple to destroy it; and plucked downe the houses, tooke off the tyles of the other buildinges left; went to the Church, tooke out all the bookes and remembrances, that were in hutches of the prentises of the lawe, carried them into the high streete, and there burnt them. This house they spoyled for wrath they bare to the Pryor of Saine Iohns, unto whome it belonged. After a number of them hadde sacked this Temple, what with labour, and what with wine, being overcome, they lay down under the walles and housing, and were slaine like swine, one of them killing an other for old grudge and hatred; and others also made quicke dispatch of them. A number of them that burnt the Temple, went from thence towarde the Sauoy, destroying all the houses y^{t} belonged to the Hospitall of Saint Iohn: and after they went to the place of the Bishop of Chester, by the Strand, where Iohn Fordham remained, elect of Durham; they entred his seller, rouling out the tunnes of wine, drinking excessively, not doeing any more harme. Then they went towards the Sauoy, burning many houses of Questmongers. At the last, they came to the Sauoy, brake the gates, entred the house, came to the wardrobe, tooke out all the torches they could finde, which they set a fire, and with them burnt all y^{e} feather beddes, couerlets, (whereof one with armes was esteemed worth 1000 markes,) and all other goods that they might finde, with the houses and buildings belonging thereunto, which were left by the commons of the Citie of London. And (as it was saide) they found three barrels of gunne powder, which they thought had beene golde or silver; those they cast into the fire, which more sodainely then they thought, blew up the hall, destroyed the houses, and almost themselues. From thence they went to Westminster, burning diuers houses; and amongst other, the house of Iohn Buterwike, under Shriue of Midlesex. They brake y^{e} prison at Westminster; and returned to London by Holborne; and, before the Church of Saint Sepul-

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chre, burnt the house of Simon, the Hostiler, and others: they brake the prison of Newgate, let forth the prisoners, &c.

"The same Thursday, the saide commons went to Saint Martins le Grand, in London, and tooke from the high altar in that Church one Roger Legat, chiefe Sisar, (or Questmonger,) led him into Cheape, and cut off his head. At that time also, they beheaded xviii in diuers places of the Citie. During which time, diuers of the Commons went vnto the Tower, there to haue spoken with yͤ King, but could not be heard; wherefore they besieged the Tower on that side towards Saint Katherins. The other commons that were in the Citie, went to the Hospitall of St. Iohn, and by the way burnt the house of Roger Legat, lately beheaded: they burnt all the houses belonging to Saint Iohns, and then burnt the fayre Priory of the Hospitall of Saint Iohn, causing the same to burne the space of seuen dayes after. At what time, the King being in a turret of the Tower, and seeing the Mannours of Sauoy, the Priory of Saint Iohns Hospitall, and other houses, on fire, hee demaunded of his Counsell what was best to do in that extremitie; but none of them could counsaile in that case. The King there, in a tower towards Saint Katherines, made proclamation, that all people should depart to their houses peaceably, and hee would pardon them all their trespasses: but they, with one voice, cried, they would not go before they had the traitors within the Tower, and charters to free them from all seruice; and of other matters which they would demaund. This the King granted, and caused a clearke to write in their presence as followeth.

"Richard, King of England, and of France, doth greatly thanke his good commons, because they so greatly desire to see and hold him for their King; and doth pardon to them all manner of trespasses, misprisons, and felonies, done before this time; and willeth and commandeth from henceforth, that euery one hasten to his owne dwelling, and set downe all his greeuances in writing, and send it vnto him; and he will, by advise of his lawfull lords, and good counsell, prouide such remedy as shall bee profitable to him, to them," and to the whole Realme." Whereunto he set his signet in their presence, and sent it vnto them by two knights;

one of them standing up in a chaire above the rest, that euery one might heare. During which time, the King remained in the Tower to his great griefe; for when the commons heard the writing, they said it was but a mockery; and, therefore, returned to London, proclaiming through the Citie, that all the men of lawe, all they of the Chancery, and of the Exchequer, and all that could make any writ, or letter, should bee beheaded, wheresoeuer they might bee found. The whole number of the common people were at that time divided into three parts; of the which, one part was attending to destroy the Mannor of Highbery, and other places belonging to the Prior of Saint Iohn. Another company lay at the Miles ende, easte of the Citie. The third kept at the Tower hill, there to spoyle the King of such victuals as were brought towards him. The company assembled on the Miles end, sent to commaund the King, that hee should come to them without delay, vnarmed, or without any force; which if he refused to doe, they would surely pull downe the Tower; neither should hee escape aliue; who, taking counsell of a few, by seuen of the clocke, the King rode to the Miles-end, w^{h} his mother, in a whirlicote, (or chariot, as we now terme it,) and the Earles of Buckingham, Kent, Warwicke, and Oxford, Sir Thomas Percie, Sir Robert Knowles, and the Maior of London, w^{h} divers other knights and esquires. Sir Aubery de Vere bare the King's sword. Thus, with a few vnarmed, the King went towards the rebels in great feare: and so the gates of the Tower being set open, a great multitude of them entred the same. There was the same time in the Tower 600 warlike men, furnished with armour and weapons, expert men in armes, and 600 archers, all which did quaile in stomacke. For the basest of the rustickes, not many together, but euery one by himselfe, durst presume to enter into the King's chamber, or his mother's, with their weapons, to put in feare each of the men of warre, knights, or other. Many of them came into the King's Priuy Chamber, and plaid the wantons in sitting, lying and sporting them on the King's bed; and that more is, inuited the King's mother to kisse with them; yet durst none of those menne of warre (strange to be said) once withstand them:

they came in and out like masters, that, in times past, were slaves of most vile condition. Whilest therefore these rusticks sought the Archbishop with terrible noyse and fury, running up and downe, at length, finding one of his seruants, they charge him to bring them where his master was, whom they named traytor; which seruant, daring doe none other, brought them to the Chappell, where, after masse hadde beene said, and having receiued the communion, the Archbishoppe was busie in his praiers; for, not vnknowing of their coming and purpose, hee hadde passed the last night in confessing of his sinnes, and in deuout praiers. When, therefore, hee heard they were come, with great constancie hee said to his men, 'Let us now goe; surely it is best to die, when it is no pleasure to liue;' and with that, yᵉ tormentors entring, cried, 'Where is the traitor?' The Archbishop answered, 'Behold, I am the Archbishoppe whom you seek, not a traitor.' They therefore laid handes on him, and drew him out of the Chappell; they drew him out of the Tower gates to the Tower Hill, where being compassed about with many thousands, and seeing swords about his head drawne in excessive number, threatning to him death, he said unto them thus: 'What is it deere brethren you purpose to doe; what is mine offence committed against you, for which ye will kill me; you were best to take heede, that if I be killed, who am your pastor, there come not on you the indignation of the iust Reuenger, or at the least, for such a fact, all England be put vnder interdiction.' He could vnneath pronounce these words, before they cryed out with an horrible noyse, that they neither feared the interdiction nor the Pope to be above them. The Archbishop seeing death at hand, spake with cōfortable words, as he was an eloquent man, and wise beyond all wise men of the realme: lastly, after forgiueness granted to the executioner that should behead him, he kneeling downe, offered his necke to him that should strike it off: being stricken in the necke, but not deadly, he, putting his hand to his necke, saide thus; 'A ha, it is yᵉ hand of God:' he had not remoued his hand from the place where the payne was, but that being sodainely striken, his fingers ends being cut off, and part of the arteries, he fell downe;

but yet he died not, till, being mangled with 8 strockes in the necke and in the head, he fulfilled most worthy martyrdome. There lay his body unburied all that friday, and the morrow till afternoon, none daring to deliuer his body to the sepulture; his head these wicked tooke, and nayling thereon his hoode, they fixe it on a pole, and set it on London Bridge, in place where before stood the head of Sir John Minstarworth. This Archbishoppe, Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury, sonne to Nicholas Tibald, gentleman, borne in the towne of Sudbury, in Suffolke, Doctour of both lawes, was 18 yeeres Byshoppe of London; in the which time, he builded a goodly colledge in place where his father's house stoode, and indued it with great possessions; and furnished the same with secular clerkes, and other ministers; valued, at the Suppression, 122 pound, 18 shillings, in lands, by yeere. He builded the upper ende of Saint Gregories Church at Sudbury. After being translated to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, in an. 1375, he re-edified the walles of that Cittie from the west gate (which hee builded) to the northgate, which had beene destroyed by the Danes before the conquest of William the Bastard. He was slaine as ye haue heard, and afterwards buried in the Cathedrall Church of Canterbury. There died with him, Sir Robert Hales, a most valiant Knight, Lord of Saint Iohns, and Treasurer of England; and John Legg, one of the King's Serients at Armes; and a Franciscan Frier, named William Apledore, the King's Confessor. Richard Lions, also, a famous lapidary, or goldsmith, late one of the Sheriffes of London, was drawne out of his house, and beheaded in Cheape. There were that day beheaded manie, as well Flemings as Englishmen, for no cause but to fulfill the crueltie of the rude commons; for it was a solemne pastime to them, if they coulde take any that was not sworne to them, to take from such a one his hoode with thair accustomed clamour, and foorthwith to behead him. Neyther did they shew any reuerance vnto sacred places, for in the very churches did they kill whome they had in hatred; they fetcht 13 Flemings out of the Augustine Fryar's Church in London; and 17 out of another Church, and 32 out of the Vintree, and so forth in other places of the Citie, and in Southwarke; all which they beheaded, except they could plainly pronounce bread and cheese; for if their speech sounded any thing on brot or cawse, off went their heads, as a sure marke they were Flemings.

"The King comming to the Miles-ende, the place before recited, was sore afraid, beholding the wood commons, who, with froward countenance, required many thinges which they before had put in writings to be confirmed by the King's letters patent.

"The first, that all men should bee free from seruitude and bondage, so as from thenceforth there should be no bondmen.

"The second, that he should pardon all men of what estate soeuer; all manner actions and insurrections committed, and all manner treasons, fellonies, transgressions, and extortions, by any of them done; and to graunt them peace.

"The third, that all men from thence foorth might be infranchised to buy and sell in euerie countie, cittie, borough-towne, fayre, market, and other place, within the Realme of England.

"The fourth, that no acre of land, holden in bondage or seruice, should be holden but for 4 pence; and if it had beene holden for lesse aforetime, it should not hereafter be inhaunsed."

"These, and many other things, they required. Moreouer they tolde him, he hadde beene euilly governed till that day, but from that tyme hee must be gouerned otherwise.

"The King perceiuing he could not escape, except he granted to their request, yeelded to the same: and because the Chancellor was beheaded, the King made the Earle of Arundale, for the time, Chancellor, and Keeper of the Great Seale; and also made diuers clarkes to write charters, patents, and protections, graunted to the commons, for the foresayde matters, without taking fine for the seale or writing thereof; and so toward euen, the King, crauing licence, departed from them. The next day, being Saturday, and the 15 of June, a great number of the commons came to the Abbey of Westminster, and there found Iohn Inworth, Marshall of the Marshalsey, and maister of the prisoners there, imbracing a marble pillar of Saint Edward's shrine for his defence against his enemies; they plucked his armes from the pillar, and led him into Cheape, where they cut off his head. In which time they tooke out of Bredstreete one Iohn Greenfield, led him into Cheape, and cut off his head, notwithstanding that the King had at this time made proclamation through the Citie, that euery one shoulde peaceably goe into his country, without doing further euil; whereunto they would not assent.

"The same day, after dinner, about two of the clocke, the King went from the Wardrobe, called y^e^ Royall, in London, toward Westminster, attended on by the number of 200 persons, to visit Saint Edwards shrine, and to see if the commons had done any mischiefe there. The Abbot and convent of that Abby, with the chanons and vicars of Saint Stephens Chappell, met him in rich copes, with procession, and led him by the charnell house into the Abbey, then to the Church, and so to the high altar, where hee devoutly prayed, and offered. After which he spake with the Anchore, to whom he confessed himself. Then he went to the Chappell called our Lady in the Pewe, where he made his prayers: Which being done, the King made Proclamation, that all the commons of the countrey, that were in London, shoulde meete him in Smithfield, which was done accordingly: and when the King was come with his people, hee stoode towardes the East, neere to S. Bartlemewes Priory, and the commons towards the West, in forme of battaile. The King therefore sent to them, to shewe them that their fellowes, the Essex men, were gone from thenceforth to live in peace, and that he would grant to them the like forme of peace, if it woulde please them to accept thereof. Their chiefe captaine, named Wat Tyler, of Maidstone, hee, I say, being a crafty fellow, of an excellent wit, but lacking grace, answered, that 'peace he desired, but with conditions to his liking;' minding to feede the King with fayre wordes till the next day, that he might in the night have compassed his perverse purpose; for they thought the same night to spoyle the Cittie, the King first being slaine, and the great Lordes that cleaved to him, and to have burnt the City, by setting fire in foure parts thereof; but God did sodainely disappoynt him. For when the forme of peace was in three severall Charters written, and thrice sent to him, none of them could please him; wherefore at length the King sent to him one of his knights, called Sir John Newton, not so much to command as to intreate him (for his pride was well enough known) to come and talk with him about his own demandes, to have them put in his charter; of the which demands I will put one in this Chronicle, that it may the more plainely appeare, the other to be contrary to reason. " First, he would have a commission for him and his, to behead all lawyers, escheters, and other whatsoever that were learned in the law, or communicated in the law, by reason of their office;" for hee hadde conceived in his mind, that this being brought to passe, all things afterward should bee ordered according to the fancy of the common people: and, indeede, it was sayde, that with great pride, he had but the day before sayd, putting his hand to his lips, that before 4 dayes came to an ende, all the lawes of Englande shoulde proceede from his mouth. When Sir Jo. Newton was in hand with him for dispatch, he answered with indignation, ' If thou art so hastie, thou mayest get thee backe againe to thy maister: I will come when it pleaseth mee.' Notwithstanding, he followed on horseback a slow pace: and by the way there came to him a dublet-maker of London, named John Ticle, who had brought to the Commons 60 dublets, which they bought and ware, for the which dublets he demanded 30 markes, but could have no payment. Wat Tyler answered him, ' Friend. appease thyself; thou shalt bee well payd or this day be ended: kéepe thée néere me; I will bée thy creditor:' And therewith he spurred his horse, departed from his company, and came so néere the King, that his horse head touched the crope of the King horse; and the first word he sayd was this: " Sir king, seest thou all yonder people?" ' Yea, truely,' quoth the King; ' wherefore saist thou so?' ' Because,' said he, ' they be all at my commandement, and have sworne to mée faith and truth, to doe all y^e I will have them.' ' In good time,' said the King, ' I will well it be so.' Then said Wat Tyler, ' Beléevest thou, King, that these people, and as many moe as bee in London at my commandement, will depart from thee thus, without having thy letters?' ' No,' said the King; ' ye shall have them; they be ordered for you, and shall be delivered to every each of them:

with which words Wat Tyler seeing the knight, Sir John Newton, néere to him on horsebacke, bearing the Kings sworde, was offended, and said, 'It had become him better to be on féete in his presence.' The knight (not having forgot his old accustomed manhoode) answered, that 'is was no harme, seeing himselfe was also on horsebacke;' which wordes so offended Wat, that he drew his dagger, and offered to strike at y^{e} knight, calling him 'traytor.' The knight answered, that he lyed; and drew his dagger likewise. Wat Tyler not suffering such a contumely done to him before his rustickes, made as if he would have run on the knight. The King, therefore, seeing the knight in danger, to assuage the rigor of Wat, for the time commanded the knight to light on foote, and to deliver his dagger unto the said Walter; and when his proude minde could not be so pacified, but he would also have his sword, the knight answered, it was the King's sword, and quoth he, 'Thou art not worthy to have it; nor thou durst aske it of me, if here were no more but thou and I.' 'By my faith,' said Wat Tyler, 'I shall never eate till I have thy head;' and would have runne on the knight: And with that came to the King, William Walworth, Maior of London, and manie knights and esquires on the King's side, affirming, that it were great shame, such as had not beene heard of, if in their presence, they should permit a noble knight so shamefully to be murdered before his face; wherefore he ought to be rescued speedily, and Tyler to bee arrested. Which thing being heard, the King, although he were but tender of yeares, taking boldnesse unto him, commanded the Maior of London to set hand on him. The Maior being of an incomparable boldness and manhoode, without any doubting, straight arrested him on the head. Wat Tyghler furiously strake the Maior with his dagger, but hurt him not by meane he was armed. Then the Maior drew his baselard, and grievously wounded Wat in the necke, and gave him a great blowe on the head, in which conflicte an Esquier of the King's house, called John Cavendish, drew his sword, and wounded him twise or thrise, even unto death; and Wat spurring his horse, cried to the Commons to revenge him. His horse bare him about fourscore foote from thence, where he fell down half dead; and by and by they which attended on the King, invironed him all about, whereby he was not seene of his company; and other thrust him with their weapons in divers places of his body, & then they drew him from amongst the peoples feete into the Hospitall of St. Bartilmewe; which when the Commons perceived, they cried out that their Captaine was trayterously slaine; and hartening one another to revenge his death, bending their bowes: the King, shewing both wisdome and courage, pricking his horse with the spurres, rode to them, and sayd, 'What a work is this, my men; what meane you to do; will you shoote at your King? Be not quarrelous, nor sorry for the death of a traytor and ribald: I will be your King, your Captayne, and leader; followe mee into the fielde, there to have whatsoever your will require.'

"This the King did, least the Commons, being set in a bitternesse of minde, shoulde set fire on the houses in Smithfield, where their Captaine was slaine. They therefore followed him into the open field; and the souldiers that were with him, as yet not knowing whether they would kill the King, or bee in rest, and departe home with the King's charter.

"In the meane time, the Maior of London, onely with one servant, riding speedily into the Cittie, beganne to cry, 'Ye good citizens, help your King, that is to be murdered; and succour me your Maior, that am in the like danger: or, if you will not succour me, yet leave not your King destitute." When the citizens hadde heard this, in whose hearts the love of the King was ingrafted, sodainely, seemely arrayed, to the number of a thousand men, tarryed in the streetes for some one of the knights to leade them to the King; and by fortune Sir Robert Knowles came in that instant, whome they all requested to be their leader, least comming out of order, and not in good array, they mought easely be broken; who gladly brought part of them. Sir Parducase Dalbert, and other knights, brought the rest to the King's presence. When the Maior came to Smithfield, and did not find Wat Tighlar, as he left him wounded, hee greatly marvayled, demaunding where the traytor was; and it was told him, that he was carried into the Hospitall of St. Bartlemew, and laid in the Master's chamber. The Maior went straight thither, and made him to bee carried into Smithfield, and there caused him to bee beheaded; his head to bee set on a pole, and borne before him to the King, then remayning in the field; and the King caused it to be borne neere unto him, therewith to abash the Commons, greatly thanking the Maior for that acte.

"The King, and those that were with him, knights and esquires, rejoycing at the unhoped-for comming of the Maior, and those armed men, sodainly compassed all the multitude of the Commons.

"There might a man have seene a wonderfull change of God's right hand, how the Commons did now throw downe their weapons, and fall to the ground, beseeching pardon, which lately before did glory that they had the King's life in their power; now they hid themselves in caves, ditches, cornefields, &c. The knights, therefore, coveting to be revenged, besought the King to permit them to take off the heads of an hundred or two of them; but the King, not condescending to their request, commaunded the charter which they had demaunded, written and sealed, to bee delivered unto them for the time, to avoyde more mischiefe, knowing that Essex was not yet pacified, nor Kent stayde, the Commons and rustickes of which countreyes were readie to rise againe, if hee satisfied not their pleasure the sooner. The Commons having got this charter, departed home, but ceased not from their former evill doings.

"The rude people being thus dispersed and gone, the King commaunded William Walworth to put a basenet on his head, for feare of that which might follow; and the Maior requested to know for what cause he should so doe, sith all was quieted. The King answered, that he was much bound to him, and therefore he should be made Knight. The Maior againe answered, that hee was not worthy, neither able to take such estate upon him; for he was but a merchant, and to live by his merchandize. Notwithstanding, at the last, the King made him put on his basenet, and then tooke a sworde with both his hands, and strongly with a good will strake him on the necke: and the same day hee made three other citizens Knights for his sake, in the same place; which were John Philpot, Nicholas Brembre, and Robert Laund, Aldermen; and Sir John Candish, [Cavendish,] in Smithfield, was knighted. The King gave to Sir William Walworth 100l. land, and to the other 40l. land, to them and their heires for ever. Upon the sand-hill towardes Iseldonne, were created the Earles Marshall and Pembroke: and shortly after, Nicholas Twiford and Adam Francis, Aldermen, were also made knights. Sir Robert Knowles, for his good service in the Citie, was, by the King's commandement, made a free man of the Citie.

"The King, with his Lordes, and all his company, orderly entred into the Citie of London with great joy. The King went to the Lady Princesse, his mother, who was then lodged in the Towre-royall, called the Queene's Wardrobe, and there shee had remayned two daies and two nights, right sore abashed; but when she saw the King, her sonne, she was greatly reioyced, and said, 'Ah, fayre sonne, what great sorrow haue I suffered for you this day!' The King answered, and said, 'Certainely, Madame, I know it well; but now reioyce, and thanke God, for I have this day recovered mine heritage, and the Realme of England, which I had neere hand lost.'

"The Archbishoppe's head was taken downe off the Bridge, and Wat Tiler's head was set in that place."*

Whilst these things were transacting in the Metropolis, similar, and even greater, excesses were committed in Essex and Norfolk: but the 'Commons' were at length overcome by the conduct and intrepidity of the Bishop of Norwich; and a dyer, named Litistar, their chief, "brought unto drawing, hanging, and heading."

Had the insurgents acted from any determinate plan, or had their leaders been men of able abilities, it is extremely probable that, at this eventful period, the government would have received a more popular form, even if it had escaped an entire overthrow. But the want of concert in the measures pursued in the different counties, and the senseless extravagance of the low-born ribalds who attained ascendancy in command, gave to the King's party a preponderating strength, which it would otherwise have wanted. The "Confession" of Jack Straw, who was next in command to Wat Tyler, if *really* made by him, will give an idea of the daring lengths to which some of the insurgents carried their schemes: yet its authenticity has never been fully established; and conjecture has sometimes assumed, that it was purely invented with the insidious intention of bringing the cause of the people into discredit.

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* Howe's Chron. p. 284—290.

"This man being taken," says Stow, speaking of Jack Straw, "when at London he should by judgement given by the Maior, lose his head, the Maior spake openly to him thus: 'John, (quoth hee,) behold thy death is at hand without al doubt, and there is no way through which thou mayest hope to escape; wherefore, for thy soules health, without making any lye, tell us what you purposed amongst you to have done; to what ende did you assemble the Commons?' And when he had stayde a while, as doubtfull what to say, deferring his answer, the Maior added, 'Thou knowest surely, O John, that the things which I demaund of thee, if thou doe it, the same shall redounde to thy soules health,' &c. He, therefore, animated with fayre promises, beganne as followeth.

"Now (saith hee) it booteth not to lye; neither is it lawfull to utter any untruth; especially understanding that my soule is to suffer more strayter torments if I should so doe, and because I hope of two commodities by speaking the truth: first, that these things that I shall speake may profite the common wealth; and secondly, after my death, I trust by your suffrages to be succoured according to your promises, (which is to pray for me,) I will speake faithfully without deceipt.

"The same time (sayeth he) that we came to Blacke Heath, when wee sent for the King, we purposed to have murdered all the knights, esquires and gentlemen that shoulde have come with him, and to have ledde the King royally used up and downe, that with y^e sight of him all men (especially the common people) might have come unto us the more boldely; and when we had got together an innumerable multitude, we would have sodainely put to death in every country, the lords and masters of the common people, in whom might appeare to bee either counsell or resistance against us; and specially wee would have destroyed the knights of Saint Johns. Lastly, wee would have killed the King himselfe, and all men that had beene of any possession; bishops, monkes, chanons, parsons, to be briefe, we would have dispatched: only begging friers should have lived, that might have sufficed for ministring yᵉ Sacraments in the realme; for we would have made kings; Wat Tyler in Kent, and in every other shire one. But because this our purpose was hindered by the Archbishop, wee studied how to bring him shortly to his ende.

" Against the same day that Wat Tiler was killed, we purposed that euening (because that the poore people of London seemed to favour us) to set fire in foure corners of the Cittie, and so to haue burnt it, and to haue deuided the riches at our pleasures amongst us.' He added, that these things they purposed to haue done, as God should helpe him at the end of his life.

" After this confession made, he was beheaded, and his head set on London Bridge by Wat Tiler's, and many other."*

The commencement and termination of this Insurrection, may be ascertained with tolerable precision from three documents relating to it, of which copies are preserved in Rymer's Fœdera. The first is an order for adjourning the Courts of Judicature on account of the tumult, bearing date June the fifteenth; the second is a proclamation, affirming that the rebels did not, as they had falsely boasted, act by the consent or orders of the King, dated June the twenty-third; the last is a revocation of the charter and amnesty granted to the insurgents whilst they remained unsubdued, 'because those acts were dispatched without mature deliberation,' dated July the second. From these records, therefore, it is evident, that the duration of the rebellion did not exceed three weeks.

About the close of the same year, Anne of Luxembourg, sister to the Emperor Winceslaus, and bride-elect of the young King, arrived in England. On her progress to London, she was met at Blackheath by the Mayor, Aldermen, and principal Citizens, on horseback, arrayed in splendid habiliments, and was thence conducted in the greatest pomp through the streets of the City to Westminster, where the nuptial ceremony was performed on the fourteenth of January, 1382. On her coronation, which followed shortly after, *Justs* were held, "certaine dayes together, in which both the Englishmen shewed their force, and the Queen's countrymen their prowesse."*

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* Stow's Ann. p. 455.

In the same year, various regulations were made, on the authority of John Northampton, the Mayor, for the suppression of "lewdness and debauchery" among the citizens; these vices having greatly spread through the negligence and connivance of the clergy. Among other restraints, he ordered that all 'Women found guilty of whoredom' should be carried through the streets with their heads shaven, and with pipes and trumpets sounding before them. This interference in what were denominated ecclesiastical offences, gave much umbrage to the bishops and their subordinates, particularly to the mendicant friars; and Northampton was enjoined to desist from practices that infringed so highly on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Disregarding the order, however, as well as the threats that accompanied it, the Mayor proceeded in the work of reformation; and, among other local arrangements for the general benefit, he caused the market for fish, which had previously been confined to the Company of Fishmongers, to be thrown open. These proceedings were the means of procuring him many enemies, as well as much popular commendation; yet the former eventually prevailed; and within eighteen months after the expiration of his Mayoralty, being accused by his own chaplain, he was condemned before a convention of the nobility held at Reading, for having raised a great sedition in the City, "by frequently

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* Stow's Ann. p. 461. "In this Queen's dayes beganne the detestable use of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of silver, and gilt. Also noble women used high attire on their heads, piked like horns, with long trained gowns, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queen; who first brought that fashion into this land; for before, women were used to ride astride like men." *Ibid.*

quently walking the streets in a riotous manner, attended by a vast concourse of people," and sentenced to have "all his effects seized to the King's use, and himself consigned to perpetual imprisonment." This sentence was rigorously executed; most probably with a view to deter the citizens from making any violent opposition to the various attempts that the King and his minions were now practising against the City liberties. A few of the more intimate associates of Northampton afterwards suffered: but 'divers eminent citizens,' who had been concerned in his 'seditious practices,' were pardoned at the intercession of the House of Commons, they 'having confessed themselves guilty of High Treason.'

Among the infringements now made, or rather *enforced*, were the claims of the Constables of the Tower to certain "customs, pence, and profits," which had previously been exacted by these officers; and which Richard, by an instrument directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, from Eltham, in his sixth year, commanded should be taken agreeably to prior "usages."* These claims were soon afterwards confirmed to the Constables by Parliament, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances and petitions of the citizens against them; nor did the contention finally cease, till James the First annulled the grants that had been made to the chief officers of the Tower, and restored the City to its ancient franchises.

In the seventh of Richard the Second, some considerable alterations were made in the modes of choosing the Aldermen and Common-councilmen; and in the same year, the citizens lent to the King 4000 marks, for the security and repayment of which, he gave an obligation to the Mayor and Commonalty under the broad seal.†

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* See the Instrument at large, in Mait. Lond. Vol. I. p. 142,-3. Edit. 1756.

† In Rym. Fœd. Vol. VII. p. 359, is a Receipt given by King Richard for his crown and jewels, now delivered up, which he had formerly pawned to the City of London for 2000l. The crown is described

In 1385, immense preparations having been made to invade England by Charles the Sixth of France, of whose mighty armament Froissart says, "since God created the world, there never had been so many great ships together," the King, by his writ, directed to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, commanded them to repair the walls, forts and ditches of the City; and for the more effectual completion of the same, empowered them to take certain tolls for ten years, of all merchandize and provision brought into the City. The necessary reparations were then immediately commenced; yet, on the French expedition being soon afterwards laid aside, they were as precipitately abandoned; and the Citizens, according to the author just quoted, "with a joy inexpressible, began to regale themselves and friends in a most sumptuous manner."

Froissart's remark contains a covert insinuation against the courage of the Londoners. Stow is yet more pointed; for he says, that when "the French King had got together a great navie, assembled an army, and set his purpose firmly to come into England, they, (the Londoners,) trembling like levrets, fearfull as mise, seeke starting holes to hide themselves in, even as if the Citie were now to be taken; and they that in times past bragged they woulde blowe all the Frenchmen out of England, hearing now a vaine rumour of the enemies comming, they runne to the walles, breake downe the houses adioyning, destroy and lay them flat, and doe all things in great feare, not one Frenchman yet having set foote on ship-board:—what woulde they have done, if the battell had beene at hand, and the weapons over their heads?"*

Without any impeachment of the bravery of the citizens, their disquietude may be very rationally accounted for, from the circumstances under which the invasion was threatened, and of which the

ed to contain upwards of 4lbs. weight of gold, and was adorned with diamonds, rubies, saphires, emeralds, and pearls. There was also a gold-hilted sword, and many trinkets of gold, set with the like precious stones.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 470.

the following is a slight summary. The affairs of government were most miserably conducted: the King, ruled by his minions and favourites, paid very little attention either to the distresses or to the wishes of the people: the chief military strength of the Kingdom was in Spain, aiding the Duke of Lancaster in his abortive attempt to secure possession of the throne of Castile; and the force assembled by Charles of France, consisted, according to Froissart, of sixteen dukes, twenty-six earls, 3600 knights, and 100,000 fighting men, who were to be conveyed over in a fleet of 1287 sail. Tardy, however, as were the King's ministers, they did not entirely neglect the means of repelling this force; and "Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolke, and Chancellor of England, caused to be called forth of every part of the Realme, men of arms and archers unto the marches about London, that being ready, they might beate backe the Frenchmen with their King, if they had come.—But," continues our author, "being wearied with long wayting, they were at the length sent home againe, with great misery for want of money to buy them victualles."* Walsingham states, that "these forces were quartered within twenty miles round the City, where they did almost as much mischief as an enemy; for having no money to pay for their quarters, they lived at discretion."†

The mal-administration, and haughty conduct, of Richard's favorites, Robert de Vere, and Michael de la Pole, and their partizans, so incensed the other nobility, that the latter, with Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Glocester, (the King's uncle,) and the Earl of Arundel, at their head, associated, with intent to drive them from the government, and otherwise punish them for their respective malversations. After a spirited, yet imprudent, attempt to save his favorites, and overawe the Parliament, then sitting at Westminster, anno 1386, Richard was constrained to give way to the torrent: De Vere, who had been recently made Duke of Ireland, was sent thither with a pension of 3000 marks only, his great estates being confiscated; and the Chancellor was imprisoned at Windsor, and obliged to restore all the grants he had received from the King, the value of which, when now computed together, appeared so excessive, that Richard himself was surprised, and upbraided his minion for abusing his good will.* On the breaking up of the Parliament, however, the King recalled his favorites, restored them to their posts, and loaded them with new honors, as if in atonement for their late disgrace. Exulting in this triumph, and with hearts thirsting for revenge, these worthless parasites immediately plotted against the life of the Duke, and endeavoured to prevail on Nicholas, or Richard, de Exton, then Mayor of London, to join in the conspiracy, and to invite the Duke to a feast to be held in the City, at the house of Sir Nicholas de Brembre, where they purposed to have had him assassinated, with others of his friends. Exton, instead of complying, is supposed to have informed the Duke of Glocester of the intended villainy; and this Prince, in retaliation, as appears from Froissart, who mentions many particulars of these events that are not noticed by our own historians, joined in the circulation of a report throughout the Kingdom, that the King's ministers intended to levy a poll-tax so excessive, as to amount to a noble a head. In the ferment which this occasioned, the citizens of London sent a deputation to the Duke of Glocester, requesting him 'to assume the government of the realm, and to execute justice on all those that were concerned in the bad management of public affairs, and had ruined the country by intolerable and grievous taxations, in order to enrich themselves.' The Duke declined compliance; but advised the citizens to engage the other cities and towns severally to address the King on account of their grievances. This was accordingly done at Windsor on the ensuing St. George's day; and their united remonstrances having been properly seconded by the Dukes of Glocester and York, a Parliament was ordered to assemble at Westminster on the third of May.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 470. † Hist. p. 323.

But the King, to screen his favorites from parliamentary inquiry, retired in the mean time to Bristol, taking with him the

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* Rapin's Eng. Vol. I. p. 463.

Duke of Ireland, whom he secretly commissioned to raise troops in Wales, in order to reduce the refractory to obedience. Before this could be executed, however, the Duke of Glocester, with the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, assembled "with a great power of men" in Hornsey Wood; and Richard, through the mediation of the Bishop of Ely, and others, agreed to meet the Lords in Westminster Hall; the mediators taking oath on the King's part, that "no fraude, deceit, or perill, should be prepared." The necessity of this precaution was made apparent by the result; for "when the Lords," says Stow, "had prepared themselves according to the covenant, the foresaid mediators for peace sent them word, that treason was devised by an ambush layd for them in a place called the Mewes, neere to Charing Crosse, and therefore willed them not to come, but with sure hand. The Kinge demaunding why the Lords kept not covenant, the Bishop of Ely answered, 'because there is an ambush layed of a thousand armed men, or more, in such a place; and therefore they neither come, nor repute you to be faithfull.' The King, mooved forthwith, sware he knew of no such thing; and therefore commaunded the the Sheriffs of London, that going to the Mewes, they shoulde kill, if they found any assembled there for that cause: but Thomas Trivet, and Nicholas Brembre, knights, had secretly sent away the armed men to London."* At the meeting which followed, the nobles justified their proceedings, on the ground that it "was done for the King's profit and the Realme's, and to plucke from him the traitors which he kept about him," of whom they accused De Vere, and De la Pole, Nevil, Archbishop of York, Judge Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre. Richard promised redress in the ensuing Parliament; and all "was pacified," says Stow, "for that time."†

Richard's intention was only to temporize till the Duke of Ireland had assembled a sufficient force to enable him to re-assume coercive measures; but his favorite having been defeated at Radcot Bridge, in Oxfordshire, he found himself compelled to take refuge in the Tower; yet, in order to distress the confederate army, he caused proclamation to be made in London, that no person 'should dare to supply it either with arms, ammunition, or provision, under pain of death, and confiscation of effects.' Matters being thus carried to extremity, the Lords issued a counter-proclamation, and "having assembled an army of neere hand fortie thousand, hasted to London the morrowe after Christmas-day, (anno 1388,) and mustered in the fieldes, where they might be seene of them in the Tower. The Londoners were then in great feare, weying divers perilles; as the Kinges displeasure, if they opened their gates to the Lords; and if they shut them foorth, the indignation of the indiscreete multitude."* Eventually, however, the keys of the City were delivered to the Duke of Gloucester, and the confederate nobles, who, in a forced conference with the King, obtained his promise to attend them on the next day at Westminster, there to treat "at large of reformation of all matters." Yet they had scarcely quitted the Tower, before he sent them word, that he 'would not meet them.' Incensed at this fickleness, they immediately let him know, that if he came not to Westminster according to his engagement, they would go thither by themselves, and proceed to the election of a new King.† This precise declaration so alarmed the imprudent Monarch, that he punctually kept his appointment; and not only consented to banish his favorites, but also to every other measure that the Lords proposed. Tresilian, Brembre, with some other knights, &c. were afterwards hanged for high treason at Tyburn; several eminent Prelates and Nobles were committed to prison; and many others removed from their offices at court, and about the King's person. The ascendancy which the Lords had now obtained, was for a time submitted to by Richard with seeming content; and he diverted his chagrin by a recurrence to those amusements in which magnificence and pageantry were pretty equally blended.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 473.　　† Ibid.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 474. † Ibid.

‡ Rapin's Eng Vol. I. p. 465.

In 1390, the King appointed a great *Tournament* to be held in London, and sent heralds to proclaim his intention to all the principal courts of Europe. Many princes and nobility from France, Germany, the Netherlands, &c. attended the spectacle, which commenced on the Sunday after Michaelmas; and was begun by a splendid cavalcade from the Tower. Sixty ladies appeared first in the procession, magnificently habited, mounted on fine horses, richly caparisoned, each leading an armed knight by a chain of silver, attended by their esquires. The Justs were held in Smithfield, in the presence of the King, (who himself justed on the second day,) and all his court; and the concourse of spectators was very great. Various entertainments accompanied the tilting; and open house was kept at the King's expence during the whole time, four days, at the Bishop of London's palace, for all persons of distinction; and every night the diversions were concluded by a ball. The vast expenditure which these and similar festivities occasioned Richard, frequently reduced him to great pecuniary difficulties: and some events connected with his wants, of much interest to the City, are thus related by Stow.

"The King sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them one thousand pound, which they stoutly denied; and also evill entreated, beete, and neer hand slew, a certaine Lumbard that would have lent the King the said summe, which when the King heard, he was marvellously angried, and calling together almost all the Nobles of the land to Stamford, on the five and twentieth day of May, hee opened to them the malitiousnes of the Londoners, and complayned of their presumption; the which noble men gave counsell, that their insolencie shoulde with speede bee repressed, and their pride abated. By the King's iudgment, therefore, was the Maior of London, and the Sheriffes, with other the best Citizens, arrested to appear at Nottingham, where, on the eleventh of June, John Hinde, Maior, was deposed, and sent to Windsor Castle. The Sheriffes were also deposed, and sent the one to the castle of Wallingforde, the other to the castle of Odiham; and the other citizens to other prisons; till the King, with his councell, hadde determined what should bee done with them: and there it was determined, that from thencefoorth the Londoners should not choose nor have any Maior; but that the King should appoint one of his Knights to be Ruler of the Citie: their privileges were revoked, their liberties disannulled, and their lawes abrogated.—

"In the meane time, through suite of certaine knights, but specially of the Duke of Glocester, the King is somewhat pacified, and by little and little abateth the rigour of his purpose, calling to minde your divers honours, and the great giftes hee hadde received of the Londoners, whereupon he determineth to deale more mildly with them; and to call them to some hope of grace and pardon, hee sendeth commandement to them to come to Windsore, there to shewe their priviledges, liberties, and lawes, which being there shewed, some of them were ratified, and some condemned: but they could not obtaine the King's full favour, till they had satisfied the King for the injuries which was said they hadde done. The King, at this assembly at Windsore, had got together almost all the Lordes, and so great an armie, that the Londoners had cause to be afraid thereof; about the which preparation he was at great charges, for the which it was sure that the Londoners must pay. They, therefore, not ignoraunt that the ende of these things was a money matter, submitted themselves to the King's pleasure, offering ten thousand pound. They were yet dismissed home to returne again, uncertaine what satisfaction and sum they should pay.

When the citizens were returned, and that the nobles and other were gone home, the King hearing that the Londoners were in heavinesse, and dismayed, hee sayd to his men, 'I will go (saith he) to London, and comfort the citizens, and will not that they any longer despaire of my favour;' which sentence was no sooner knowne in the Citie, but all men were filled with incredible joy, so that every of them generally determined to meete him, and to be as liberall in giftes as they were at his coronation. The King, therefore, as he came from Shene, in Surrey, to London, with Queene Anne his wife, on the 29. of August, the principall citizens all in one livery, to the number of 400 horsmen, rode to meete them at

Wandsworth, where, in most lowly wise, they submitted themselves unto his grace; beseeching him of his speciall pardon in all such thinges as they before had offended him: and the Recorder of the Citie, in the name of the whole citizens, instantly required him, that he would of his great bounty, take such paine upon him as to ride through his chamber of London, to the which request he graciously consented: so hee held on his journey till he came to S. George's Church in Southwarke, where they were received with procession of Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, and all the Cleargie of the Citie, who conveyed them through London; the Citizens of London, men, women, and children, in order meeting the King at London Bridge, where he was by them presented with 2 fayre white steedes, trapped in cloth of golde, parted of red and white, hanged full of silver belles; the which present he thankfully received; and after hee held on his way through the Cittie toward Westminster.

“ And as they passed the Citie, the streets were hanged with cloth of golde, silver and silk. The conduite in Cheape ran with red and white wine; and by a childe, angel-like, he was presented with a very costly crowne of golde; and the Queene with another. A table of the Trinitie, in golde, was given to the King, valued worth eight hundred pound; and another to the Queene, of Saint Anne, because her name was Anne; with divers other gifts, as horses, trappers, plate of golde and silver, clothes of gold, silke, velvets, basons and ewers of gold; also gold in coyne, precious stones, and jewels so rich, excellent, and beautiful, that the value and price might not well be esteemed: and so the citizens recovered their ancient customes and liberties; and then the King's Bench from Yorke, and the Chancery from Nottingham, was returned to London. And it was granted to them, that they might choose them a Maior, as before time they had done. The Londoners beleeved that by these gifts they had escaped all daunger, and that from thenceforth they should be quiet; but they were deceived; for they were compelled to give the King, after this, 10,000 pound, collected of the commons in great bitterness of minde; for the which summe, the King became benevolent to the citizens, and forgave them all trespasses, by his patents dated at Westminster the 28. of February; and so the troubles of the citizens came to quietnesse."*

We learn from the seventh Volume of the Fœdera, p. 785, that when Richard suspended the Magistrates of London from their offices, he fined them 3000 marks, and ordered the City to pay the vast sum of 100,000l. yet both these mulcts were afterwards commuted for the 10,000l. mentioned above, and which the King received in 'lieu of all demands,' as appears from his acquittance given in the same volume. These and many other extortions, which wholly deprived Richard of the affections of the citizens, were not enough to support the enormous profusion in which he lived, and which eventually led to his deposition and death. He is stated to have maintained from 6000 to 10,000 persons daily in his palace; in his kitchen alone 300; and a proportionate number in the Queen's apartments. Even his inferior servants were richly clad; and all historians agree, that he kept the most splendid court of any English Monarch since the Conquest.

In 1393, the courts of judicature, which, during the King's displeasure, had been held at York, were removed back to London: and about the same time it was enacted, among other things, by the Parliament, that the City Aldermen, who had been hitherto chosen annually, should remain in office during their good behaviour.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 482—484. "A fabulous booke, compiled by a namelesse author, but printed by William Caxton, (and therefore called Caxton's Chronicle,) reporteth these troubles to happen through a fray in Fleete streete, about an horse loafe which was taken out of a baker's basket by a yeoman of the Bishop of Salisburies, and that the same troubles were pacified, and their liberties were againe restored; by meanes of Richard Gravesend, Bishop of London; in reward whereof the citizens repayre to the place of buriall in the middle isle of Saint Paul's Church, &c. But al that is untrue; for at this time, Rob. Braybroke was Bishop of London; and Richard Gravesend had been Bishop, and deceased in the time of Edward the First, in anno 1303. almost 90. years before this time.—Moreover, the place of buriall in St. Paul's, whereunto the Maior and Citizens of London have repayred, is of William, who was Byshop of London in the time of William Conqueror, who purchased the first charter of the said King William, for the same Citie, as I have before declared." *Ibid.*

In 1394, the Earl of Mar, who, with "certain other lords of Scotland, came into England, to get worship by force of arms,"* was overthrown, by the Earl of Nottingham, at a tilting match, or *Justing*, in Smithfield, and two of his ribs having been broken by the fall, he died on his return homeward. At another *Justing* on London Bridge, in 1395, the Lord Wells, sometime Embassador in Scotland, was in the third course thrown out of his saddle by David, Earl of Crauford, whom he had challenged to the combat.†

On the return of Richard from Calais, in 1396, after his second marriage with Isabella, eldest daughter of the French King, who was then only in her eighth year, he was met at Blackheath by the Mayor, and Aldermen, and City companies, who attended their Majesties to Newington; and on the next day, the young Queen was conveyed in great pomp through Southwark to the Tower, the multitude of spectators being so great, "that upon London Bridge, nine persons were crowded to death, of whom the Prior of Tiptor, in Essex, was one; and a worshipful matrone, that dwelt in Cornhill, was an other."‡ On the following day the Queen was crowned at Westminster.

The King's accustomed extravagance, with the charges of his late marriage, having entirely exhausted his exchequer, though the Parliament, which met at Westminster in January, 1397, had granted him a very considerable aid, he had again recourse to his usual methods of extortion. There 'was not a lord, a bishop, a gentleman, or rich burgess,' says Walsingham, 'but what was obliged to lend him money; though it was well known that he never designed to repay it;' and, among other new and base expedients, he compelled the richest of his subjects to set their seals to blank grants, or charters, which were afterwards filled up with whatever sums he thought proper to exact. The forced loans which in this year he procured from the City in its corporate capacity, amounted to 10,000 marks, as appears from the Fœdera; and in 1398 he obtained still larger sums from individual citizens, by means of the blank grants already noticed. Yet scarcely any treasure, however immense, could suffice for his profuse expenditure; of which some idea may be formed from the ensuing extract.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 485.

† Ibid. p. 494.

‡ Ibid.

"This yeere the King kept a most royall Christmas, with every day justings and running at the tilt; whereunto resorted such a number of people, that there was every day spent xxviii or xxvi oxen, and three hundred sheep, besides fowle without number. Also the King caused a garment for him to be made of golde, silver, and precious stones, to the value of 3000 marks."*

The excessive discontents which Richard's conduct had excited in every quarter of the kingdom, were silently, yet most deservedly, undermining his power; and an opportunity only was wanting to hurl him from his throne. This, fatally for the King, was soon afforded: an insurrection broke out in Ireland, and Richard, with imprudent security, resolved to quell it in person, and carried with him thither all his forces. In his absence, Henry of Bolingbroke, the banished Duke of Hereford, was invited to head the disaffected; and this nobleman landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with only eighty men, was received so cordially, that within a very few days his army increased to 60,000 strong. The Regent (the Duke of York) and the Council, after some deliberation, quitted London in perplexity, and retired to St. Alban's. Immediately on their departure, "the citizens, no longer restrained by the presence of those who represented the King's person, declared for the Duke, and by their example drew in such towns as would not yet have ventured to proceed so far."† On this the Duke marched directly to London, and was received with loud acclamations, and every expression of affection and zeal. His troops were also supplied with a superfluity of provisions. Within eight weeks afterwards, the King was brought into the Capital a prisoner, and conducted to the Tower amidst the execrations of the citizens; whilst

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* Stow's Ann. p. 505.

† Rapin's Hist. Vol. I. p. 471.

whilst the Duke was received with every demonstration of joy; and in the Parliament which met in Westminster Hall, on the thirtieth of September, 1399, was declared King, in place of the deposed Richard, who was cruelly murdered in Pomfret Castle on the fourteenth of the ensuing February.

The new King, Henry the Fourth, was crowned in Westminster Abbey on the thirteenth day after his election; the Mayor and Aldermen of London performing the office of Chief Butler as usual, at the banquet in Westminster Hall; and on the sixth of February following, the blank charters extorted by Richard, were burnt by command of the King at the Standard in Cheap.* The citizens were also gratified by a repeal of some obnoxious statutes; and had granted to them an extension of privileges. These favors were partly awarded in return for the ready assistance furnished to the King by the Mayor and Citizens, on the discovery of the conspiracy projected against him by the Dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter, and others, friends of the deposed Sovereign.

Towards the end of the year 1400, the Grecian Emperor, John Emanuel Palæologus, arrived in England, to solicit succour against the Turks. The King and principal nobility met him in great state at Blackheath, and conducted him to London, where he was received with great pomp by the corporate officers and citizens.

In 1401, the Parliament, through the influence of the clergy, and the policy of the King, who, having but a dubious title, felt the necessity of paying court to ecclesiastical power, passed the detestable Act for 'Burning of obstinate heretics;' a statute entirely aimed against the Lollards, or followers of the doctrines of Wickliff. The first victim was William Sautree, who had been parish priest of St. Osyth, in Syth Lane, London, and was condemned by the Ecclesiastical Court as soon as the Act was made. Being immediately delivered over to the secular arm, he was burnt alive, by virtue of the King's writ, directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and bearing date on February the twenty-sixth.†

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* Stow's Ann. p. 516.

† Rym. Fœd. Vol. VIII. p. 178.

The year 1407 became memorable for a dreadful *Plague*, which ravaged the Kingdom, and swept away more than 30,000 of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. In 1409, a "great *Play*," which lasted eight days, "of matter from the Creation of the World," was acted at Skinner's Well, near Clerkenwell, at which were present the King, with most of the nobility and gentry of the Realm; and "foorthwith after began a Royal *Justing* in Smithfield, between the Earle of Somerset and the Seneschal of Henault," &c.* In the next year, Smithfield presented a spectacle of a more affecting kind; it being the scene of the martyrdom of John Bradby, a taylor, who was condemned as a Wickliffite, and burnt to death in a pipe, or cask, in the presence of the young Prince Henry. When the flames reached him, his lamentable outcries so affected the Prince, that he ordered him to be taken from the fire, and promised him a pardon, and a pension, if he would 'recant his heresy;' but Bradby resolutely refused, and was again conducted to the stake, where he sealed his belief with his blood.

Henry the Fourth died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster on the twentieth of March, 1413, and was succeeded by Henry, his eldest son, the renowned Hero of Agincourt; soon after whose accession, several persons were arrested by the Mayor of London, and 'a strong power,' on suspicion of being concerned in a projected rising of the Lollards, the main object of which was to overthrow the ill-used power of the clergy.

Soon afterwards, "on the morrowe after twelfth day, the King removed privily to Westminster; and because he had hard tell that the rude people's intent was, if they did prevaile, first, to destroy the monasteries at Westminster, St. Albon's, and St. Paul's, and al the houses of Friers in London; he, minding to prevent such a mischiefe, contrary to the mindes of all that were about him, went into the field when it was little past midnight, with a great armie;—and the same night were taken more than fourescore men in armor of the same faction, [that is, 'Sir John Oldcastle's, or the Lollards';] for many that came frō far, not knowing the King's

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* Stow's Ann. p. 539.

camp to be in the field, were taken by the same, and sent to prison.—Also the King being told of an ambushment gathered in Harengay Parke, sent thither certain Lords, who tooke many.—The xii of January, 69 of them were condemned of treason at Westminster; and on the morrow after, 37 of them were drawn from the Tower of London to Newgate, and so to St. Giles, and there, in a place called Fickets Field, were all hanged; and seaven of them brent, gallowes and all."* Several others were afterwards executed in different parts of the town.

The glorious victory obtained at Agincourt on the sixteenth of October, 1415, occasioned great rejoicings in the Metropolis; and when the King returned from France, he was met on Blackheath by "the Maior of London, with the Aldermen and Craftes to the number of foure hundred, riding in red, with hoodes red and white;" and so brought, with all his prisoners, through London to Westminster. "The gates and streetes of the Citie," says Stow,† "were garnished and apparelled with precious clothes of arras, containing the victories, triumphs and princely acts of the Kings of England, his progenitors, which was done to the end that the King might understand what remembrance his people would to their posteritie of these his great victories and triumphs. The conduits through the Citie ranne none other but good sweete wines, and that abundantly. There were also made in the streetes many towers and stages, adorned richly; and upon the height of them sate small children, apparelled in semblance of angels, with sweete tuned voices, singing praises and laudes unto God; for the victorious King would not suffer any ditties to be made and soong of his victorie, for that he would wholy have the prayse given to God.—On the next morrow, the Maior, Aldermen, and 200 of the commoners, presented the King with a 1000l. in two basons of golde, woorth 500 pounde." Another most splendid reception was given by the Citizens to the gallant Henry in February, 1421, when he arrived in England with his Queen, Katherine of France, whom he had lately married; and the streets were adorned with rich carpets, fine silks, and stately pageants.* The festive splendors of this spectacle were quickly succeeded by the melancholy, yet sumptuous, obsequies of the Monarch himself; who dying in France, on the last day of August, 1422, was brought thence to London with a magnificence suitable to the glory of his life. James, King of Scotland, accompanied the procession as chief mourner; and all the nobility, Princes of the blood, &c. attended the interment of the Royal remains in Westminster Abbey, after the funeral rites had been solemnized in St. Paul's Cathedral.† On the fourteenth of the following November, the infant son of the deceased Monarch was carried in great state from the Tower through the streets of the City, on his mother's lap, in an open chair, to the Parliament then sitting at Westminster, who recognized his right to the Throne by the title of Henry the Sixth.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 551. † Ibid. p. 564.

The prosperity, both to the City, and to the Realm, which the infant years of the King appeared to indicate under the able government of his uncles, the Dukes of Bedford and Glocester, was woefully destroyed by the turbulent ambition of Henry's great uncle, the imperious Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal Beaufort. This proud Prelate, designing to seize the protectorship, attempted, as a preliminary measure, to surprize the City of London whilst the citizens were engaged in the annual festivity of welcoming their chief Magistrate into office. The Duke of Glocester, however, having received private information of the Bishop's design, ordered Sir John Coventry, the Mayor, to raise a sufficient guard of citizens to repel the attempt: this was immediately done; and on the attack being made on the Southwark side,‡ by the Bishop's archers and men at arms, the assailants were soon repulsed.

In 1428, in reply to an inquiry, made in the King's name, as to the ancient usage in respect to servants, or villains, coming to reside in the City, and "tarrying therein a year and a day, without complaint of their lords or masters," it was declared, that every such servant, tarrying within the City a year and a day un-

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* Fab. Chron. part 7.

† See Stow's Ann. p. 584,-85.

‡ The Bishop of Winchester's Palace stood on Bank-side, Southwark.

reclaimed by his lord, was thenceforth free to remain there through his whole life, as freely and securely as if in the house or chamber of the King;' that 'this privilege had existed from time immemorial, and had been confirmed, with all other ancient usages, by the holy King Edward;' and that 'the same privilege had been extended by William the Conqueror, to every castle, city, and burgh, encompassed with a wall throughout the Kingdom.' In the same year a most slavish ordinance, which had been passed in the time of Henry the Fourth, and enjoined that 'no person whatever, not possessed of land to the annual amount of 20s. should be at liberty to apprentice his child to any trade,' was repealed through the exertions of the Mayor and Citizens of London.

The return of Henry the Sixth to the Metropolis in 1432, after his coronation at Paris in the preceding year, was attended by the display of much pageantry and show. The poet Lydgate has described this entry at some length: from his verses it appears, that the Mayor and Citizens, richly accoutred, and attended by the resident aliens, 'Genevans, Florentines, Venetians, and Easterlings,' rode forth 'stately horsed' to meet the King at Blackheath.' The Mayor, he says,

——' of prudence in especial,
Made them move in ranges twain;
A street between each party like a wall,
All clad in white, and the most principal
Afore in red:'—' but,' he *proceeds*,
' — for to tellen all the circumstances
Of every thing shewed in intent,
Noble devices, divers ordinances
Conveyed by Scripture with full great excellence,
All to declare I have not eloquence.
Wherefore I pray to all those that it shall read,
For to correct as they see need.
First, when they passed was the favour,
Entering the Bridge of this noble town,
There was a pillar raised like a tower,
And thereon stood a sturdy *Champion*,
Of look and cheer stern as a lion,

His sword upreared, proudly began menace
All foreign enemies from the King to enchace;
And in defence of his estate royal
The giant would abide each adventure,
And all assaults that were martial,
For his sake he proudly would endure.
In token whereof he had a long scripture,
On either side, declaring his intent.—

'Furthermore so on the King began ride;
Midst of the bridge, there was a tower on loft,
The Lord of Lords being all his guide,
As he hath been, and will be full oft.
The tower arrayed with velvet soft,
Cloths of gold, silk, and tapestry,
As appertaineth to his regalia:
And at his coming, of excellent beauty
Benign of port, most womanly of cheer
There issued out Empresses three.
They are here displayed: As Phœbus in his sphere,
With coronets of gold, and stones clear,
At whose outcoming they gave such a light,
That the beholders were astonished in their sight.
The first of them was called *Nature*,
As she that hath under her domain
Man, beast, and fowl, and every creature,
Within the bonds of her golden chain;
Eke heaven and earth, and euery creature,
This empress of custom doth embrace.
And next her come her sister, called *Grace*,
Passing famous, and of great reverence,
Most desired in all regions;
For where she ever sheweth her presence,
She bringeth gladness to cities and to towns;
Of all welfare she hath the possession;
For I dare say prosperity in no place
No child abideth but if they be grace;
In token that grace shall long continue
Unto the King she shewed her full benign.
And next her come the empress *Fortune*,

To him appearing, with many a noble sign,
And royal token, to shew that he was digne,
Of God disposed as luft ordain:
Upon her head too were crowns twain.
These three ladies, all of one intent,
Three ghostly gifts, heavenly and divine,
Unto the King anon they did present;
And to his Highness they did anon incline,
And what they were plainly to determine:
Grace gave him first at her coming
Two rich gifts, science and cunning.
Nature gave him eke strength and fairness,
For to be loved and dread of every wight.
Fortune gave him eke prosperitie and riches.
With this scripture appearing in their sight
To him applied of every due right;
First understand, and wilfully proceed,
And long reign, the scriptures said, in deed:
'*Intende, perspice, precede, et regna.*'
This is to mean, who so understandeth aright,
You shall by *Fortune* have long prosperity;
And by *Nature* you shall have strength and might,
Forth to proceed in long felicity;
And *Grace* also hath granted unto thee
Virtuously long in this Royal City,
With sceptre and crown to reign in equity.
'On the right hand of these Empresses
Stood seven Maidens very celestial;
Like Phœbus' beams shone their golden tresses,
Upon their heads each having a crownall;
Of port and cheer seeming immortal,
In sight transcending all earthly creatures,
So angelic they were of their figures;
All clad in white, in token of cleanness,
Like pure virgins as in their intents
Shewing outward an heavenly fresh brightness
Streamed with suns were all their garments,
Afore provided for pure innocents.
Most colombyne of cheer and of looking,
Meekly rose up at the coming of the King.

They had on bawdrikes all on saphire,
Going outward, began the King salve
Him presently with their gifts new,
Like as they ought, it was to him due.

‘These Empresses had on their left side
Other seven virgins, pure and clean,
By attendance continually to abide,
All clad in white suits full of stars shine;
And to declare what they would mean
Unto the King with full great reverence,
These were their gifts shortly in sentence:
‘*Induet te Dominus coronâ gloris, sceptro clemencie,*
‘*Gladio instititis pallio, prudentis sancto fidei,*
‘*Galiâ salutis, et vinculo pacis*:’
God thee endue with a crown of glory,
And with a sceptre of cleanness and price,
And with a shield of right and victory;
And with a mantle of prudence clad you be,
A shield of faith for to defend thee,
A helm of health for to give entries,
Girt with a girdle of love and perfect peace.
‘These seven virgins of sight most heavenly,
With their bodies and hands rejoicing,
And of their cheer appeared murely,
For the King's gracious homecoming,
And for gladness they began to sing
Most angelic, with heavenly harmony,
This same roundell which I shall now specify.
‘Sovereign Lord, welcome to your City,
Welcome our joy, and our heart's pleasance,
Welcome our gladness, welcome our sufficience,
Welcome, welcome, right welcome may you be!
Singing to fore thy Royal Majesty,
We say of heart, without variance,
Sovereign Lord, welcome; welcome our joy.
Mayor, Citizens, and all the Commonalty,
At your home coming new out of France,
By grace relieved of all their old grievance,
Sing this day with great solemnity.’

"Thus resteynyd an easy pace riding,
The King is entered into his City," &c.[*]

It appears from Holinshed's Chronicle, anno 1435, that many of the Burgundians, Hollanders, and Flemings, resident in London, were barbarously murdered by the citizens, in revenge for the perfidy of the Duke of Burgundy, who had broken his alliance with England, and joined his forces to those of France. In the following year, the troops furnished by the City, and 'maintained at its expense,' were of great use in compelling the Duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Calais. In 1440, in a general Dearth which raged throughout England, and obliged the poor, in many parts, to make bread of fern-roots, and ivy-berries, the wants of the City were greatly mitigated by the praise-worthy conduct of Stephen Brown, the Mayor, who had several ships'-load of rye brought from Prussia to supply the inhabitants. On the twenty-fifth of November, in the same year, great damage was done in London by a terrible storm of *Wind,* which unroofed many churches and houses, and blew down nearly 'one half of the houses in Old Change, in Cheapside.'

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[*] Lydgate's account perfectly agrees with Stow; who says, "At Blackheath he [the King] was met by the Maior of London, who rode in a gowne of crimson velvet, his aldermen in Scarlet, and the citizens al in white gownes and red hoods, with diverse workes or cognisances brodered upon their sleeves after the facultie of their misteries or craftes; and after due obeysaunce and saluting of the King, they rode on before him towards the Citie. And when the King was come to the Bridge, there was devised a mightie giant, standing with a sword drawne in his hand, having written certaine speeches in metre of great rejoicing and wel-comming of the King to the City: on the middest of the Bridge, and in diverse other places of the Citie, were divers faire and sumptuous pageants replenished with goodly and beautiful personages, the order and speeches whereof are set down by Robert Fabian in his Chronicle." Three days afterwards, "the Maior and Aldermen rode to the King, and presented him with a hampire of gold, and therein a thousand pound of nobles." *Ann. p.* 602.

The gross ignorance, and superstitious credulity, of the age, were strikingly displayed by the proceedings which took place in the Metropolis in 1441, when Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Glocester, was accused "of certain articles of negromancie, witchcraft, sorcerie, heresie, and treason,' through the base arts of Cardinal Beaufort, in order the more effectually to destroy the credit of the Duke her husband. She was indicted, says Stow, in 'the Guildhall of London,' as accessary to the charge of 'labouring to consume the King's person by way of negromancie,' in conjunction with 'Roger Bolynbroke, a priest, and great astronomer,' and Thomas Southwell, a Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster. Bolinbroke, most probably influenced by the hope of pardon, is stated to have confessed the charge of necromancy, and to have accused the Duchess of employing him to 'knowe what shoulde befall of hir, and to what estate shee should come.' This confession, however, availed not; and on the eighteenth of November he was hanged and quartered at Tyburn; after having abjured all 'articles louging to the craft of negromancie, on a high scaffolde in Paules Churchyarde, before the crosse.' On that occasion he was 'arraied in marvellous attire, and held 'a sword in his right hand, and a sceptre in his left; and with him were exhibited 'a chayre paynted, wherein hee was wont to sit, uppon the foure corners of which chayre stoode foure swordes, and upon every sword an image of copper hanging with many other instrumentes.' The unfortunate Duchess, whose guilt seems to have been confined to making, in the weakness of affection, 'love potions' for her own husband, was condemned to do public penance, and to be imprisoned for life. The penance was performed in the following manner.

"On Monday the 13 of November, she came frō Westminster by water, and landed at the Temple Bridge, from whence with a taper of waxe, of two pound, in hir hande, she went through Fleetestreete, hoodlesse, (saue a kerchefe,) to Pauls, where she offered her taper at the high altar. On the Wednesday next shee landed at the Swan in Thames Street, and then went through Bridge Street, Grace Church Street, streight to Leaden Hall, and so to Christ Church by Aldegate. On Fryday shee landed at Queene Hive, and so went through Cheape to St. Michael's in Cornhill, in forme aforesaid: at which times the Maior, Sherifes, and Crafts of London, receaved her, and accompanied her."*

Another female, named Margery Gurdemain, called 'the Witch of Eye, (in Suffolk,) "whose socerie, and witchcrafte, the saide Elianor had long time used, and by her medicines and drinkes enforced the Duke of Glocester to love hir, and after to wed hir,' had been previously burnt in Smithfield.† Southwell died while confined in the Tower.

In August, 1442, many persons were killed and wounded in a sudden and dangerous *Tumult* that arose in Fleet Street, between the students of the Inns of Court, and the neighbouring inhabitants: and in the next year, such great disturbances were excited through the clamours of various unqualified persons in the choice of a Mayor, that the King was obliged to interfere to quell them, by an injunctive letter. On Candlemas eve, 1445, in a dreadful *Storm* of thunder and lightning, the steeple of St. Paul's was set on fire, and partly destroyed. In the same year, the new Queen, Margaret, was conducted in great pomp through the City of London, "then beautified with pageants of divers histories, and other shews of welcome, marvellous costly and sumptuous."‡ This woman, says Stow, "excelled all other, as well in beauty and favour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomacke and courage not inferior to any."§

In 1447, the bloody tragedy which had commenced by the imprisonment of the Duchess Eleanor, and the deaths of her associates, was consummated by the murder of the Duke of Glocester, who had been arrested at St. Edmundsbury by the partizans of the Queen and Cardinal, and 'on the morrow was found dead in his bed.' To give a color to the falsehood of the accusations of treason that had been made against him, a number of his domestics were also accused, and five of them being condemned to die, "were al drawn from the Tower of Londō to Tiborn, and there hanged, letten downe quicke, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a charter shewed for their lives by the Duke of Suffolk; but the yōmen of the crown had their livelode; and the hangman had their clothes, or wearing apparell."*

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* Stow's Ann. p. 619. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 624. § Ibid.

The death of the Duke of Glocester produced eventually, far different events than what its contrivers had foreseen; for it proved the ruin of the House of Lancaster, and paved the way for the House of York to ascend the Throne. Beaufort died within six weeks after the Duke's murder; yet the Queen's faction, headed by the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Suffolk, still continued to govern the imbecile Henry, (who was better fitted to manage a cloister than to rule a kingdom,) and to preside over public affairs with despotic insolence. The popular discontents at length became loud and general; commotions were excited in various parts of the country; and though several tumults of inferior note had been suppressed, a new insurrection arose, of so formidable a kind, that for some weeks all the power of the Crown was insufficient to quell it.

This last tumult is thought to have been raised by the instigations of Richard, Duke of York, in order to sound the inclinations of the people, and prepare the nation for his design of seizing that sceptre which Henry had swayed so feebly. From his secret instructions, therefore, one *Jack Cade,* an Irishman, who had served under the Duke in the French wars, assumed the name of Mortimer, and repairing into Kent, where the Duke had many adherents, collected a strong body of malcontents, with which he advanced towards the Capital, under the popular pretext of redressing grievances, and encamped on Blackheath: this was in May, 1450.

The early proceedings of the insurgents were not particularly violent; and their complaints being of a public nature, the King's Council thought proper to listen to them, as an expedient to gain time. In a few days, however, it was resolved to crush the rebellion by force of arms, and the King marched to Blackheath with 15,000 men; but Cade having retired to the woods near Sevenoaks on the preceding night, Henry contented himself with dispatching a body of troops in pursuit, under Sir Humphry Stafford, and returned to London. This knight falling into an ambuscade, was put to the sword, with most of his followers; and Cade, with recruited strength, again advanced to Blackheath, and 'there pight againe his field, and lay there from the twenty-ninth of June till the first day of July, in which season came unto him the Archbishop of Canterburie, and the Duke of Buckingham, with whom they had a long communication, and found him right discreet in his answers: howbeit, they could not cause him to submit himselfe, and lay downe his people.'*

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* Stow's Ann. p. 626.

Henry, with his Queen and Council, now retired to Kenilworth Castle in much alarm, leaving the Tower under the command of the Lord Scales. On the first of July, Cade marched into Southwark, his near approach causing a strong commotion in the City, and quartering his forces in the neighbourhood, took up his own lodgings at the White Hart. About this period, a requisition for '12 harnises complete, of the best fashion, 24 brigandines, 12 battaile axes, 12 glaves, 6 horses with saddle and bridle completely harnessed, and 1000 marks of ready money,'† was ordered by Cade to be demanded 'from the Lumbards, and strangers being merchants within the City.'

On the second of July "the Maior called a Common Councell at the Guildhall, to purvey for the withstanding of these rebels, in which assembly were divers men of sundry opinions, so that some thought good that the said rebels should bee received into the Citie, and some otherwise. Among the which Robert Horne, stock-fishmonger, then being an Alderman, spake sore against them that would have them enter. For the which, the commons were so mooved against him, that they ceased not till they had him committed to warde. And the same afternoone, about five

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* Stow's Ann. p. 634.

† Ibid. p. 631

the clocke, the captaine [Cade] with his people entred by the bridge, and cut the ropes of the drawe-bridge asunder with his sword. When he was passed into the City, he made in sundry places thereof proclamations in the King's name, that no man, in paine of death, shoulde rob or take any thing without paieng therefor. By reason whereof, he wan the hearts of the commons; but all was done to beguile them. After, as he came by London Stone, he strake it with his sword, and saide, 'Now is Mortimer Lord of this City;' and then shewing his minde to the Maior for the ordering of his people, he returned into Southwark, and there abode as he before had done, his people comming and going at lawfull houres when they would.

"On the morrow, the third of July, the said captaine againe entred the Citie, and caused the Lord Say to be fet [fetched] from the Tower to the Guildhall, where he was arraigned before the Maior, and other the King's justices; and Robert Horne, Alderman before named, should have beene likewise arraigned, but that his wife, and other friends, for five hundred marks, got him restored to his libertie. The Lord Say desiring he might be tried by his peeres, was by the rebels forceably taken from the officers, and brought to the standard in Cheape, where they strake off his head, pight it on a pole, and bare it before them; and his body they caused to be drawne naked at a horse taile, upon the pavement, from Cheape into Southwarke, to the said captaines inne.

"Also a Squire, called Crowmer, that was then Sherife of Kent, that had wedded the saide Lorde Saies daughter, by commandement of the captaine, was brought out of the Fleete, that was committed thither for certaine extortions that he had done in his office, and led to Mile End without London, [where the Essex insurgents had taken post,] and there, without any judgement, his head was smit off; and the Lord Saies head and his were borne upon two long poles unto London Bridge, and there set up; and the Lord Saies body was quartered.

"The same day the captaine went into the house of Philip Malpas, draper and Alderman, and robbed and spoiled his house, taking from thence great substance: and returned into Southwarke.

On the next morrow, he againe entred the Citie, and dined that day in the Parish of St. Margaret Patins, at one Cherstis house; and when he had dined, like an uncourteous guest, he robbed him, as the day before he had Malpas. For which two robberies, although the poore people drew to him, and were partners in the spoile, yet the honest and wealthy commoners cast in their mindes the sequale of this matter, and feared least they should be dealt with in like maner. Then the Maior and Aldermen, with assistance of the worshipfull Commoners, in safegard of themselves and of the Citie, tooke their counsell how they might drive the captaine and his adherents from the Citie; for the performance whereof, the Mayor sent unto the Lord Scales and Mathew Gough, then having the Tower in their government, requiring their aide and assistance, which they promised.

" On the fift of July, the captaine being in Southwarke, caused a man to be beheaded there, and that day entred not the City. When night was come, the Maior and the Citizens, with Matthew Gough, kept the passage of the bridge, and opposed the Kentishmen, which made great force to re-enter the Citie. Then the captaine seeing this bickering, went to harneis, and assembled his people, and set so fiercely upon the citizens, that he drave them backe from the stoupes in Southwarke, or Bridgefoot, unto the drawbridge, in defending whereof, many a man was drowned and slaine. Among the which was John Sutton, Alderman; Matthew Gough, a Squire of Wales; and Roger Hoisand, citizen. This skirmish continued all night, till nine of the clocke on the morrow; so that sometime the citizens had the better, and sometimes the other; but ever they kept them upon the bridge, so that the citizens passed never much the bulwarke at the bridge foot, nor the Kentish-men no further than the draw-bridge; thus continuing the cruell fight, to the destruction of much people on both sides. Lastly, after the Kentish-men were put to the worst, a truce was agreed for certaine houres; during which truce, the Archbishop of Caunterbury, then Chancellor of England, sent a generall pardon to the captaine for himselfe, and another for his people; by reason whereof, he and his company withdrew them little and little; and their captaine put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water; and himselfe went by land, and would have entred into the castell of Quinborow with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose; wherefore he fled into the wood country beside Lewis, in Sussex."*

The insurgents being thus dispersed, Henry returned to Westminster, and issuing a proclamation against Cade, charged him with divers crimes, and offered a thousand marks for his apprehension, either 'quicke or dead.' Shortly after Cade was discovered in a garden at Hothfield, in Kent,† by Alexander Iden, the Sheriff of that county, by whom he was slain in fight, on refusing to surrender. His head was afterwards set up on a pole on London Bridge.

The mal-administration of the Queen and her favorites, proved a powerful auxiliary to the designs of the Duke of York; and in 1455, the first battle between the partizans of the rival houses was fought at St. Alban's; where, after a dreadful slaughter of the King's friends, the Royal army was routed, and Henry himself made prisoner by the Duke, who, with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, carried the King to London, "and were lodged in the Bishop's Palace, where they kept their Whitsontide with great joye and solemnitie." Soon afterwards, the Duke of York was appointed, by the Parliament which assembled at Westminster in July, Protector of the Realm; the Earl of Warwick was made Captain of Calais, &c. and the Earl of Salisbury was chosen Chancellor of England. These nominations were set aside early in the following year by the returning influence of the Queen and her party, "which change," says Stow, "among the nobilitie, caused sodain alterations, and seditious attempts to spring in the

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* Stow's Ann. p. 635-6.

† See Beauties of Eng. Vol. VIII. p. 1188. Heathfield, in Sussex, has been generally assigned as the place of Cade's death, but erroneously.

commonaltie, especiallie in the Citie of London."* The principal tumult, however, which arose in London at this period, appears to have sprung less from political motives, than from a street quarrel between two servants, an Englishman and an Italian;† yet

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 654.

[†] "In the moneth of May, (anno 1456,) an Italian's servant walking through Cheape of London, with a dagger hanging at his girdle, a merchaunte's servant, that before time had been in Italie, and there blamed for wearing of the like weapon, chalenged the straunger how he durst bee so bolde to beare weapon, considering hee was out of his native countrey, knowing that in his countrey no straunger was suffered to weare the like: to the which question such aunswere was made by the straunger, that the mercer tooke from him his dagger, and brake it uppon his heade; whereupon the straunger complained to the Maior, who on the morrowe sent for the yoong man to the Guilde-Hall: wherefore, after his answere made unto the complaint, by agreement of a full courte of aldermen, hee was sent to warde: and after the courte was finished, the Maior and Sherifes walking homeward through Cheape, were there met by such a number of mercers' servaunts, and other, that they might not passe, for ought they coulde speake or do, till they had delivered the yoong man that before was by them sent to prison.

"And the same daie, in the afternoone, sodainely was assembled a multitude of lewde and poore people of the Citie, which, without heade or guide, ranne into certaine Italian's houses, and especially to the Florentines, Lukasses, and Venetians, and there tooke and spoyled what they founde, and did great hurt in sundrie places, but moste in fower houses standing in Bred-streete Warde, whereof three stoode in Saint Bartholemew's Parish the Little, and one in the Parish of Saint Benets Finke.

"The Maior, Aldermen, and worshipfull Commoners, of the Citie, with all their diligence, resisted them what they coulde, and sent divers of them to Newgate: and finally, not without shedding of bloud, and mayming of diverse citizens, the rumour was appeased. The yoong man, beginner of all this businesse, tooke sanctuarie at Westminster; and not long after the Duke of Buckingham, with other noble men, were sent from the King into the Citie, who there charged the Maior, by vertue of a commission, that inquirie shoulde bee made of this ryot, and yet the Queen, suspecting it might have been fomented by the adherents of the Duke of York, from thence took occasion to convey the King from London to Coventry, under the specious pretext of 'taking the air.'

In the beginning of the year 1458, attempts were made to effect a complete reconciliation between the adverse parties; and it was determined that the principal leaders should meet in London for the purpose. Accordingly, during the months of January, February, and March, the parties assembled in different parts of the Metropolis; yet with so little confidence in each other's integrity and honour, that each was accompanied by an extended

and so called an oyer determiner at the Guyld-Hall, where sate for judges the Maior, as the King's Lieutenaunte, the Duke of Buckingham on his right hande, the Chiefe Justice on the left hande, and manie other men of name, where, while they were empanelling their inquestes, the other commons of the City, manie of them secretly put them in armour, and meant to have roong the common bell, so to have raised the whole force of the Citie, and so to have delivered such persons as before for the robberie were committed to warde.

But this matter was discreetly handled by the counsell and labour of some discreete commoners, which appeased their neighbors in such wise, that all this furie was quenched: but when worde was brought to the Duke of Buckingham, that the commonaltie were in harnesse, hee, with the other Lords, tooke leave of the Maior, and departed; and so ceased the inquirie for that day.

Upon the morrow, the Maior commanded the Common-counsell, with the Wardens of Fellowships, to appeere at the Guild-Hall, where by the Recorder, in the King's name, and the Maior's, was commanded everie Warden, that in the afternoone either of them should assemble his whole fellowship at their common halles, and there to give straight commaundement, that everie man see the Kinges peace kept within the Citie. After which time the citizens were brought to such quietnesse, that, after that daie, the enquirie was duly perused, and three persons for the said riot put in execution, and hanged at Tyborne, whereof two were sanctuarie men of St. Martin's le Graunde; the other a shipman, for robbing of Anthony Mowricine, and other Lumbardes."

Stow's Ann. p. 654, 5, from Fab. Chron.

retinue of armed men.* To prevent, therefore, the disorders which the confluence of so many turbulent spirits might occasion, Sir Godfrey Bolleyn, the Mayor, (ancestor to the Queens Anne Bolleyn and Elizabeth,) caused a guard of 5000 citizens to keep watch daily under his own immediate command, and 2000 by night under the orders of three Aldermen; and through these precautions the peace of the City was effectually maintained.

At length, a compromise having been made, a "a solemne procession was celebrated within the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul's; at the which the King was present in his habite royall, with the crowne on his head: before him went hand in hand, the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Salisbury, the Duke of Exeter and the Earle of Warwike, and so one of the one faction, and another of the other; and behind the King, the Duke of York and the Queene, with great familiaritie to all men's sights, whatsoever was meant to the contrary, which appeared afterward."†

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* "The Earle of Salisbury came on the 15th of January, with 500 men, and was lodged in his owne house, called the Herber; and on the 26 day came Richard D. of York, with 400 men, and was lodged at Bainard's Castel, being his own house. Then came the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, with 800 men, and were lodged without Temple-barre; and the Earle of Northumberland, the Lord Egremond, and the Lord Clifford, came with 1500 men, and lodged without the Citie. And on the 14 of February came the Earle of Warwicke from Caleis with 600 men, al in red jackets embrodered with ragged staves before and behind, and was lodged at the Grey Friers. And on the 17 of March, the King and Queene, with a great retinue, came to London, and were lodged in the Bishop's Pallace. And bicause no notorious attempt or bickering should be begunne betweene any of the parties, or their retinues, the Maior of London, Godfrey Bologne, and the Aldermen of the Citie, kept great watch, as well by day as by night, riding about the Citie, by Holborne and Fleete Street with 2000 men well armed, to see good order and peace to be kept. The Lords which lay within the Citie held a daily councell at the Blacke Friers. The other part sojourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the Chapiter House at Westminster." *Stow's Ann. p. 659.*

† Stow's Ann. p. 660.

These indications of returning friendship were only of short duration; for the Duke of York and his friends suspecting treachery, withdrew on different pretences from the court. Their distrust most probably was well founded: the Queen's party was not eminent for good faith; and the Earl of Warwick having been ordered to London some time afterwards, was in considerable danger of losing his life within the Royal Palace at Westminster, in a quarrel, which is thought to have been purposely excited between some of the Earl's retinue and the King's domestics. The assault was so violent, that the Earl, after seeing several of his people killed on the spot, could hardly escape to his barge, which waited for him on the Thames. Quickly after he heard that the King had ordered him to be arrested, and sent to the Tower.

These transactions occurring in such rapid succession, convinced the Earl and his party, that their only chance for safety lay in an appeal to arms: they therefore openly prepared for war, and the Queen was not slow in imitating their example. In the eventful struggle that followed, the Londoners generally sided with the Yorkists; though the capital was commonly given up to either party, as victory inclined the balance.

In 1460, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and the Earl of March, eldest son to the Duke of York, who was then in Ireland, landed at Sandwich, in Kent, with 1500 men only; yet they were received so favourably, that in a few days their army amounted to 40,000 strong. Thus strengthened, they marched to London, and were received with every demonstration of joy; notwithstanding that the Lord Scales had thrown himself into the Tower with a large body of troops, and threatened to destroy the City with his cannon if "the rebels were admitted."

Shortly after, the Earl of March quitted the Metropolis at the head of 25,000 men, to oppose the Queen, who was advancing with her army from Coventry; and the rival powers meeting near Northampton, a dreadful battle ensued, in which the Royalists were defeated with immense loss, and the King made prisoner.

In the mean time, the Lord Scales proceeded to fire upon the City with his ordnance; but was presently obliged to desist by the

Earl of Salisbury, who erected a battery on the opposite side of the Thames, and reduced the garrison of the Tower to great straights, by surrounding it so as to prevent any provision being carried in. "Then was the Tower," says Stow, "besieged both by water and land, that no victuals might come to them: and they that were within the Tower cast wild fire into the Citie, and shot many small guns, whereby they brent and slew men, women, and children, in the streetes: also they of the Citie laide great gunnes on the further side of the Thames, against the Tower, and brake the walls in divers places."* Soon afterwards, the garrison, "for lacke of victuals, yeelded, and came forth:"† but the Lord Scales attempting to escape by water, to take sanctuary at Westminster, was "descried by a woman; and anon the wherry men fell on him, killed him, and cast him a-land by St. Mary Overies."‡

On the sixteenth of August, the confederate Lords came to London with their Royal captive, whom they caused to summon a Parliament to meet on the seventh of October.§ This delay was wanting to give time for the arrival of the Duke of York, who was then in Ireland, and who did not reach London till two days after the Parliament had opened. The Duke rode immediately to Westminster, and alighting from his horse, went into the Painted Chamber, where the Lords were sitting, and "stood for some time, under the canopy of state, with his hand on the Throne; expecting, as it were, to be desired to seat himself thereon."‖ But the silence of the Peers convincing him that his intentions were not generally approved, he withdrew in chagrin to his own house; and within a short time prepared a "Writing," which "his Councell presented to the Lords in full Parliament, touching his right and claim to the Crown of England, and Lordship of Ireland.¶" This was immediately taken into consideration; yet, after a debate of several days, it was determined that Henry should continue to enjoy the Throne during his life; but that the Duke should be declared the "very Heir Apparent."* These, with other resolutions, were subsequently passed into an Act; and on the 'day of All Saints,' the King, wearing the crown upon his head, went in procession with the Duke of York and Parliament to St. Paul's. On the Saturday following, the Duke was solemnly proclaimed 'Heir Apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Realm,' by sound of trumpet,† throughout the City.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 669. † Ibid. p. 670. ‡ Ibid.

§ Cot. Rec. p. 665. ‖ Ibid.

When the Queen was informed of the compromise between her husband and the Duke, which at once excluded herself from power, and her son from the succession, she was incensed to vengeance, and immediately begun to raise an army in the north, for the purpose of releasing the King, and overwhelming her enemies. Her first efforts were successful: in the dreadful battle of Wakefield, the Duke of York, who had imprudently engaged the Queen's forces with far inferior numbers, was defeated, and slain; and his head having been encircled with a paper diadem in derision of his claims, was fixed upon one of the gates of York city. The Queen next advanced towards London, and having worsted the Earl of Warwick at the second battle of St. Albans, released the King from captivity, and prepared for her entry into the Metropolis.

The citizens had in general supported the cause of the Yorkists, and were now under dreadful apprehensions of being plundered by the Queen's troops, to whom a promise of all the spoil south of the river Trent is said to have been given, and who had already committed great ravages in the town and neighbourhood of St. Albans.

Stow, speaking of the event of the battle, says, "The Queene having thus got the victorie, sent to the Maior of London, commanding him, without delay, to send certaine carts, laden with lenten stuffe, for the refreshing of her armie, which the Maior incontinent granted, caused carts to be laden, and would have sent them forward, but the commons of the Citie would not suffer them to passe, but staied them at Criplegate; during which con-

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* Cott. Rec. p. 665.

† Stow's Ann. p. 674.

trourversie, divers of the northern horsemen robbed in the suburbs of the Citie, and would have entred at Criplegate, but they were repulsed by the commoners, and three of them slain."*

To appease the expected resentment of the Queen at these transactions, the Mayor, and more eminent inhabitants, sent a deputation to Barnet, where the King's Council was assembled; and engagements were made, that the Queen's army should be admitted into the City as soon as the common people were quieted. The Queen, therefore, contented herself with detaching "certaine lords and knights, with 400 tall persons, to ride to the Citie, and there to view and see the demeanour of the people;"† intending speedily to follow with her whole army. But all her measures were disconcerted by intelligence that the Earl of March, son to the late Duke of York, (who had been engaged in levying forces in Wales at the period of his father's death,) had, in conjunction with the Earl of Warwick, totally defeated the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond, at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and was now rapidly marching towards the Metropolis. The Queen, knowing she could place very little dependence on the Londoners, judged it prudent to retire into the north; and the Earl of March immediately hastened with his troops to the capital, where he was received with every demonstration of joy.

Within a day or two afterwards, on the second of March, (anno 1461,) the Earl's army was mustered in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, amidst considerable numbers of people, when the Lord Fauconbridge seizing the opportunity, read aloud the agreement which had been made between the King and the Duke of York, and appealing to the multitude, told them, that Henry had notoriously violated his contract, and asked whether he 'was still worthy to reign?' "The people cried, 'Nay, nay:" and he then enquired whether, agreeably to the settlement ratified by the Parliament, "they would have the Earl of March to be their King?" They answered, 'Yea, yea:" and this expression of the popular voice being admitted to be legitimate in a great council of

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* Stow's Ann. p. 678,-9. † Ibid.

Prelates, Nobility, Gentry, and Magistrates, held on the ensuing day at Baynard's Castle, the Earl of March was "on the morrowe" conducted in great state to St. Paul's, and thence to Westminster Hall, where "being set in the King's seate, with St. Edward's sceptre in his hand,"* an appeal was then made to the people, who, with loud acclamations, declared, that they accepted him for their Sovereign. He was then conducted with great solemnity to the Bishop of London's Palace, where Henry used to lodge when within the walls of the City, and on the day following was proclaimed King, in London and the neighbouring places, by the title of Edward the Fourth.

Though thus suddenly placed upon the throne, Edward had still to contend for empire in the field, and within a short week afterwards, he marched at the head of his troops towards the north, where Queen Margaret had assembled an army of 60,000 men. This vast force was utterly discomfited in the sanguinary battle of Towton, in Yorkshire, fought on Palm-Sunday; and Henry and his Queen having fled to Scotland, Edward returned to London, and was crowned in Westminster Abbey on the twenty-ninth of June; "and on the next morrowe hee went crowned in Paul's Church of London; and there an angel came downe, and censed him; at which time was so great a multitude of people in Paul's, as ever was seene in any daies."

The services which the citizens had rendered to the new King, were in some degree requited by additional privileges, and confirmations of ancient rights, granted by the new King in two charters to the City, bearing date respectively in the second and third years of his reign.

In the year 1465, Henry, the deposed Sovereign, was made prisoner in Lancashire, and, "with his legs bounde to the styrrops," was brought to London, and confined in the Tower, which fortress, about the same period, was repaired, and strengthened by new works.

In 1467, a grand spectacle was exhibited in Smithfield, through a challenge to the display of feats of arms being given to the Lord

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* Stow's Ann. p. 680. Hall's Chron. p. 185. fo.

Scales, brother to Edward's Queen, by the Bastard of Burgundy, who had come to England to solicit the hand of the Lady Margaret, the King's sister, for his brother Charles, Duke of Burgundy. The lists were surrounded with "faire and costly galleries for the ladies and others;" and "Edward himselfe, with his nobilitie, were present at the martial enterprize." On the first day the combatants fought on foot with sharp spears, and "departed with equal honor." The next day they "turneyed" on horseback, when the Bastard's horse falling under him, the King ordered the fight to be discontinued. "On the morrow" they "came into the field on foote, with two poll-axes, and fought valiently; but at the last the point of the poll-axe of the Lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the Bastard's helme, and by fine force might have plucked him on his knees; but the King suddenly threw down his warder, and then the Marshal severed them." The Bastard desired to renew the combat, but it being declared that, according to the law of arms, "he must be delivered to his adversary in the same state, and like condition, as he stood when he was taken from him," he, "doubting the sequel of the matter, relinquished his challenge."*

The year 1469 was distinguished by new commotions, and civil broils, principally originating in the imprudence of Edward, who had grievously offended his late firm adherent, the Earl of Warwick, as well as most of the ancient nobility, by the lavish manner in which he showered down honors, titles, and estates, on the relations of the Queen, in almost total neglect of his former partisans. After various events, Edward was at length constrained to fly to Holland; and his Queen having left the Tower, and taken sanctuary at Westminster, in October, 1470, that fortress was delivered up to the Mayor (Sir Richard Lee) and the Aldermen of London, who immediately released the captive Henry from his confinement, which he had now endured for nearly nine years: shortly afterwards he was again proclaimed King, and went in procession 'crowned' to St. Paul's; the Earl of Warwick supporting his train, and the Earl of Oxford bearing his sword.

During

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† Stow's Ann. p. 690.

During the distractions of this period, London was in great danger of being ravaged by a body of miscreants under the command of Sir Geoffrey Gates, who plundered the houses of the foreign merchants in Blanch Appleton, now Mark Lane; and being afterwards strengthened by numerous ruffians from Kent, pillaged Southwark; and recrossing the Thames, carried fire and sword into the eastern skirts of the Metropolis. They were afterwards overpowered by some forces under the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, by whom many of the ringleaders were ordered to be immediately hanged.

The ascendancy of the Earl of Warwick, who now governed in the King's name, was but of short duration; for Edward having procured aid from his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, and secretly inclined his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, to favor his attempt, landed in England in March, 1470, and marching towards the capital, with all the expedition which his affairs admitted of, was received into the City with great rejoicings, on the eleventh of April, the Mayor and Aldermen having previously obtained possession of the Tower in his name.*

Edward had but just shewn himself to the Londoners, when he was obliged to put himself at the head of his troops, and march forth to oppose the Earl of Warwick, who was advancing with a large army. The hard-fought battle of Barnet was decisive of the struggle: victory declared for Edward, and the Earl was slain.†

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* Habington says, that, "the citizens, out of a conscientious regard to the solemn oath which they had so lately taken to King Henry, and by the instigation of the Duke of Somerset, the Archbishop of York, and others of Warwick's friends, made some shew of resistance; but that self-preservation soon absolved them from that scruple, instructing them, that oaths by fear extorted lay no obligation on the soul." Yet the judicious Dr. Kennet, in a note on Habington's statement compared with that given by Philip de Comines, declares, that the latter had more reason, when he says that "the Citizens were interested in Edward's restoration by the debts he owed them, as well as teized by the importunity of their wives, with whom this amorous prince had formerly intrigued."

† See Beauties of England, Vol. VII. p. 324.

Edward immediately returned to London; and the inhabitants being thus freed from their dread of the evils they might have suffered had Warwick been victorious, welcomed him with triumphant joy. He then ordered the ill-fated Henry to be reconducted to the Tower; and the royal captive was led from the Bishop's Palace through the principal streets of the City, on horseback, clad in a long blue velvet robe, in order that the Lancastrians might be convinced that their hopes were at an end. In about three weeks afterwards, Henry's Queen was also conveyed a prisoner to the same fortress, where she continued for four years, and until ransomed by the King of France for 50,000 crowns. She had been made prisoner at the battle of Tewkesbury, together with the Prince her son, who was basely murdered in cold blood, in Edward's presence, immediately after the battle.

Before Edward could return from Tewkesbury, the Metropolis was in considerable peril, from an attack made on it by the bastard Fauconbridge, who had been appointed Vice Admiral of the Channel by the late Earl of Warwick, and under the pretence of freeing King Henry from captivity, had assembled an army of 17,000 men. With this force, he easily made himself master of Southwark, and attempted to take the City by assault, but was repulsed in every endeavour by the bravery of its inhabitants. Thus baffled, he drew off his men, and retired to Sandwich, having received information that Edward was hastening to London.

If it be true that Henry's death was occasioned by secret violence, as most of our historians appear to believe, it is extremely probable that the enterprize made by Fauconbridge, was a means of accelerating his murder. Whatever be the truth, the imprisoned Sovereign was found dead in the Tower on the very morning after Edward's arrival in London, which was on the twenty-first of May. On his way he had been met between Islington and Shoreditch by a procession of the Citizens; and he immediately bestowed the honor of knighthood on the Mayor, (Sir John Stockton,) the Recorder, and twelve Aldermen, in reward for the eminent services they had so lately rendered him.

The general manners of the age, the suddenness and the time of Henry's death, well warrants the suspicion that it was caused by violence; and though his body was exposed to public view in St. Paul's Cathedral, in an open coffin, that circumstance alone cannot remove the imputation; as the English annals, unfortunately, supply but too many instances of a similar exposure, where no doubt can possibly be entertained of the sad fate of the sufferer.*

HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF LONDON FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SIXTH TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE year 1472 will ever be memorable in the annals of the Metropolis, from the introduction of the *Art of Printing* by Mr. William Caxton, citizen and mercer, who first practised it in this country under the patronage of Earl Rivers, and the Abbot of Westminster, and within the walls of Westminster Abbey.†

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* In the eleventh volume of the Fœdera, p. 712, is a record of the expense of Henry's maintenance in the Tower, with the daily allowance for ten persons waiting on him for fourteen days, amounting in the whole, only to 4l. 5s. the expense of his own diet for three days, cost but three shillings and ten-pence. In another record, on the same page, are the expenses of his funeral, which amounted but to 33l. 6s. 8d. in which sum are included the fees of a priest, charges for linen cloth of Holland, and spices; fees to the torch-bearers who attended the corpse to St. Paul's, and thence to Chertsey; money paid to two soldiers of Calais, who watched the corpse, and for the hire of barges from London to Chertsey; and 8l. 12s. 3d. distributed in charity to different religious orders.

† The character given by Caxton of the youth of London in his time is curious. He says, "I see that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte, encrease and prouffyte not like their faders and olders; but for the moste parte after that they ben comeyn to their perfyght yeres of discrecien and rypenes of age, how well that faders have lefte to them grete quantite of goodes, yet scarcely amonge ten two thrive.

O blessed

In 1474, Edward raised a vast sum to defray the expenses of the war with France, by obliging the most opulent of his subjects to aid him with *Benevolences*; in other words, by extorting contributions from them either by intreaties or menaces. On this occasion, he sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and, in 'a very pathetic speech,' prevailed on them to 'set a good example,' by giving 'generously:' and he afterwards addressed the principal citizens in a similar manner; by which means he obtained large sums, and was shortly enabled to transport to Calais an army of 31,000 men. On his return, in the following year, after concluding a peace with the French King, he was met on Blackheath "by the Maior of London and his brethren in scarlet, and 500 commoners all clad in murrey," on horseback, richly accoutred, and "so conveied through the City to Westminster.*

The City walls being in a very decayed state, it was determined by the Mayor, Common Council, &c. that they should be repaired with "brick, made of earth, dug, tempered, and burnt, in Moorfields;" and that "every parishioner should, on every Sunday, pay sixpence in his parish church towards the expences." But the money thus levied being found insufficient to defray the charges, the several companies of drapers, skinners, and goldsmiths, repaired different parts of the wall at their own expense.

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O blessed Lord! when I remember thys, I am al abashed: I cannot judge the cause; but fayrer, ne wyser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre youthe, ben no wher than ther ben in London; but at thyr ful ryping, there is no carnel, ne good corn founden, but chaff for the most part." *Ames's Hist of Print. p.* 37. The dissoluteness to which Caxton alludes, was doubtless occasioned by the wars between the rival houses, which led to the practice of almost every kind of licentiousness; and that the laxity of morals was very great at this period, (anno 1473.) is proved by Sir William Hampton, K. B. Mayor of London, ordering stocks for strollers and vagrants to be erected in every ward throughout the City. He also caused the more notorious prostitutes to undergo corporal punishment, and to be led through the chief streets, and ignominiously exposed.

* Stow's Ann. p. 704; and Fab. Chron. Part 7.

In the same year the surrounding ditch was properly cleansed throughout.

In 1478, the Citizens purchased two charters of the King: the first for the sum of 1923l. 9s. 8d. (part of 12,923l. 9s. 8d. which Edward acknowledged himself indebted to them,) by which they received permission to purchase lands in mortmain to the value of 200 marks per annum; and the other for 7000l. (being part also of the same sum,) by which they obtained the privileges of package, portage, garbling of spices, &c. gauging, wine-drawing, and other privileges.* In the same year, London was ravaged by a *Pestilence*, which began about the end of September, and lasted till November, 1479, "in the which space," says Stow, "died innumerable of people in the said City, and elsewhere."

The Citizens were so much in favor of the King about the year 1482, that he invited the Mayor, "with certein of the Aldermen and Commons of the Citie, into the forest of Waltham, where was ordained for them a pleasant lodge of greene boughs, in the whiche lodge they dined with great cheere; and the King would not go to dinner till he saw them served. After dinner, they went a hunting with the King, and slew many deer, as well red as fallow, whereof the King gave unto the Maior and his company good plenty; and sent unto the Lady Maioresse and her sisters, the Aldermen's wives, 2 harts, 6 bucks, and a tunne of wine, to make them merry with, which was eaten in the Drapers Hall."† This present to the city ladies was probably not unconnected with Edward's gallantries, which are thought to have had some effect in shortening his life. He died at Westminster, April the ninth, 1483.‡

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* From the second charter, it appears that the office of Chief Butler of England had been granted to Earl Rivers, and that he claimed also the right of nominating a Coroner for the City; but this latter office was now confirmed to the Mayor and Commonalty.

† Stow's Ann. p. 712.

‡ Stow, in speaking of the Duke of Glocester, afterwards Richard the Third, says, "Howbeit, this I have by credible information learned, that

The intrigues practised by the Duke of Glocester to usurp the Crown from his youthful nephew Edward the Fifth, and the base arts to which he resorted to seduce the Londoners into an acquiescence with his measures, are largely detailed by our historians. The increased importance which the City had now attained, and its preponderating influence on public events, may be appreciated from the urgency with which the Duke's partizans labored to change the tone of the popular voice, and cause the citizens to declare in favor of their hypocritical master. The Duke himself found it requisite to cover his designs with the cloak of profound loyalty; and when the young King entered the City from Northampton, whence he had been brought by the Dukes of Glocester and Buckingham, after the arrest of Earl Rivers, and his friends, who had previously conveyed the King from Ludlow, he rode before him uncovered, and frequently, with an audible voice, told the citizens to 'behold their Prince and Sovereign.' On this occasion, the chief Magistrates, with '500 horse of the citizens in violet,' met the King at Hornsey, and accompanied him in procession to London, where he was lodged in the Bishop's Palace, and had allegiance sworn to him by the nobility and citizens.

The arts of the Duke, "who bare him in open sight so reverently to the Prince, with al semblance of lowliness," so far prevailed, that at the next council assembled at the episcopal Palace, he was appointed Protector of the King and Realm: yet Edward's Queen, who had taken sanctuary at Westminster on the first intelligence of her brother's, the Earl Rivers, arrest, was so firmly impressed with the belief of the Duke's sinister designs, that it was only by the most pressing instances that she could be prevailed upon to deliver up her younger son, the Duke of York, into his uncle Glocester's power. In an evil hour she at length consented;

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that the selfe night in which King Edward died, one Mistlebrooke, long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Red Crosse Streete without Creplegate, in London; and when he was with hastie rapping quickly letten in, he shewed unto Pottier that King Edward was departed, 'By my troth, man, (quoth Pottier,) then wil my master the Duke of Glocester be King.'

Ann. p. 717.

sented; and quickly afterwards, the Duke had both Princes conveyed to the Tower, as if in readiness for the coronation, that being the usual place from which the solemnity begun.

During these proceedings, the Duke's agents were busily engaged in preparing the way for his own assumption of the sovereignty; and the mask was at length thown off by himself, on the very day that the time of the coronation was to have been publicly notified. On that day, Lord Hastings, the firm friend of Edward's children, was beheaded in the Tower by the Protector's command; and the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, were arrested, and separately imprisoned in the same fortress. To justify these violent acts, and prevent any rising of the Londoners, by whom Hastings had been much respected, the Protector sent for "many substantial men out of the City"* including the Mayor and Aldermen, who, on their arrival in the Tower, found him with the Duke of Buckingham, in old rusty armour, hastily put on over their clothes, as though they had been in some imminent danger.† He then told them, that "the Lord Hastings had embarked in a dangerous conspiracy, and that his sudden execution had become necessary, to prevent an insurrection to his rescue;" and he concluded by desiring them to "acquaint the people therewith, and to prevent or appease the commotions which the ill-affected might endeavour to excite." The Citizens engaged to comply with his directions; yet the Duke, apprehensive of their fidelity, caused a herald to proclaim, in various parts of the City, that the decapitated lord had "traiterously contrived on the same day to have slain the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, sitting in council, with a purpose and design to take upon himself the government of the King and Kingdom, and rule all things at his pleasure;" that "Shore's wife

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* Stow's Ann. p. 743.

† Stow says, they "stood harnessed in olde ill faring brigganders, such as no man should weene that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessity had constrained them." Ann. p. 743.

wife [the most beloved mistress of the late King Edward] was one of his secret council in this treason;" and that he, the Lord Hastings, "had lived with her in a continual incontinency, and lay nightly with her—so that it was no marvel if his ungracious life had brought him to as unhappy a death, &c."* The studied artfulness and length of this proclamation defeated its own ends, by exciting a belief that it had been prepared previously to the bloody tragedy of the death of Hastings; and the impression thus made upon the people, was further strengthened by the news of the murder at Pontefract, on the same day, of the Earl Rivers, and the other nobles whom the Protector had caused to be imprisoned when the King was on his progress towards London.

Every engine was now employed to bend the *vox populi* to the Protector's aim; and with this intent, Sir Edmund Shaw, the Mayor of London, was made a privy-counsellor, by which means the exertions of his brother Dr. Shaw, a celebrated and much-followed preacher, were secured in favour of the intended usurpation; and it was determined "that he should first breake the matter in a sermon at Paule's Crosse, in which he should, by the authoritie of his preaching, incline the people to the Protector's ghostly purpose. On the Sunday following, therefore, this prelate,

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* As Jane Shore was thus openly accused, the Protector, to save appearances, had her examined before the council, on charges of sorcery, &c. brought against her by himself; yet she escaped condemnation, but "that she was naught of her body—he caused the Bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the Crosse in procession upon a Sunday, with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit she were out of all array, save hir kirtle only, yet went she so faire and lovely, namely, while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in hir cheekes (of which she before had most misse) that hir great shame was hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir body than curious of hir soul. And many good folke also that hated her living, and glad were to see sinne corrected, yet pitied they more hir penance, than rejoiced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent than any virtuous purpose." Stow's Ann. p. 744.

late, taking for his text the words of Solomon, 'Bastard slips shall never take deep root,' attempted to convince his auditory, 'that Edward's children were illegitimate, and that the proper heir to the crown was the Lord Protector,' whom he declared to be the 'very sure undoubted image,' and plain expresse likeness of his noble father.' The preacher's eloquence failed of its purpose: and, though the Protector made his appearance, as had been concerted, in hopes that the Citizens would have saluted him 'King,' the sullen silence maintained by the multitude "who stood as they had been turned into stones, for wonder of this shameful sermon,"* convinced him that his designs were not approved.

This attempt proving unsuccessful, the next expedient was to assemble the Citizens in Guildhall, where they were addressed by the Duke of Buckingham, who was "of nature marvellously well spoken; but neither his eloquence, nor the repetition of his discourse by the Recorder, could incline the people to the least exclamation in support of the Protector's claim. "Whereupon," to use the language of Stow, "the Duke rowned unto the Maior, and said, 'This is a marvellous obstinate silence;' and therewith he turned unto the people againe with these words: 'Dear friends, we come to move you to that thing which peradventure we not so greatly needed; but that the Lords of this realme, and the Commons of other parties, might have sufficed; saving that we such love beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you that thing in which to be partners is your weale and honor, which as it seemeth, either you

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* Stow's Ann. p. 753. Having "once ended," says our author, "the preacher gat him home, and never after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle; and when he once asked one that had beene his olde friende, what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good; yet when the other answered him, that there was in every man's mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the hart, that within a few daies after he withered, and consumed away." Ibid.

see not, or wey not. Wherefore we require you to give us answere, one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the nobles of the realme be, to have this noble Prince, now Protector, to be your King, or not?'

"At these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither lowde nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of bees, till at the last, in the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the Duke's servants and Nashfield's, and other longing to the Protector, with some prentises and laddes that thrust into the hall among the prease, began sodainly at mens backes, to crie out as loude as their throtes would give, 'King Richard, King Richard,' and threw up their caps in token of joy. And they that stoode before cast backe their heads, marvelling thereof, but nothing they said.

"And when the Duke and the Maior saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly crie, and a joyfull to heare, every man with one voice, no man saying nay. Wherefore, friends, (quoth the Duke) since that we perceive it is all your whole mindes to have this noble man for your King, whereof we shall make to his grace so effectuell report, that we doubt not but it shall redound unto your great weale and commoditie: we require ye that ye to-morrow go with us, and we with you unto his noble grace, to make our humble request unto him in maner before remembered.' And therewith the lords came downe, and the companie dissolved and departed; the more part all sad, some with glad semblance that were not very merrie; and some of those that came thither with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the colour of their hart burst out of their eies."*

On the following day, "the maior, with all the aldermen, and chief commoners of the citie, in their best maner apparelled, met the Duke of Buckingham at Baynard's Castle, "where the Protector lay," and where, after a great deal of affected squeamishness, and pretended ignorance of what was going on, he was *persuaded* to accede to the petition of the assembly, and accept the crown. On the same day he "toke possession of the throne in the gret hal," at Westminster, and "with as pleasant an oration as he could," engaged to govern with clemency, and justly to administer the laws. His coronation was solemnized on the sixth of the ensuing month, July; and, as appears from the coronation-roll, it was once intended, that the "Lord Edward, son of the late King Edward IV. and his attendants," should grace the ceremony; yet it is certain that they did not appear there. Fabian says, "As soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, the Prince, or, of right, King Edward V. with his brother, the Duke of York, were put under surer kepyng in the Towre, in such wyse that they never came abrode after." Whatever may have been the real fate of these Princes, the story of their having been murdered in the Tower, during the progress which Richard made, shortly after his coronation, to Oxford, Glocester, York, &c. made a great impression on the people, and inclined many to join in the conspiracy against him, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, his once firmest partizan, but now most determined enemy. But the Duke proved unsuccessful; and being compelled to take shelter in the house of a domestic, was basely betrayed, and soon afterwards beheaded by Richard's command, without any legal process.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 757, 8. The Duke had been accompanied to Guildhall by "divers lords and knights, more than happily knew the message that they brought." Ibid. p. 753.

"The 30. of December was a great fire in Leadenhall in London, where through was burnt much housing, and all the stocks for guns, and other like provisions belonging the city."* In the following year (anno 1484), the great intercourse of Italian and other foreign merchants with the Metropolis, was restrained by act of parliament, and other regulations were made to maintain the ancient privileges of the Citizens. The same year, on the news of

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* Stow's Ann. p. 776.

of the projected invasion by the Earl of Richmond, and other English malcontents, a commission was given to the Surveyor of the King's Works, directing him "to press into his service all necessary workmen to expedite the repairs of the Tower of London.*"

Richard was slain in the battle of Bosworth Field, on the twenty-second of August, 1485; and his crown having been found by a soldier, was placed by the Lord Stanley on the head of the Earl of Richmond, who immediately assumed the regal state, by the title of Henry the Seventh, and had his claim subsequently ratified by the Parliament. He entered London six days afterwards, having been met on his way by the "Maior, Magistrates, and Citie Companies, with great pompe," by whom he "was conveyed through the Citie to St. Paul's Church, where he offered his three standards," and afterwards "went to the Bishop's Palace, and soiouned a season."† He was crowned at Westminster on the thirtieth of October following, on which occasion he instituted a body-guard of fifty chosen archers, "being strong and hardy persons," to attend him and his successors for ever; thus "covering," says Rapin, "with a pretence of grandeur and majesty, a precaution which he apparently believed necessary in the present juncture."‡

About this period the *Sweating Sickness*, an epidemical distemper of a very singular nature, raged with great violence in London, where, says Stow, "it began the twenty-first of September." Those attacked by this before unknown disorder, were thrown into a violent perspiration, which mostly occasioned their deaths in twenty-four hours; yet, if they survived that time, they generally recovered. Of this sickness, "a wonderfull number died," before the proper remedies could be determined, which lay chiefly in a temperate regimen. It appears from Hall's Chronicle, that two Mayors and six Aldermen of London died of this affliction within the space of one week.

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* Led. Book. Rich. III.

† Stow's Ann. p. 784.

‡ Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 651.

On the eighteenth of January, 1486, the King's marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth, by which the claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster were united, was solemnised at Westminster, amidst the rejoicings of every class of people; yet Henry, whose hatred to the family of York was extreme, deferred the coronation of his Queen for nearly two whole years; but he was then obliged to bend to the general wish, and Elizabeth was crowned on the twenty-fifth of November, within a few days after the King's return to London from quelling the insurrection of Lambert Simnel, who had personated the young Earl of Warwick, whom Henry, from the beginning of his reign, had kept closely confined in the Tower. The commotion was so general, that the king found it prudent to shew the Earl to the people, which he did, by causing him to ride through the principal streets of the City, in solemn procession to St. Paul's Cathedral.

In 1488, Henry borrowed 6000l. of the Citizens, to enable him to furnish aid to the Duke of Bretagne, who was then at war with the French king; and this sum was the more cheerfully advanced, inasmuch as a loan of 3000 marks, which the King had required from the City soon after his accession, had been duly paid at the appointed time. This mode of obtaining money, however, was insufficient to supply the King's wants; and about the year 1491, making a pretext of the war with France, he exacted great sums from his subjects in the way of Benevolence, publishing, says Stow, "that he who gave most shoulde be judged to be his most loving friend; and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift."[*] The sums thus obtained from the Citizens, amounted to 9682l. 17s. 4d.[†]

The growing discontent which Henry's harsh government had excited among the people, was favourable to conspiracy; and about 1493, a new claimant to the throne appeared, in one whom the pages of history have denominated Perkin Warbeck, but who

styled

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 791.

[†] Ibid.

styled himself, Richard, Duke of York, youngest son of Edward the Fourth. Whatever may be the fact as to the identity of Warbeck with the youth whom Richard is supposed to have had murdered in the Tower, the King found himself compelled to exert all his activity to avoid the threatened danger. The old Duchess of Burgundy had acknowledged Warbeck as her nephew, and many of the nobility covertly supported him: among others was Sir William Stanley, the King's Chamberlain, who, notwithstanding all the previous services which his family had rendered to Henry, was beheaded on Tower Hill, in February, 1495; though all that was proved against him was, his saying, that "if he certainly knew that the young man was the undoubted sonne and heire of King Edward the Fourth, he would never fight nor bear armour against him."*

About this period the insatiable avarice of the King led him to commit many acts of oppression upon his subjects, through the agency of different profligate minions. The Citizens particularly suffered; and, among the earliest victims of Henry's cupidity, was Sir William Capel, alderman of London, who, under sundry obsolete penal statutes, was adjudged to pay 2743l.; but through some powerful intercessions this sum was mitigated to 1615l. 6s. 8d. The persons selected for extortion were commonly the most affluent; and the general mode of procedure was by charging them with the breach of some long-forgotten law. Juries were packed for the express purpose of giving condemnatory verdicts; and others were cajoled, bribed, or menaced into the same line of conduct. At length the abuse became so flagrant, that Parliament found it requisite to interpose, by defining the qualifications of London jurors, and by enacting additional penalties to be inflicted on all jurymen that should be convicted of perjury or bribery.†

In 1496, Henry obtained the grant of a subsidy from Parliament, in support of his preparations against the Scottish king, who, having espoused the cause of Perkin Warbeck, had invaded England with a powerful army. The rigorous methods employed to enforce the gathering of the subsidy conjoined with the King's other exactions, occasioned, in the following year, an insurrection of the Cornishmen, many thousands of whom under the command of one Flammoek, a lawyer, and Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, assembled in arms, and began their march towards London. At Wells they were joined by James Tuchet, Lord Audley, whom they made their General, and who led them into Kent, where they expected to be joined by the common people, but through the exertions of the Kentish lords not a man offered to take up arms in their favour.* Encouraged, however, by the apparent remissness of the King, who had permitted them to proceed so far unmolested, they encamped on Blackheath, and "there ordered their battails, either ready to fight with the King, if he would assayle them, or else to assault the Citie of London.† The Citizens prepared for defence; and Henry having concerted measures for surrounding the insurgents, encamped for one night in St. George's Fields: on the next day, June 22, he attacked his foes by surprise, and entirely routed them, after a short contest. The ringleaders, Flammock and the farrier, were soon afterwards executed at Tyburn, and Lord Audley was beheaded on Tower Hill: the other prisoners were distributed among the captors for them to dispose of for their ransoms as they thought proper; and most of them compounded for their liberty at two or three shillings a man.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 796.

† See Stat. at Large, 11th Henry VII.

This lenity, though so opposite to what might have been expected from Henry's general conduct, was insufficient to appease the popular discontents, and when, in September 1498, Perkin Warbeck landed in Cornwall, and assumed the title of Richard the Fourth, he was joined by upwards of 3000 Cornishmen. With this force, afterwards increased to about 6000, he made an unsuccessful attempt upon Exeter; but hearing of the King's advance with a numerous army, he retired to Taunton, and thence fled for sanctuary to Beaulieu Abbey in the New Forest. He soon, however, submitted to the king, and was conducted in triumph through London to the Tower. Through an unsuccessful attempt to escape, he was afterwards exposed a whole day in the stocks in the Palace Court, at Westminster, and on the next day at the Cross in Cheapside, from whence he was reconveyed to the Tower. In the following year he again engaged in an abortive attempt to free himself from captivity, together with the young Earl of Warwick who had been fifteen years a prisoner: for this Henry caused him to be hanged at Tyburn, and within a few days afterwards the Earl was decapitated on Tower Hill.

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* Rapin's Hist. Vol. I. p. 679.

† Stow's Ann. p. 799.

In 1500, the Kingdom was visited by a dreadful *Plague*, to avoid the ravages of which the King and his Court, after removing to various places, sailed to Calais. The number of persons carried off in the Metropolis and its vicinity amounted to about 30,000.[*]

On the second of May, 1501, the King kept a 'roiall *Turney* and *Justs*," within the Tower of London; and in the same year, in November, a variety of splendid *Pageantry* was exhibited in the streets of the City, in honour of the nuptials of the Princess Katherine of Spain with Prince Arthur.[†] In 1502 Henry began to

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 803.

[†] On the 12th of November, "the said Lady Princess," says Stow, "accompanied with many lordes and ladies, came riding from the archbishop's Inne of Canterbury, at Lambeth, into Southwarke, and so to London Bridge, where was ordeyned a costly pageant of Saint Katherine, and S. Vrsula, with many virgins; from thence shee rode to Grace-streete, where was ordeined a second pageant, from thence to the conduit in Cornehil, where was another pageant. The great conduit in Cheape ran with Gascoyne wine, and was furnished with musick. Against Soperlane end was the fourth pageant. At the standard in Cheape was ordeined the fift pageant. At Pauls gate was the sixt pageant: by the which the princesse rode through Pauls church-yarde unto the bishop of Londons pallace, where shee and hir people were lodged.

"Now

to build the magnificent Chapel which still bears his name at the east end of Westminster Abbey.

The

" Now within the Church of Saint Paule, to wit, from the west gate of it unto the vppermost gresse or step at the going in of the quier, was made a pale of tymber and boordes to go upon, from the said west dore unto the forenamed greese, of the height of six foote from the ground, or more: and fore anenst the place where the commissaries court is kept within the said church, was ordeined a standing like unto a mountaine with steps on euery side, which was couered ouer with red wusted, and in likewise was all the railes: against which mountaine vpon the north side, within the foresaid place of the commissaries court was ordeined a standing for the king, and such other as liked him to haue: and on the south side almost for against the kings standing was ordained a scaffold, wherupon stood the maior and his brethren.

Then vpon the 14. of Nouember being sonday, vpon the abone named mountaine, was prince Arthur about the age of 15. yeeres, and the lady Katherine about the age of 18. yeers, both clad in white sattine, married by the archbishop of Caunterbury, assisted by 19. bishops and abbots mitered. And the king, the queene, the kings mother, stood in the place afore named, where they heard and beheld the solemnization: which being finished, the said archbishop and bishops tooke their way from the mountaine, vpon the said pase couered vnder foote with blew rey-cloth vnto the quire, and so to the high altar, whom followed the spouse and spouses, the lady Cicile sister to the queene bearing hir traine, after hir followed 100. ladies and gentlewomen, in right costly apparell, then the Maior in a gowne of crimson velvet, and his brethren in scarlet, with the sword borne before the Maior, and sate in the quire the masse while, the archbishop of Yorke sate in the deanes place, and offered as cheefe, and after him the duke of Buckingham, &c. Wonderfull it was to behold the riches of apparell worne that day, with the poisant chaines of gold: of which, two were specially noted, to wit, sir T. Brandon, knight, master of the kings horse, which that day ware a chaine valued at 1400. pound: and the other William de Riuers esquire, master of the kings haukes, whose chaine was valued at a thousand pound: many mo were of 200.300. and so foorth, these were not noted for the length, but for the greatnes of the links. Also the duke of Buckingham ware a gowne wrought of needle worke, and set upon cloth of tissue, furred with sables, the which gowne was valued at 1500. pound. And sir Nicholas Vause knight, ware a gowne of purple veluet, pight with peeces of gold so thicke and massy, that it was valued in gold, besides the silke and furre, a thousand

pointed ;

The iniquitous exactions made under the King's connivance, if not positive commands, were multiplied in the latter years of his life, in nearly the same proportion as he obtained security on the throne. So his coffers were but filled, it mattered not to him what measures were pursued; and his infamous ministers, Empson and Dudley, failed not to carry the system of extortion to the uttermost. By means of "graceless persons," says Stow, "which named themselves the King's promoters, many forgotten statutes, made hundred of years passed, were now quickened, and sharpely called upon, to the great unquietness of many the King's subjects, as well the rich as the others that had competent substance."[*] The most affluent of the Citizens were again the greatest sufferers; and the City itself, on the pretence of having granted

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pound: which chaines and garments were valued by goldsmithes of best skill, and them that wrought them. The masse being finished, the princesse was led by Henry duke of Yorke, and a legate of Spaine, by the foresaid pace into the palace, going before hir men of honor, to the number of 160. with gentlemen and other. There came vnto the Maior sir Richard Crofts steward of the princes house, which brought him and his brethren the aldermen into the great hall, and at a table upon the west side of the hall, caused them to be set to dinner, where honorably were they serued with 12. dishes to a messe at the first course, 15. the second course, and 18. dishes the third course. In this hall was a cupboord of fiue stages height, being triangled, the which was set with plate valued 1200l. the which was neuer mooued at that day: and in the vtter chamber where the princesse dined, was a cupboord of gold plate, garnished with stone and pearle, valued aboue 20000. pound. The Tuesday following, the king and queene being all this season at Bainards castell, came vnto Poules, and heard there masse, and then accompanied with many nobles, went into the palace, and there dined with the princesse. This day sir Nicholas Vause ware a collar of Esses, which weyed, as the goldsmiths that made it reported, 800 pound of nobles. And the same day at afternoone, the said princes were conveyed with manie lords and ladies unto Paules Wharffe, where the said estates took their barges, and were rowed to Westminster, upon whom the choir attended, with the aldermen and fellowship in barges, garnished with banners and other devises, musike, &c."—*Ann.* p. 805-7.

[*] Stow's Ann. p. 810.

granted to it a new charter confirmatory of its rights and privileges, was, in 1505, compelled to pay to the King the enormous sum of 5000 marks. Sir William Capel, who has been already mentioned, and who had served the office of Mayor in 1503, was, five years afterwards, mulcted in the sum of 2000l. for some pretended remissness in his official duties, and on his refusing payment was committed close prisoner to the Tower, where he continued till the King's death. Sir Lawrence Aylmer, Mayor of London, in 1507, and his two Sheriffs, were also condemned in a heavy fine; and, on default of payment, were committed to prison. Sir Thomas Kniesworth, who was Mayor in 1505, with his Sheriffs Stone and Grove, were, about the same time, thrown into the Marshalsea, on a charge of malversation in office, and obliged to purchase their release by the payment of 1400l.; and Christopher Hawes, a mercer and alderman, "was so long vexed by the said promoters, that it shortened his life by thought taking."*

The odium excited by these acts, the King sought to remove by an ostentatious display of charity, to which his apprehensions of the chances of another world unquestionably contributed. He endowed several religious foundations, gave considerable sums to the poor, and discharged all prisoners about London, whose debts did not exceed forty shillings. Still so excessive were the treasures he had amassed, that, on his decease, in April 1409, as appears from Lord Bacon's History of this Prince, he left to the value of 1,800,000l. in money, plate, and jewels, locked up in secret vaults beneath his favourite palace at Richmond. His funeral was conducted with extreme magnificence; and his remains, after lying several days in state, were interred in his own chapel at Westminster.†

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* Stow's Ann. p. 811.

† See Hall's Chronicle, (anno 1509) where the particulars of the obsequies of Henry the Seventh, as well as of the coronation of his successor are set down at length.

The accession of Henry the Eighth was hailed with much joy by the Citizens, and his first acts were very popular. Empson and Dudley were committed to the Tower; several of their inferior agents, or "promoters," were ignominiously led through the streets and set in the pillory in Cornhill, where they were treated so roughly that they all died in prison soon afterwards; and a commission was appointed to inquire into the oppressions and redress the injuries committed in the last reign. The late King's concurrence, however, in the enormities that had been practised by Empson and Dudley, was found to have been so decided, that to save the additional infamy which might otherwise have been attached to his memory, these agents of his guilt were condemned to die on a frivolous charge of High Treason, instead of being tried for their actual crimes; and, some months afterwards, (August 1510,) they were beheaded under the King's special writ, upon a scaffold on Tower Hill.

Henry's marriage with Katherine, his deceased brother's widow, to whom he had been contracted during the life-time of his father, (a dispensation having been procured from the Pope,) was solemnized at Greenwich, in June, 1509; and on the twenty-fourth of the same month, their Majesties were crowned at Westminster with extraordinary pomp. On this occasion they rode in procession from the Tower, the streets of the City being magnificently adorned with silks, tapestry, and gold brocades. The corporate officers, and different companies accompanied the procession in their formalities, and the people testified their joy by loud and reiterated acclamations. During this whole reign, indeed, the Citizens indulged in all the splendid Pageantry and profusely expensive Spectacles which were patronized by the court, and became a characteristic feature of the taste of the age.*

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* One of the principal *Spectacles* was the grand Cavalcade, or "Marching," of the City watch, which was exhibited twice yearly, viz. on the eve of St. John Baptist, and on that of St. Peter and St. Paul. "On Midsummer-eve, at night," says Stow, "anno 1510, King Henry came privily

The act passed by parliament at the latter end of the year 1512, for rendering ecclesiastics amenable to the civil laws, excited great commotion in the Metropolis, the priests every where preaching against this restraint, and pronouncing the censures of the church against all who supported it. Their cause, however, fell into additional disrepute through the infamous murder of a respectable citizen, named Richard Hunne, who for presuming to

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privily into Westcheap, being clothed in one of the coates of his guard; and, on St. Peter's night, the King and Queen came roially riding to the signe of the King's Head in Cheape, and there beheld the watch of the Citie, which watch was set out with divers goodly shewes, as had beene accustomed." The manner of conducting this nocturnal parade was as follows:—The March was begun at the Conduit at the west end of Cheap, and continued through Cornhill and Leadenhall Street to Aldgate, whence it returned to the Conduit through Fenchurch Street, Gracechurch Street, and Cornhill. The procession was headed by the City waits, followed by the Lord Mayor's officers in party-coloured liveries; then came the sword-bearer in splendid armour, on horseback, preceding the Lord Mayor, who was mounted on a stately horse richly caparisoned, and was attended by a giant, two pages on horseback, three pageants, morrice-dancers, and footmen. Next came the Sheriffs with their officers, attended by their giants, pageants, and morrice-dancers. Then followed a considerable body of demi-lancers, in bright armour, on stately horses; and after them a body of carabineers in white fustian coats, with a symbol of the City arms on their backs and breasts. A division of archers followed with bent bows, and shafts of arrows by their sides: next came a party of pikemen and a body of halberdeers, both in their corslets and helmets; and, lastly, a considerable number of billmen in helmets, wearing aprons of mail. The whole body of the Marching Watch consisted of about 2000 men; and between the divisions were musicians, drums, standards, ensigns, &c. The procession was illuminated by 940 cresset lights or lanthorns, fixed on the end of poles, and carried over mens' shoulders, each attended by two men, who wore straw hats and badges. The streets were also hung with numerous lamps, and "every man's door was shadowed with greene birch, long fennel, St. John's-wort, orpin, white lilies, and such like, garnished upon with garlands of beautiful flowers." This Marching Watch was discontinued after the thirty-first of Henry the Eighth, though one or two ineffectual attempts were made to revive it. *Stow's Surv. Hall's Chron. Mait. Lon.*

to bring an action of premunire against a priest, was himself accused of heresy, and imprisoned in the Lollard's Tower at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged, as if he himself had committed suicide. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder against those who had charge of the prison; and it was afterwards discovered that the chancellor, Dr. Horsey, assisted by the bell-ringer, had first murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body against the wall. As a means of stifling the vehement clamours which this event excited, Fitz-James, Bishop of London, by the advice of some of his brother prelates, held a court at St. Paul's, in which Hunne, who had now been ten days in his grave, was condemned as a heretic, for having had a Wickliffe's Bible in his house, and his body was ordered to be taken up and burnt in Smithfield. This contemptible baseness aggravated the animosity of the laity, yet although the Commons passed a bill for bringing the murderers of Hunne to justice, the clergy had enough influence to cause it to be thrown out by the Lords; and, after a long series of conferences, disputes, and bickerings, the whole business terminated in a compromise. The prelacy agreed to drop all proceedings against those who were opposed to them, provided that Horsey's plea of Not Guilty in the court of King's Bench, should be admitted by the King's Attorney-General as a sufficient answer to the crime of which he was accused. However imperfectly the ends of justice were fulfilled by this decision, it must be regarded as one of those efficient steps which, by slow progression, led to the downfall of the catholic hierarchy. To bring an ecclesiastic to the bar of a civil court was, in that age, to triumph over the whole body of the priesthood, who thus made at least a virtual acknowledgment of the *King's Supremacy*.

In 1513, many persons died about London, from the effects of a *Pestilence*, which also spread its ravages into other parts of the Kingdom.

In May, 1514, the *Cup of Maintenance*, and *Sword*, which had been sent by Pope Julius the Second, was brought into London

don in a procession attended by many noblemen and gentlemen; and, on the following Sunday, were presented to the King with great solemnity at St. Paul's Cathedral.* This year also was distinguished by a *Tumult* occasioned by the inclosure of the open grounds about Islington, Hoxton, and Shoreditch, by which the populace were prevented from taking their accustomed exercises and sports. Irritated at this abridgment of their pastimes, and by the seizure of some bows and arrows, the Citizens assembled in great numbers, at the instigation of a turner, who, disguised in a Merry-Andrew's coat, ran up and down the streets incessantly crying '*Spades and Shovels,*' and, running to the fields, soon levelled hedges, banks, and ditches. The magistrates were afterwards reprehended by the King's commissioners for not being more careful of the peace of the City.†

A much more serious commotion arose in London, in 1517, on the first of May, which has since been known in our annals by the name of *Evil May-Day.* The jealousies of the London artificers had been strongly excited by the encouragement that was given to foreign traders who had settled in the suburbs, and to employ the words of Hall, encompassed "the City round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple-Bar, Holborn, St. Martin's-le-Grand, St. John's Street, Aldgate, Tower Hill, and St. Catherine's."‡ This "*hart-burning,*" as Stow calls it, was blown into open flame by a city-broker, named John Lincoln, by whose persuasions Dr. Bell, or Ball, a canon, who had been appointed to preach the Spital sermon on Easter Tuesday, was induced to read a seditious paper from the pulpit, and afterwards to comment upon the grievances complained of in his sermon. From the text—

Cœlum, cœli Domino, terram autem dedit filiis Hominum.

—(The Heavens to the Lord of Heaven, but the Earth he hath given

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* Stow's Ann. p. 827. † Hall's Chron. annó 1514.

‡ Ibid, an. 1517.

given to the Children of Men)—he inferred, that "this lande was given to Englishmen, and as birdes defende their nestes, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintaine themselves, and to hurt and grieve aliens for respect to their commonwealth: and upon this text—*Pugna pro Patria*,—hee brought in how by God's law it was lawful to fight for their countrey; and thus hee subtillie moved the people to rebell against strangers. By this sermon manie a light person tooke courage, and as unhap woulde, there had beene divers evill parts plaide of late by strangers, in and about the Citie of London, which kindeled the peoples rancor the more furiouslie against them."*

The ferment thus awakened led to the assaulting of various foreigners in the streets towards the latter end of April, for which several young men were committed to prison by the Mayor. "Then sodainlie rose a secret rumour, and no man coulde tell howe it began, that on May-day next the Citie woulde slaie all the aliens, insomuch, that divers strangers fled out of the Citie."† This rumour having been communicated to the King's Council, Cardinal Wolsey sent for the Mayor, and "willed him to take good heede that if anie riotous attempt were intended, hee shoulde with good policie prevent it."‡ On the same evening, (May-eve) a council was held at Guildhall; and it was determined that every Alderman should direct in his respective ward, "that no man shoulde stir after nyne of the clocke out of his house, but to keepe his doores shut, and his servaunts within till nyne of the clocke in the morning."§

Before this order could be generally promulgated, Sir John Mundy, one of the Aldermen, "came from his warde, and found two young men in Cheape playing at the bucklers;"‖ and many others looking on. He immediately commanded them to leave off, "and for that one of them asked him 'Why?' he wold have sent him to the counter: but the prentises resisted the alderman, taking the young man from him, and cried '*Prentises and Clubs.*' Then out at every doore came clubs and other weapons, so that the alderman was faine to flie."[*] The tumult presently increased, and the populace assembling in greater numbers, went to the Compter and to Newgate, and released all who had been confined for insulting foreigners. The endeavours of the Mayor and Aldermen to restore tranquillity were, at first, ineffectual; and the mob were guilty of many depredations; and, in particular, broke all the windows and doors in St. Martin's-le-Grand, and Blanch-appleton, belonging to aliens. The disturbance was at length quelled by the exertions of the Mayor and his brethren, by about three o'clock the next morning, and 300 of the rioters were sent to different prisons. The alarm was so great that Wolsey dispatched Sir Thomas Parr to Richmond to inform the King; and Sir Roger Cholmeley, Lieutenant of the Tower, probably with a view to intimidate the multitude, "shot off certaine peeces of ordinance against the Citie, but did no great hurt."[†] On the following day Dr. Bell was sent to the Tower, and a commission, directed to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and other Lords, was immediately appointed to try the prisoners.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 847.

† Ibid. May-day was in that age kept as a great holiday, and celebrated with much pomp among the Citizens.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

On the second of May the commissioners, attended by a guard of 1300 men, assembled in Guildhall, and the prisoners, to the number of 278, "some men, some lads, but thirteen or fourteen years old,"[‡] were arraigned, and "John Lincoln and divers others were indicted." The next day thirteen of the rioters were adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and as a means of exciting terror, "ten paire of gallowes" were set up on wheels in different quarters of the City, yet the only one that suffered was Lincoln, who was executed at thes Standard in Cheape, on the seventh of May; some others who were drawn

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 847.

[†] Ibid, p. 848.

[‡] Ibid.

with him to the place of execution, were respited "with the rope about their neckes," amidst the loud acclamations of the people.

Four days afterwards, the Mayor and Aldermen, who appear to have been strongly impressed with an idea of the greatness of the King's displeasure, waited on his Majesty at Greenwich, in mourning gowns, to solicit his clemency and pardon; but Henry, with the boisterous roughness congenial to his manners, told them that he would neither grant to them his favour nor good-will, inasmuch as they had winked at the matter, nor to the offenders mercy; "but that they must resort to the Lord Chancellor (Wolsey), who should declare his pleasure."*

The all-paramount influence of Wolsey, quickened, as it is supposed to have been, by some considerable gifts, soon prevailed over the King's anger, and the Citizens received notice to attend at Westminster on the twenty-second of May. On that day, the King, seated on a cloth of state in Westminster Hall, and accompanied by the Lord Cardinal, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Essex, Wiltshire, and Surry, with many Lords and others of the Council, gave audience to the "Maior of London, Aldermen, and other the chiefe Citizens, who were there in their best liveries by nine of the cloke. Then came in the prisoners, bound in ropes in a ranke one after another, in their shirts, and every one with a halter about his neke, being in number 400 men and eleven women.

"When they were thus come before the King's presence, the Cardinal laid sore to the Maior and Aldermen their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared how justly they had deserved death. Then all the prisoners together cried to the King for mercy, and therewith the Lords besought his grace of pardon, at whose request the King pardoned them all. The general pardon being pronounced, all the prisoners showted at once, and cast their halters towards the roofe of the hall."† The Cardinal then, after exhorting the rejoicing criminals to obedience and loyalty, dismissed them: the gallowses were soon afterwards removed from the City, the magistrates were restored to favor, and the clemency of the King became the theme of general exultation. How happy would it have been for Henry, and the Kingdom, had the same feelings which must then have reigned in his breast, been made the monitors of his future conduct!

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* Hall's Chron. an. 1517.

† Stow's Ann. p. 849.

After this affair, the pastime of May-day fell into disuse among the Londoners, and the former custom of setting up a great May-pole in Leadenhall Street was partially discontinued.

London was so grievously ravaged by the *Sweating Sickness* towards the latter part of this year, that the law courts were adjourned, and the King, to prevent the spreading of the infection into his own family, dismissed many of his attendants and officers. The virulence of this distemper was sometimes so powerful that the patient died within three hours after being affected. Lord Grey de Wilton, Lord Clinton, and many other knights and gentlemen were among the sufferers.

In 1519, the King, by his Letters Patent, granted permission to the Citizens to hold their sessions at Guildhall, it having hitherto been held at the monastery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, under the first charter of Edward the Third. In September, the same year, the College of Physicians was first incorporated by a charter, which was confirmed by parliament, in 1521, with additional privileges. In the latter year, also, Stow records, "there was a great death in London, and other places of the realme, and many men of honour and great worship died:"* this mortality was accompanied with a great scarcity of provisions, particularly of grain. In 1522, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who had come to England on a visit to the King, was received into London with great pomp, "the City being prepared after the manner as is used at a coronation."† On this occasion, "the Crosse in Cheape was new guilt, and eleven pageants were devised on stages very faire and excellent to behold."‡ The Emperor was

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* Stow's Ann. p. 864. † Ibid, p. 867. ‡ Ibid.

lodged at the Blackfriars, and his attendant nobles at the new Palace of Bridewell. In the following year, Henry was visited by Christian the Second, King of Denmark, and his Queen, who was conducted through the City with much show, and lodged in the Bishop of Bath's palace.

The projected invasion of France, about this period, gave rise to an attempt on the part of the King and his favorite Wolsey, to levy money without the aid of Parliament. The habitual extravagance of Henry had almost drained his treasury, yet his overbearing and tyrannical disposition rendered him very unwilling to supply his wants by resorting to constitutional measures. He therefore demanded loans on his own authority, not only from cities and towns, but also from opulent individuals. From the City of London alone, though not without some difficulty, he obtained 20,000l. on giving an obligation signed by himself and the Cardinal, for its repayment. Soon afterwards he issued commissions for taking a general survey of the Kingdom, with a view to further exactions, by a direct tax on rents and property, but the opposition to Wolsey's schemes proved so strong, that he was obliged to content himself with what he could obtain by influence and persuasion. The sums thus procured were far, however, from being sufficient, and a Parliament was therefore summoned to meet at Blackfriars, in April, 1523. The largeness of the supplies demanded occasioned great debates, and the subsidies that were at last voted, were granted with such an evident unwillingness, that the King and his favorite called no other Parliament for seven years after; nor would they have done it then, could they have awed the people into the necessary submission and acquiescence.*

In 1525, the Cardinal issued commissions in the King's name, and doubtless with his full privity, though that was afterwards denied, for levying a fourth part of all the goods and chattels of the clergy, and a sixth of those of the laity. This arbitrary and excessive imposition excited such general discontent, and particularly among the Citizens of London, that an open rebellion was apprehended, and Henry, dreading the consequences, publicly disavowed any knowledge of the Cardinal's act. He also sent a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, declaring that "he would not exact any thing from his people by compulsion, nor demand any thing but by way of *Benevolence*, as had been practised by his predecessors." The meaning of the word benevolence was now, however, perfectly understood, and universally reprobated; and every attempt made to carry the intended imposition into practice, had the effect only of inflaming the people into stronger and more determined resistance.

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* In the subsidy granted by the Parliament in 1523, may be found the germs of the present Property Tax. Every man worth 20l. or who could dispend 20l. yearly, or upwards, was to contribute *one tenth* of his property; those worth from forty shillings to 20l. one twentieth; and all others above the age of sixteen, four-pence to be paid in two years.

Soon afterwards, the Cardinal sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and having discoursed with them on the King's grace and condescension in remitting his former demand; he desired them to return to the City, and make the necessary assessments for raising the required benevolence. The inhabitants of the respective wards were therefore assembled, but it was answered, "that they had paid enough before, with many evil words;"* and in a subsequent conversation with Wolsey, the Recorder of the City plainly told him, that the 'asking of such benevolence was contrary to the statute made in the first year of Richard the Third.' The Cardinal replied, that 'Richard was an usurper and a murderer,' and that of so 'evil a man no acts could be honourable.' The Recorder had the courage to return, that 'although Richard did evil, yet in his time many good acts were made, not by him only, but by the consent of the body of the whole realme, which is the Parliament.'†

When the Cardinal saw the little probability of succeeding with the City magistracy in their corporate capacity, he endeavoured

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* Stow's Ann. p. 881. † Ibid.

to prevail on them to open the benevolence as individuals; yet in this he was alike unsuccessful, and they all refused to comply till they had communicated his request to the Common Council; and in this court, which was assembled on the following day, the proposal was met so indignantly, that a vote of expulsion was moved against three of the members, for presuming to use arguments in support of the measure.

This determined opposition of the Citizens spread an example through the rest of the Kingdom, and though threats, and even imprisonment, were resorted to, the noble stand made by the City had such an effectual influence that the benevolence was every where denied. In some places the attempts to levy it occasioned the people to rise in arms, and a complete insurrection would, in every probability, have broken out, had not the King abandoned the iniquitous scheme in full Council, and granted pardon to all who had opposed it, whether secretly or openly.*

Towards the latter end of 1525, the *Plague* again extended its ravages through London. The Michaelmas term was adjourned, and the King removed to Eltham, where he kept his Christmas, but with so small a company, that Stow says it was therefore called '*the still Christmas.*' In 1527, the Metropolis was grievously afflicted by a *Famine*, so that many of the lower class perished for absolute want. In October, the same year, an extraordinary French embassy, consisting of about eighty persons "of the most worthy and noble gentlemen in all France," arrived in London, and were lodged in the Bishop's palace. Shortly afterwards they signed the instrument of a '*Perpetual Peace*,' alas, how lamentably broken! in St. Paul's Cathedral, where the King, the Grand Master of France, and the Lord Cardinal,

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* We are informed by Hall, that among the threats used by Wolsey to terrify the City of London into compliance, he told them, plainly, "that it were better that some should suffer indigence than that the King at this time should lack;" and, therefore, he continued, "resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may chance to cost some people their heads." *Chron.* anno 1525.

dinal, received the sacrament together, in confirmation of the treaty.*

In 1528, the Metropolis was once more visited by the *Sweating Sickness*, and great numbers were carried off by it after an illness of five or six hours only. The King, "for a space, removed almost every day, till he came to Tittenhanger, [in Herts.] a place of the Abbot of St. Alban's, and there he, with his Queen, and a small company about them, remained till the sickness was past."†

In May, 1529, the court for inquiring into the legality of Henry's marriage with Catherine, assembled in the Great Hall at Blackfriars, where their Majesties then lodged. The slow progress made in the business of the divorce, and the evident duplicity of Cardinal Campegius, who presided in the Pope's name, led to the disgrace and downfall of Wolsey; and subsequently to the throwing off of the papal yoke, and full establishment of the Reformation. But Henry's zeal for the Catholic religion was not repressed, however great his anger against the Roman pontiff; and several protestants were about this time burnt for schism and heresy in different parts of the kingdom: of these, two ecclesiastics and a lawyer, were committed to the flames in Smithfield.

In 1531, a grand *Entertainment* was given at Ely House, Holborn, for five successive days, by eleven gentlemen of the law, on assuming the dignity of the serjeant's coif. Their guests were the King and Queen, the Foreign ministers, the chief officers of state, and dignitaries of the law, the Magistracy of London, and principal Citizens, knights, squires, &c. From an account of the provisions consumed at this feast, it appears that large oxen were then sold at 1l. 6s. 8d. each; a calf at 4s. 8d.; a sheep at 2s. 8d.; a hog at 3s. 8d.; a pig at 6d.; a dozen of Kentish capons at 1s.; a dozen of heath cocks at 8d.; the best pullets at 2½d.; pigeons at 10d. a dozen; and larks at 5d. a dozen.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 905.

† Ibid, p. 908; and Fab. Chron. anno 1528.

About this period, the inhabitants of the Metropolis were treated with the singular spectacle of *Burning the Bible*, by order of Stokesley, Bishop of London, at Paul's Cross. This was the first English translation by Tindal, which was objected to by a Council of the bishops, as 'not truly translated, and as containing prologues and prefaces sounding to heresy, with uncharitable railing against bishops and the clergy.'*

In January, 1533, Henry was privately married to the Lady Anne Boleyn, who soon becoming pregnant, on Easter Eve he openly acknowledged her as his Queen, and addressing his letters to the Mayor and Commonalty of London, required them to make preparation for conveying her Grace from Greenwich to the Tower, and from thence to Westminster, preparatory to her coronation on Whit-Sunday. The Pageantry exhibited on this occasion was the most gorgeous that the taste of that age could furnish. Upwards of fifty barges, superbly decorated, were provided for the Magistracy and City companies, and the Queen was brought to the Tower in grand procession on the twenty-ninth of May.† The second day afterwards the Queen was conveyed through the City to the Palace of Westminster, attended by all the principal nobility, prelates, and gentry of the kingdom, including nineteen new Knights of the Bath, whom the King had *dubbed* that morning in the Tower. The streets through which the procession passed were "rayled on each side," as far as Temple Bar, and "all gravelled, with intent that the horses should not slide on the pavement, nor that the people should be hurt by horses."

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* Stow's Ann. p. 932.

† "The Mayor and his brethren, all in scarlet, such as were knights having collars of esses, and the residue great chains, assembled with the common council at St. Mary's Hill, where they descended to their barge, which was garnished with many goodly banners and streamers, and richly covered, and had in it shalmes, stage-bushes, and divers other instruments of musicke, which plaied continually. After the Mayor and his brethren were in their barge," and had given the proper orders for the arrangement of the barges of the City companies, &c. they set forward in the following order:—"First, before the Maiors barge was a foiste for a wafter, full of ordnance, in which foiste was a great red dragon continually moving and casting wilde fire, and round about the said foiste stoode terrible monstrous and wilde men, casting fire, and making hideous noise: next, at a good distance, came the Maiors barge; on whose right hand was the Batchelers barge, in the which were trumpets, and divers other melodious instruments; the decks of the said barge, yards," &c. were richly hung with

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with cloth of gold and silk; at the foreship and stern were two great banners rich beaten with the arms of the King and Queen: the same arms were also displayed from a long streamer on the top-castle, and almost every other part 'was set full of flags, banners, and streamers, diversely ornamented, and many of them hung 'with little bels at the ends.' "On the left hand of the Maior was another foiste, in the which was a mount, and on the mount stood a white faulcon crowned upon a roote of gold, environed with white roses and red, which was the Queenes device, and about the mount sate virgins singing and playing melodiously." The different Companies followed in succession, "everie company having melodie in their barge by themselves, and goodlie garnished with banners.—At Greenwich towne they cast anchor, making great melodie: at three of the clock the Queene, apparelled in rich cloth of gold, entered into her barge, accompanied with divers ladies and gentlewomen, and incontinent the Citizens set forward in their order, their minstrelsy continually playing, and the Batchelers barge going on the Queen's right hand, which she took great pleasure to behold. About the Queenes barge were many noblemen, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marquesse Dorset, the Earle of Wiltshire, hir father, the Earls of Arundale, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Huntingdon, Sussex, Oxford, and many Bishops and noble men, everie one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed towards the Tower; and in the mean waie the ships which were commanded to lie on the shore for letting of the barges, shot divers peales of guns, and ere she landed, there was a marvellous shot out of the Tower, I never heard the like. At hir landing there met with her the Lord Chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought her to the King, which received her with loving countenance at the posterne by the water side and kissed hir, and then she turned backe again and thanked the Maior and the Citizens with many goodlie words, and so entered into the Tower.—To speak of the people that stood on every shoare to behold this sight, he that saw it not will not believe it."—*Stow's Ann.* p. 949-50.

horses." The City "craftes" were stationed within the inclosed space, "along in their order from Grace-church;" and the houses on each side were hung with rich cloths of various kinds, intermixed with rich arras, &c. making "a goodlie shewe;" and "all the windows were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen to behold the Queene and her traine as they should pass by."

The Queen was borne on "a litter of white cloth of gold, led by two palfreys clad in white damaske led by her footemen. She had on a kertle of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same furred with ermine; her hair hanging downe, but on her head she had a coife, with a circlet about it full of rich stones: over her was carried a canopie of cloth of gold." Behind her rode many ladies magnificently apparralled, in chariots and on horseback, and "after them followed the guards in coats of goldesmiths worke."

In Fenchurch-street, the Queen was greeted by a pageant of children, clothed as merchants, who welcomed her to the City. "From thence she rode unto Grace-church corner, where was a costly and marvellous cunning Pageant made by the Marchants at the Stilyard; therein was the mount Pernassus and the fountaine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and met together in a little cuppe above the fountaine, which ranne abundantlie with rackte Rhenish wine till night. On the mountain sate Apollo, and at his feete, Calliope; and on every side of the mountaine sate four Muses playing on severell sweet instruments, and at their feet epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which every Muse according to her property praysed the Queene."

At Leadenhall was another "goodle Pageant," representing among other things, St. Anne, and her numerous progeny, one of whom made an oration to the Queene of the fruitfulness of St. Anne and of her generation, trusting "that like fruit should come of her." At the Conduit in Cornhill, which "continually ranne wine," as did also all the others between that and Temple Bar, were "the three Graces set on a Throne," each of whom, "according to her property, gave to the Queene a several gift of grace."

grace." The great Conduit in Cheape, was "newly painted with arms and devices," and the Standert [or Standard] was richly painted with images of Kings and Queens, and hanged with banners of arms, and in the top was marvellous sweet harmony both of songs and instruments. The "Crosse," was also newly gilt; and between that and the little Conduit, where the Aldermen stood, the Recorder of London came to the Queen, "with a lowe reverence," and presented her, in the name of the City, with a thousand marks in a gold purse, which she "thankfully accepted with many good wordes, and so rode to the little Conduit, where was a rich Pageant, full of melody and songs, in which Pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus; and afore them stood Mercurie, which in the name of the three goddesses gave unto her a ball of gold divided into three, signifying the three gifts which these goddesses gave to her, that is to say, Wisdome, Riches, and Felicitie."

At St. Paul's gate was another Pageant, in which sate three Ladies richly clothed, and an Angel bearing a crown, with complimentary verses in Latin. At St. Paul's school, stood a scaffold with children well apparelled, who rehearsed "divers verses of poets translated into English," to the honour of their Majesties. Ludgate "was new garnished with gold and bisse, and on the leads of St. Martin's Church stood a goodly queere of singing men and children, which sang new ballets made in praise of her Grace. The Conduit in Fleet-street was also "newly painted, and all the armes and angles refreshed." On this was raised a tower with four turrets, in each of which stood "one of the Cardinal Vertues, with their tokens and properties; and in the middest of the tower closely was such severall solemne instruments that it seemed to be a heavenly noise." At Temple Bar, which was "newly painted and repaired, there stood also divers singing men and children." In the middle of Westminster Hall, which was richly hung with "cloth of arras," and newly glazed, the Queen was taken out of her litter," and after a "solemne service," of 'wines, spices, subtleties,' &c. she gave "harty thanks to the

Lordes and Ladies, and to the Maior and others, that had given their attendance on her," and withdrew to her chamber.*

On the following day, June the first, the Coronation was solemnized in Westminster Abbey, with great ceremony and magnificence. At the dinner twelve of the principal Citizens assisted the Earl of Arundel in his office of chief butler; and at the conclusion of the feast, the Lord Mayor received from the Queen's hands the cup of gold which devolved to him of ancient custom. On the succeeding Wednesday, "the King sent for the Maior and his Brethren to Westminster, and there he himself gave unto them harty thankes with manie goodly words."†

The strong opposition which Henry had met with in his attempt to get divorced from Queen Catherine, determined him to free himself from the yoke of ecclesiastical bondage, however unwilling he might be to suffer his subjects to enjoy liberty of opinion. During the sitting of the Parliament therefore, which met at Westminster, in 1533-4, "every Sunday at Paule's Crosse preached a bishop, declaring the Pope not to be supreme head of the church."‡ In this Parliament, Elizabeth Barton, the *Holy Maid of Kent*, as she was called, with several of her adherents, was attainted of treason, her pretended visions having an evident tendency to shake the allegiance of the people. In the April following she was "hanged and headed" at Tyburn, with several of her ill-fated supporters; the "nun's head," says Stow, "was set on London Bridge, and the other heads on the gates of the citie."§ About this time also, according to Holingshed, one Pavier, "town clerk of London," hung himself, apparently through a proud spirit of indignation at the measures that were then pursuing. The historian says, that he had heard him affirm, *with a great oath*, that 'rather than live to see the Scripture set forth in English, he would cut his own throat.'

Henry having once dipped in blood, knew not how to recede.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 951-4. † Ibid. p. 959. ‡ Ibid. p. 963.

§ Ibid.

His natural sternness ripened into severity, and cruelty soon became habitual. Treason, heresy, and schism, were by turns made the ground-work of numerous condemnations, which, when closely analyzed, will be seen to have been founded in caprice rather than in justice. The temper of the times, it is true, required a strong curb; yet when the overbearing Monarch set up his *will* for *law*, he raised an idol, which, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, was composed of such discordant materials, that no homogeneousness of character could coalesce with all its parts. Hence the promoters of Reformation, and its opposers, were adjudged to the same flames; the blood of the Protestant and of the Catholic was shed upon the same block; and Henry, whilst vehemently contending against the Pope's infallibility, supported his own with vindictive bitterness.

In the sanguinary scenes which ensued, London had its full share. In July, 1534, two men were burnt in Smithfield for heresy; in the April following, the Priors of the Charter-house, and Hexham, the Vicar of Isleworth, and several Monks, were hanged and quartered for treason, at Tyburn: in May, a man and a woman (natives of Holland) were burnt in Smithfield as Anabaptists; and twelve others also were sent to other towns to be burnt by way of example. On the eighteenth of June three Monks were hung at Tyburn, for denying the King's supremacy; on the twenty-second, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was beheaded on Tower Hill for the same crime; and on the sixth of July, the great Sir Thomas More, one who had enjoyed the friendship and confidence of his unrelenting Sovereign in the highest degree, was decapitated on the same spot for the like offence. The dismembered heads and quarters of these victims to tyranny, were mostly set upon poles, and fixed *in terrorem* on the different gates and outlets of the City.

The next year, 1536, exhibited a still more deplorable instance of the King's implacability. The beautiful Anne Boleyn, she whose reception into London, and subsequent coronation, had so lately been celebrated with all the expense and shew that unbounded

bounded prodigality could desire, was basely charged with an adulterous intercourse with her menials, and beheaded on the Green within the Tower. This was on the nineteenth of May; the next day, Henry was privately married to Jane Seymour, who, without the least attention either to decency or shame, was at "Whitsuntide openly shewed as Queene."* On St. Peter's Eve, "the King and Queene stood at the Mercer's Hall; and saw the [city] watch most bravely set forth;"† and on the twenty-ninth of June, "the King held a great *Justing* and triumph at Westminster;"‡ doubtless, on account of his recent marriage.

The suppressing of the monasteries had now begun; and though several partial insurrections broke out in consequence, they only served to forward the King's measures, by giving the colour of necessity to the vengeance that was inflicted; and Tyburn became the place of frequent executions both for heresy and treason. In May, 1538, the celebrated Friar Forest was burnt in Smithfield, for denying the supremacy, and the large wooden idol named *Darvel Gartherin*, to which superstition had long attached wonderful virtues, "having beene brought out of Wales to this gallowes in Smithfield, was there brent with the said Friar Forest."§ In October, the hospital of St. Thomas of Acres in London was suppressed; and in November, the monasteries of the Black Friars, the White Friars, the Grey Friars, and the Carthusians of the Charter-house, all underwent the same fate. In the same month, a learned Catholic priest, named Nicholson, but who had assumed the appellation of Lambert, to elude persecution, having been condemned for heresy, in denying the real presence in the sacrament, appealed to the King, "who favourably consented to heare him on a day appointed. Against the which day, in the palace at Westminster, within the King's hall, there was set up a throne or seige-royall for the King, with scaffoldes for the Lords, and a stage for Nicholson. Divers articles were ministered to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Worcester, and other; but namely, the King pressed him sore, and in the end offered him pardon if he would renounce his opinion, but he would not, wherefore he was condemned, had judgment, and was brent in Smithfield."[*] Had any spark of real generosity resided in Henry's bosom, he would doubtless on this occasion, after having gratified his vanity by mingling the disputant with the judge, have spared the life of his antagonist. Soon afterwards a man and a woman were committed to the flames in Smithfield as Anabaptists; and on the ninth of January, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Devonshire, Henry, Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil were beheaded on Tower Hill.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 967. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 971.

"On the eighth of May, 1539, the citizens of London mustered at the Miles-ende all in bright harneies, with coates of white silke, or cloth, and cheines of golde, in three great battailes: the number was 15,000, beside wifflers and other awayters, who in goodly order passed through London to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the Park of St. James, and returned home through Holborne."[†] The King, under whose commission directed to the Lord Mayor, Sir William Foreman, this muster had been made, reviewed the procession at Westminster, and expressed himself highly pleased with the martial appearance of the men. Those who were mustered at this time, seem to have composed only "a convenient number of the most able betwixt the ages of sixteen and sixty,"[‡] of the inhabitants of the City and its liberties, whose names had been registered under the commission.

In April, 1540, the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, was dissolved; and within a month or two afterwards, Henry gave to the challengers in "a great triumph of *Justing* at Westminster," held on May-day, and the four days following, "a hundred marks, and a house to dwell in of yeerely revenues out

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 972-3.

[†] Ibid. p. 973.

[‡] Ibid. p. 974.

out of the lands of the said hospital, for ever, in reward for their valientness."* During the continuance of the Justings, the challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knts., and Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell (ancestor to the Protector), Esqrs. kept "open household" at Durham Place, where on different days they entertained their majesties and the whole court, the knights and burgesses of Parliament, and the mayor and aldermen of London, with their wives, &c.

In the Parliament which assembled at Westminster in June, in the same year, Henry was divorced from his fourth Queen, Anne of Cleves, whom he had married in the preceding January; and on "the eighth of August the Lady Katherine Howard was shewed openly as Queene at Hampton Court."† Eleven days before this, the Lord Cromwell, who is thought to have been a principal agent in the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves, and most probably opposed the divorce, was brought to the block on Tower Hill. Two days afterwards (July 30th), six priests, four of them doctors, and the others bachelors in divinity, suffered in Smithfield; three of them being burnt at the stake, and three of them "hanged, headed, and quartered."‡ On the fourth of August six persons, one of them the Prior of Doncaster, were executed at Tyburn. Most of the above persons suffered for denying the King's Supremacy.

In May, 1541, the venerable Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was beheaded on Tower Hill; and in June, the Lord Leonard Grey was also beheaded in the same place. The next day, June 29th, Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacres of the South, was executed at Tyburn for murder.

In this year the Bible was first printed in English, by royal permission granted to Richard Grafton, Printer, of London.

On the twelfth of February, 1542, the new Queen, Katherine Howard, and her confidant, Lady Jane Rochford, were beheaded on a scaffold within the Tower. Derham and Culpeper, two of the Queen's paramours, had been executed at Tyburn, on the previous tenth of December. In March, the Sheriffs of London, with several other persons, were committed to the Tower, for contempt of the House of Commons, in the non-release of an arrested member who had been sent to the Compter in Bread-street. This year a sumptuary law, to restrain luxuriant feasting in the City, was made by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, on account of the enormous advance in the price of meat, which had been occasioned by a great mortality among the cattle. In July, 1543, the Lady Katherine Parr, whom Henry had recently married, was proclaimed Queen at the usual places in the City. About this time, the *Pestilence* raged so violently in London, that many persons died, and the Michaelmas Term was adjourned to St. Alban's.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 977. † Ibid. p. 980. ‡ Ibid. p. 979.

In the latter part of the year 1544, the King demanded a *Benevolence* from all his subjects, to defray the charges of his wars with France and Scotland. He had now become so completely despotic, that few dared to object; yet one person, an Alderman of London, named Richard Read, had the courage positively to refuse to pay the sum demanded from him by the King's Commisioners, who met at Baynard's Castle, in January 1545, to receive the City Contributions. For this offence, Henry forced him to serve as a foot soldier with the army in Scotland, where he was made prisoner, and after suffering great hardships, was obliged to purchase his liberty by a considerable ransom.* This year, the twelve City companies advanced to the King 21,263l. 6s. 8d. on mortgage of crown lands; and the City at its own expense, raised and fitted out a thousand men, for a reinforcement to the army in France.†

On Whit Sunday, 1546, (June the thirteenth) the Peace which had been recently concluded with France, was proclaimed in London with much pomp, and a "generell procession," before

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* Lord Herb. Life of Hen. VIII.

† Hol. Chron. anno 1545.

the which, says Stow, "was borne all the richest silver crosses in London, to wit, of every church one; then proceeded all the parish clearks, condocts, quiristers, and priests in London, with the Quire of Paules, al of them in their richest copes, singing. Then the companies of the Citie in their best liveries: the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in scarlet, &c. All these went from Paules Church through Cheap and Cornhil up to Leden hal, and so back again to Paules. And this was the last shew of the rich Crosses and Copes in London; for shortly after, they, with other church plate, were called into the King's treasury and wardrobe."*

One of the last victims to Henry's religious intolerance, was Anne Askew, a young gentlewoman, who first endured the torture of the rack with exemplary fortitude, till nearly all her joints were dislocated, and was afterwards burnt in Smithfield, for heresy in denying the real presence in the sacrament. Two priests and two laymen were committed to the flames at the same place and time (July 16th), and for the same crime. In the month following, Claude de Annebant, High Admiral of France, and ambassador from that kingdom, who "brought with him the facre of Diep, and twelve gallies," landed at the Tower Wharf, where he was honourably received by the City magistrates, and conducted to the Bishop of London's palace. On his departure, after concluding the business of his mission, the City presented him with four large silver flagons, valued at 136l. besides wines and other costly presents.

Henry though in full expectation of death, through extreme corpulence and disease, seemed determined that his reign should end in blood, and notwithstanding the great services of the Duke of Norfolk, both that nobleman and his son, the brave, the witty, and the learned Earl of Surrey, were arrested and committed to the Tower, on unfounded charges of High Treason. Soon after, on the thirteenth of January, 1547, the Earl was arraigned in Guildhall, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other commissioners, and being condemned by the jury, "consisting of nine knyghts and three esquires," he was beheaded on Tower Hill six days afterwards. In the mean time, a Parliament met at Westminster, in which a bill of attainder against the Duke was passed with all possible celerity, and a warrant was actually signed for his execution. Happily the King's death intervened, on the night of the 29th of January, and the Council of the young King, Edward the Sixth, judging it inexpedient to commence a new reign by the execution of the first peer of the realm, the Duke's life was spared, though he was not released from confinement for several years.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 958-9.

Many improvements were made in the City and its suburbs, during Henry's reign. The police was better regulated; nuisances were removed; the old conduits were repaired, and new ones erected; the streets and avenues, particularly of the suburbs, which are described to have been "very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for the King's subjects on horseback as on foot, and with carriages," were amended and paved; and various regulations were carried into effect for the better supplying the Metropolis with provisions, in order to answer the demand of an increased and growing population.

The early years of the new King rendering a Protector necessary, the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, his maternal uncle, was chosen by the Council assembled in the Tower on the first day of February, to fill that high office. On the sixth of February, the Protector conferred the dignity of knighthood on his youthful Sovereign, and, immediately afterwards, Edward knighted the Lord Mayor, Henry Hoblethorne, with the same sword with which he had himself been invested with the honour. On the twentieth, the new King was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

From the accession of Edward, the Reformation, which, in his father's life-time, was a monstrous compound of catholicism and protestantism, proceeded with more steadiness and congruity. In September, commissioners were assembled in St. Paul's Cathedral, to reform the superstitions of the old worship, among which the adoration of images was a prominent feature; and, in November, the projected alterations were commenced by pulling down "the rood in Paules church, with Mary and John, and all other images; and then the like was done in all churches in England."*

In 1548, many of the inhabitants of London fell victims to the *Plague,* which raged with great violence.

In March, 1549, the Protector's brother, Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral of England, was beheaded on Tower Hill. During the divisions in the King's council, in the latter part of this year, the confederated Lords obtained possession of the Tower by stratagem, and being favoured by the Citizens, they succeeded in procuring the disgrace and imprisonment of the Duke of Somerset, who was confined in the Tower from October till the following February, when he was released and permitted to take his seat at the council board.

In April, 1550, the King, in consideration of the sum of 1147l. 2s. 1d. granted various lands and tenements in Southwark and Lambeth to the City of London, together with all the liberties of the Borough of Southwark, the right of holding four markets there weekly, a three days fair, &c. About the same time, "The Citizens of London, of divers misteries and corporations, having certaine Chaunterie lands for priests' wages, obits, and lights, suppresed into the King's hands by Acte of Parliament, valued by the commissioners to 1000l. the year, purchased the saide yeerely quit-rents of the King, for 20,000l. to be paide within eight days after, by the Counsayles commaundement."†

However favourable the principles of the Reformation were to religious tolerance, persecution had still its victims, and in May, in the above year, Joan Butcher, or Joan of Kent, was burnt in Smithfield for heresy, in affirming that "Christ took no flesh of the Virgin Mary." In April, 1551, a Dutchman, named

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1002. † Ibid, p. 1020.

George de Paris, suffered at the stake in the same place, for Arianism.* In July, the *Sweating Sickness*, which had broken out at Shrewsbury in the preceding April, began in London, where 800 persons died of this disease the first week. Stow says, it "was so terrible, that people beeing in best health, were sodainly taken and dead in four-and-twenty hours, and twelve, or lesse, for lacke of skill in guiding them in their sweat."†

In the beginning of November, the Queen of Scots visited London, in her way from France, and was for some days lodged, with her suite, at the Bishop's Palace. On the fourth she went in great state to Whitehall, where she was splendidly and most courteously entertained by the young Sovereign. "And that day she dined on the Queene's side with the King—shee sitting by the King apart by his cloth of estate.—All the great Ladies of Englande, and the Ladies of Scotlande, dined in the Queene's great chamber, all most sumptuously served."‡ On the sixth, the "saide Scottish Queene departed towards Scotland: shee rode from Paules through all the high streetes of the Citie, out at the Bishops-gate, accompanied with divers noble men and women"—who "brought her to Shordich Church,"§ where they took their leave; but the Sheriffs of London had the charge of conducting her to the extremity of the county near Waltham. Some disturbances being expected about the end of the month, from the ferment which had arisen through the approaching trial of the Duke of Somerset, whose imprudencies had again occasioned his committal to the Tower, a guard of Citizens, "householders," were ordered to keep "good and substantial watch in every ward."‖ On the first of December the Duke was conveyed by water to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned for Treason and Felony, "and after tried by the peeres the nobles there present, which did acquit him of the Treason, but found him giltie of the felonie.—The people in the Hall supposing he had

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1021-22. † Ibid, p. 1223.

‡ Ibid. p. 1024. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

had beene cleerely quit when they saw the axe of the Tower put downe, made such a shrike, casting up of their caps, &c. that their crie was heard to the Long Acre, beyond Charing Crosse."* The Duke was beheaded on the 22d of January, 1552, on Tower Hill, which by "seven a clocke was covered with a great multitude repairing from all parts of the Citie, as well as out of the suburbs."—"The Duke being ready to have been executed, suddenly the people were driven into a great feare, and some ran one way, some another; many fell into the Tower Ditch, and they which tarried thought some pardon had been brought: some said it thundered, some that a great rumbling was in the earth under them, that the ground moved; but there was no such matter, more than the trampling of the feete of the people of a certaine hamlet, which were warned to be there by seven of the clock, to give their attendance on the Lieutenant,"† but who did not arrive till the Duke was already on the scaffold, "when the foremost began to run, crying to their fellowes to follow fast after; which suddenness of these men, being weaponed with bils and halbards, thus running, caused the people which first saw them, to think some power had come to have rescued the Duke from execution, and therefore to crie, 'away,' 'away.'"‡

On the first of November, 1552, "being the feast of All Saints," the Book of Common Prayer was first used "in Paule's Church, and the like through the whole Citie." On this occasion Bishop Ridley preached a sermon in his rochet only, "without coape or vestment."§

The great number of poor which was thrown helpless upon society, through the dissolution of the Monasteries, occasioned the Government about this time to adopt measures for their relief. The Metropolis in particular was over-burthened with multitudes of "poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, who lay and crept begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster;"[*] and who, under letters from the King, were divided into three classes by Sir George Barnes, the Lord Mayor, certain Aldermen, and twenty-four Commissioners. These classes comprehended respectively, the young and the fatherless; the lame, the aged, the helpless, and the sick; and the idle, the dissolute, and the unthrifty. For the relief and education of the young, the benevolent Edward founded Christ's Hospital with the revenues and within the precincts of the dissolved Convent of the Grey Friars; the Hospitals of St. Thomas in Southwark, and St. Bartholomew near Smithfield, were appropriated to the reception of the sick, maimed, and helpless poor; and the Palace of Bridewell, the ancient demesne of many English sovereigns, was given by the King for the reception of poor youths who had been virtuously brought up, to be taught some useful trade, and for the correction of idle and disorderly vagabonds and strumpets. The Hospitals of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas, were incorporated by a Charter granted on the sixth of June, 1553, and the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London made perpetual Governors.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1025. † Ibid. p. 1026. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 1028.

The signing of this Charter was one of the last acts of Edward's life. He died on the sixth of July following, at Greenwich, whither the Lord Mayor, accompanied by six aldermen, and twelve of the principal merchants, attended on the eighth, by command of the Council, and were then first made acquainted with the King's decease, and the appointment of the Lady Jane Grey to succeed him. Two days afterwards this ill-fated and accomplished female was conveyed by water to the Tower, and proclaimed Queen.[†]

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[*] Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

[†] "The eleventh of July, Gilbert Pot, drawer to Ninion Saunders, vintner, dwelling at Saint John's Head, within Ludgate, who was accused by the said Saunders, his master, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with both his ears nailed, and cleane cut off, for words speaking at the time of the proclamation of Lady Jane."—"About five of the clocke the same day in the afternoone, Ninion Saunders, master to the said Gilbert Pot, and John Owen, a gun-maker, and both gunners of the Tower, comming from the

Her power, however, was but of short duration, for, though some preparations were made for supporting her claims by force of arms, the general sense of the people was so decidedly in favour of the Lady Mary, Henry the Eighth's eldest daughter, who had solemnly promised "that she would force no man's conscience in point of religion," that the Council, quitting the Tower, assembled on the nineteenth at Baynard's-Castle, where, in concert with some of the principal noblemen, they commanded the Lord Mayor and his brethren "that hee and they should ride with them into Cheape to proclame a new Queene, which was the Ladie Maries Grace."† Soon afterwards the Duke of Northumberland, with most of his family, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Warwick and Huntingdon, and other supporters of Lady Jane, were sent prisoners to the Tower, and on the third of August the new Queen rode into London in triumph. Almost immediately afterwards all the opposers of the late Reformation, who had been in confinement, were released, the Catholic Bishops were restored to their sees, and various preliminary measures were taken to re-establish papal supremacy.

The adherents of the Romish Church were so confident of the Queen's intentions that they every where begun to inveigh publicly against the protestants. So early as the tenth day after Mary's entry into London, one Bourn, Chaplain to Bishop Bonner, preached a sermon at "Paules Crosse," in which he uttered such injurious insinuations against the memory of the late King Edward, that the mass of the people were greatly offended, and the preacher would have fallen a victim to his temerity had it not been for the interference of Bradford and Rogers, two popular protestant ministers, by whom Bourn was escorted in safety, though with difficulty, into St. Paul's school, after having had a dagger thrown at him with great violence, and with so good an

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the Tower of London by water in a wherrie, and shooting London Bridge towards the Blacke Friers, were drowned at St. Marie Locke, and the whirrie men saved by their ores."—*Stow's Ann.* p. 1032.

† Stow's Ann. p. 1035.

an aim, that it struck "a side poste" of the pulpit. Soon afterwards Bradford and Rogers were committed to prison: "they could repress the rage of the populace in a moment," said the Queen, "doubtless they set it on." On the following Sunday (August 20th) Dr. Watson, Chaplain to Bishop Gardiner, preached at Paul's Cross, by the Queen's appointment; and, for "feare of the like tumulte, as had been the Sundaie last past," he was attended by several Lords of the Council, and a guard of 200 halberts. The City Companies had also "been warned by the Maior to be present in their liveries."*

On the 22d of August, the Duke of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, were beheaded on Tower Hill, for the part they had taken in the elevation of Lady Jane Grey. On the first of September, a prest, or forced loan, of 20,000l. was demanded of the City for the Queen's use, "which summe was levied by the aldermen and 120 commoners."† About the middle of the month Bishop Latimer and Archbishop Cranmer were sent to the Tower; and, on the twenty-seventh, the Queen came to the Tower by water, accompanied by the Lady Elizabeth, her sister, and other ladies, whilst the necessary preparations were made for her coronation. Three days afterwards she rode through the City in great pomp to Westminster, and on the first of October she was crowned in Westminster Abbey, by the Bishop of Winchester, "who forgot not one formality," says Rapin, that was "practised before the Reformation."‡

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1040. † Ibid. p. 1043.

‡ "The last of September, queene Mary rode through the City of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue, drawne with six horses, al trapped with the like cloth of tissue. She sate in a gowne of purple velvet furred with powdered ermine, having on her head a caule of cloth of tinsell, beset with pearle and stone, and above the same upon her head, a round circlet of gold beset so richly with pretious stones, that the value thereof was inestimable; the same caule and circlet being so massy and ponderous, that she was faine to beare up her head with

During the sitting of the Parliament, which began at Westminster in October, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lady Jane Grey, her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, and his two brothers, Ambrose and Henry, were all arraigned and condemned for High Treason at Guildhall, and afterwards re-committed to the Tower.

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with her hand, and the canopy was borne over her chariot. Before her rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then judges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the council: after whom followed the knyghts of the Bathe, 13 in number, in their robes; the Bi. of Winchester lord chancelor, and the Marquesse of Winchester lord high treasurer: next came the duke of Norffolke, and after him the erle of Oxford, who bare the sword before hir: the maior of London, in a gowne of crimosin velvet, bare the sceptre of gold, &c. After the Q. chariot, sir Edward Hastings led her horse in his hand: then came another chariot, having a covering all of cloth of silver al white, and six horses trapped with the like; therein sate the lady Elizabeth and the lady Anne of Cleve: then ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles likewise of red velvet: after them followed 2 other chariots covered with red satin, and their horses betrapped with the same, and certaine gentlewomen between every of the said chariots riding in crimosin satin, their horses betrapped with the same: the numbers of the gentlewomen so riding were 46, besides them in the chariots. At Fenchurch was a costly pageant, made by the Genoways: at Grace Church corner there was another pageant, made by the Easterlings: At the upper end of Grace-streete there was another pageant, made by the Florentines very high, on the top whereof there stood four pictures; and in the midst of them, and most highest, there stood an angell all in greene, with a trumpet in his hand; and when the trumpetter, who stood secretly in the pageant, did sound his trump, the angel did put his trump to his mouth, as though it had been the same that had sounded, to the great marvelling of many ignorant persons: this pageant was made with three thorow-fares, or gates, &c. The conduit on Cornehill ran wine; and beneath the conduit a pageant made at the charges of the city; and another at the great conduit in Cheape, and a fountaine by it running wine. The Standart in Cheape new painted, with the waites of the city aloft thereof, playing. The crosse in Cheap new washed and burnished. One other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape, next to Paules, made by the citie, where the aldermen stoode: and

The gloom spread over the nation by the bigotted proceedings of the Queen was greatly increased by the report of her intended marriage with Philip of Spain, and the most dismal apprehensions were entertained that the liberty and independence of the country were about to be sacrificed for ever. The Commons remonstrated

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and when the Q. came against them, the recorder made a short proposition to her; & then the chamberlaine presented to her, in the name of the maior and the city, a purse of cloth of gold, and 1000 marks of gold in it: then she rode foorth, and in Pauls churchyard, against the schoole, one M. Heywod sate in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latin and English. Then was there one Peter, a Dutchman, stoode on the weathercock of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of 5 yards long, and waving thereof, stoode sometime on the one foote, and shook the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvel of al people. He had made 2 scaffoldes under him; one above the crosse, having torches and streamers set on it; and one other over the bole of the crosse, likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burn, the wind was so great: the said Peter had 16 pound 13 shillings and foure pence given him by the citie, for his costs and paines, and all his stuffe. Then was there a pageant made against the deane of St. Paules gate, where the queristers of Paules played on vialles, and song. Ludgate was newely repaired, painted, and richly hanged, with minstrelles playing and singing there: then was there an other pageant at the conduit in Fleete Streete; and the Temple-barre was newly painted and hanged.—And thus she passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she took her leave of the L. maior, giving him great thanks for his paines, and the city for their cost. On the morrow, which was the first day of October, the Queene went by water to the olde pallace, and there remained till about eleven of the clocke, and then went on foote upon blew cloth, being railed on either side unto Saint Peter's Church, where she was solemnly crowned and anointed by the Bishop of Winchester, which coronation, and other ceremonies and solemnities then used according to the olde custome, was not fully ended till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that she returned from the church; before whom was then borne three swordes sheathed, and one naked. The great service that day done in Westminster Hall at dinner by divers noble men, would aske long time to write. The Lord Maior of London, and twelve Citizens, kept the high cupboord of plate as butlers; and the Queene gave to the Maior for his fee, a cup of gold with a cover, waying seaventeene ounces." *Stow's Ann.* p. 1043-45.

remonstrated against the projected union, and Mary replied to their address by dissolving Parliament. Soon afterwards, in the beginning of January, 1554, the brave Count Egmont arrived in England to settle the articles of marriage; and, on the fifteenth, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with forty Commoners, were sent for to Court, where, in a studied oration, by Bishop Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, they were informed of the Queen's determination, and desired to "behave themselves like good subjects with all humblenes and reioycing."*

The alarm now became general, and the people begun to take up arms to rescue their native land from the expected degradation. The most formidable Insurrection broke out in Kent, where the insurgents were headed by Sir Thomas Wyat, a Kentish Knight, of Allingham Castle, Sir Henry Isley, and others. Wyat took post at Rochester, where he was joined by five hundred Londoners, commanded by Captain Alexander Bret, who had been sent with other troops under the orders of the Duke of Norfolk, for the purpose of opposing him. The defection spread through the camp, and part of the Queen's guard, with "more than three parts of the retinue," followed the example of the Londoners, so that the Duke narrowly escaped being made a prisoner, and all his ordnance, ammunition, and baggage were taken by the insurgents.

On the first and second of February, Wyat encamped about Greenwich and Deptford; and on the third, "about three of the clocke in the afternoone, he marched forward with the Kentish men towards London with five ancients, being by estimation about two thousand, which their coming so soone as it was perceived, there was shot out of the White Tower sixe or eight shot, but missed them, sometime shooting over, and sometime short. After knowledge thereof once had in London, forthwith the Drawe-bridge was cut down and the Bridge Gates shut. The Maior and Sherifes harnessed, commanded ech man to shut in their shops and windows, and to be ready harnessed at their doores, what chance soever might happen. By this time was Wyat in Kent Streete, and so by St. George's Church into Southwarke. Himselfe and part of his company came in good array down Barmondsey Streete, and they were suffered peaceably to enter Southwarke without repulse, or any stroke stricken, either by the inhabitants or of any other: yet was there many men of the countrey in the Innes raised and brought thither by the Lorde William and other, to have gone against the said Wyat, but they all joyned themselves to the Kentish men, and the inhabitants with their best entertained them. Immediately upon the said Wyat's comming, he made proclamation, that no souldier should take any thing, but that he should pay for it, and that his comming was to resist the Spanish King, &c. Notwithstanding, they forthwith made havocke of the Bishop of Winchester's goods, victuals, or whatsoever, not leaving so muche as one locke of a doore, nor a booke in his gallery or library uncut, or unrent into pieces, in his house of that Borough."*

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1048-9.

In the mean time the necessary preparations were made to defend the City; "the most part of the householders, with the Maior and Aldermen, were in harnesse," and for several days successively "the Justices, Serjeants at the Law, and other Lawyers in Westminster Hall, pleaded in harnesse."† On Candlemas Eve (Feb. 1st), the Commons of the City assembled in their liveries at the Guildhall, whither the Queene with hir Lords and Ladies came riding from Westminster, and there, after vehement words against Wyat, declared 'that she meant not otherwise to marry than the councell should thinke both honourable and commodious to the realme, and that she could continue unmarried, as she had done the greatest part of her age, and therefore willed them truly to assist her in repressing such as contrary to their duties rebelled.' When she had done, understanding that many in London did favour Wyat's part, shee appointed L. William

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1049.

† Ibid. p. 1048.

Howard Lieutenant of the Citie, and the Earl of Pembroke General of the Field, which both prepared all things necessary for their purpose."*

The possession of the City gave the Queen an incalculable advantage; and Wyat, who was strongly averse to bloodshed, lost that time in negociating which he ought to have spent in action. He required that the custody of the Tower should be committed into his hands, that four of the Council should be delivered up as hostages, and that the Queen should marry an Englishman, as a security to the nation for the preservation of its liberties. Mary gained strength by every hour's delay; and on the fifth of February, Sir John Gage, Lieutenant of the Tower, found himself sufficiently powerful to prepare for dislodging Wyat, by pointing his ordnance against his quarters in Southwark. The inhabitants, alarmed at the danger, intreated Wyat to remove; which he did on the following day, and marching towards Kingston, passed the Thames by means of the West-country barges, the bridge having been previously broken. He then proceeded towards London, where had he arrived before day-light, it is probable that he would have obtained possession of the City, as many of his friends were expecting him, and as it was not till about five in the morning that the Queen was informed by a scout that he had crossed the Thames, and was already at Brentford: "which sodaine newes," says Stow, "made all the Courte wonderfully afraide."† The drums, however, immediately beat to arms, and the Queen's troops were ordered to rendezvous in St. James's Fields; and this they were enabled to do in sufficient time, for the carriage of one of Wyat's guns breaking down on Turnham Green, he most imprudently ordered a general halt till it was repaired. The delay was fatal: Wyat had acted against the opinion of his officers, and several of them deserted him. Sir George Harper, who had been principally instrumental in bringing over the Londoners under Bret, was of this number; and, posting to London, he informed the Earl of Pembroke that it was Wyat's intention to march through Westminster and enter the City at Ludgate. The Earl immediately took the necessary precautions; and he now determined to let the insurgents entangle themselves in the streets before he gave them battle.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1048.

† Ibid. p. 1051.

"Wyat hearing that the Earl of Pembroke was come into the fields, he staide at Knights bridge until day, his men being very wearie with travell of that night and the day before, and also partly feebled and faint, having received small sustenance since their comming out of Southwarke. There was no small adoo in London, and likewise the Tower made great preparation of defence. By ten of the clocke, the Earl of Pembrooke had set his troupe of horsemen on the hill in the high waie above the new bridge, over against St. James: his footemen were set in two battels, somewhat lower, and nearer Charing crosse, at the lane turning downe by the bricke wall from Islington-ward, where he had set also certaine other horsemen, and he had planted his ordinance upon the hill side. In the meane season Wyat and his company planted his ordinance upon a hill beyond Saint James,* almost over against the Parke corner, and himselfe, after a few words spoken to his souldiers, came downe the old lane on foote, hard by the court gate at Saint James, with four or five ancients, his men marching in good array: Cuthbert Vaughan, and a two ancients, turned down toward Westminster. The Earl of Pembroke's horsemen hovered all this while without mooving, untill all was passed by saving the taile, upon which they did set and cut off; the other marched forward in array, and never staid or returned to the aide of their taile: the great ordinance shot off freshly on both sides. Wyat's ordinance overshot the troupe of horsemen; the Queenes ordinance, one piece strake three of Wyat's company in a ranke upon the head, and slaying them, strake through the wall into the Parke: more harme was not done

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* This must have been Hay Hill, on which Wyat's head was afterwards set up on a pole.

done by the great shot of neither partie. The Queenes whole battaile of footemen standing still, Wyat passed along by the wall towards Charing Crosse, where the saide horsemen that were there set upon part of them, but was soone forced backe."*

At Charing Cross, Wyat was attacked by Sir John Gage, with nearly 1000 men, yet he quickly repulsed him, and obliged him to seek shelter within the gates of Whitehall Palace. At this repulse "many cryed 'Treason' in the Court—and there was running and crying out of Ladies and Gentlewomen, shutting of doores and windowes, and such a shriking and noise, as was wonderfull to heare."† In the panic spread through the Queenes forces by this repulse Wyat reached Ludgate without further opposition, though he had to pass "along by a great company of harnessed men, which stoode on both sides the streetes," and his "men going not in any good order or array."‡

At Ludgate, Wyat attempted to gain admission, but the opportunity was lost; and the Lord William Howard, who defended the gate, said "Avant Traitor, thou shalt not come in here!"§ Wyat, whose easy credulity had led him to imagine that it was requisite only for him to show himself to obtain admittance, now mused awhile "upon a stall over against the Bell Savadge Gate, and at the last seeing he could not get into the City, and being deceived of the aydes he hoped for, he turned him back in array towards Charing Crosse."‖ His aim most probably was to rejoin his ordnance; but retreat was now impracticable, for the Queen's troops had closed in upon him, and Pembroke's horse intercepted his return. His men would have forced their way, and the fight had already begun, when Clarencieux, King at Arms, pressed forward, and intreated him to save the blood of his soldiers by submission: "perchance," said the herald, "you may find the Queen mercifull, and the rather, if ye stint so great a bloudshead as is here like to be: the day is sore against you, and in resisting you can get no good."* Wyat felt the justness of the herald's eloquence, and presently surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley, who, being on horseback, immediately "bade him leape up behind him," and in that manner carried him to the Court at Whitehall. "Then," continues the annalist, "was taking of men on all sides; and it is said that in this conflict one pikeman, setting his backe to the wall at St. James, kept seventeene horsemen off him a great time, but at the laste was slaine."† In the afternoon, Wyat and his principal officers were conveyed prisoners to the Tower; where also many of his partizans were imprisoned within a few days.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1051.

† In another place, Stow says, "The noyse of the women and children during this conflict was so great, that it was heard to the top of the White Tower." *Ibid.* p. 1052.

‡ Ibid. p. 1052. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

The suppression of this revolt was followed by a dreadful scene of sanguinary triumph. Even bigotry itself had hitherto respected the youth of Lady Jane Grey, who was scarcely seventeen, and whose only real crime was an imprudent submission to a parent's will; but she was now devoted to death with her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley; and both of them were beheaded on the same day, February the twelfth, the former on the Tower Green, the latter on Tower Hill. Eleven days afterwards, the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, was also decapitated.

On the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, about "fifty of Wyat's faction were hanged on twenty paire of gallowes made for that purpose in divers places about the Citie."‡ On the eighteenth several more were executed, in different parts of Kent; and on the twenty-second, about 400 more were led with halters round their necks to the Tilt-yard at Westminster, and were there pardoned by the Queen, "who looked forth of her Gallery."§ The trial of Wyat was deferred for some weeks, through the expectations of Mary's Council, that the hope of pardon might induce

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1052. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 1054.

§ Ibid. p. 1055.

him to accuse his more secret supporters; and it was said that he charged the Princess Elizabeth, and Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, with being privy to his intended rising. It seems, probable, however, that this was only a scheme of the Queen's to compass the ruin of the Princess, and of the Earl, whose attentions to her sister, and neglect of herself, had long excited her jealousy and hatred. They were both committed to the Tower in March, and underwent a strict examination, yet not a shadow of crime could be proved against them; and Wyat himself, who was beheaded on Tower Hill on the eleventh of April, solemnly absolved them from any knowledge of his design, whilst upon the scaffold, and at the point of death.

Five days after Wyat's execution, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was brought to trial as an accomplice, in Guildhall, but the Jury acquitted him; which so enraged the Queen's Council, that in defiance of all justice, they commanded the Jurors to appear before them at an hour's warning, and fined each of them 500l.* On the twenty-fifth of April, the Lord Thomas Grey, uncle to Lady Jane, was beheaded on Tower Hill. On the eighteenth of May, William Thomas, Esq. who had been Clerk of the Council, was "hanged, headed, and quartered" at Tyburn. He was one of the last that suffered through Wyat's rebellion. On the day following the Princess Elizabeth was released from the Tower, and conducted to Woodstock; and about a week afterwards, the Earl of Devonshire was also liberated from the Tower; but this was only to change the place of his confinement, and he was sent a close prisoner to Fotheringhay Castle, in Northamptonshire.

In July, the nuptials of Philip and Mary were solemnized at Winchester; and on the twelfth of August the Royal Pair rode through London to Westminster, amidst an ostentatious display of foreign and domestic wealth. The City teemed with its accustomed pageantry, and the conduits ran with wine as usual. In November, Cardinal Pole arrived in England, invested with a legantine a legantine commission, the grand object of which was to replace the Kingdom within the pale of the Romish Church; and this was done under authority of a corrupt Parliament before the expiration of the month. On the twenty-eighth, a solemn *Te Deum* was celebrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty being present in their liveries, " for that the Queene was conceived and quicke with childe." Mary, however, had mistaken the dropsy for a pregnancy; yet so credulous had she been, that public thanksgivings were ordered and rejoicings made. Even the sex of the child was determined, and Bonner, Bishop of London, commanded all the Clergy of his diocese to put up public prayers, ' that the young Prince might be healthy, beautiful, and accomplished.'

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1068.

Various regulations were made for the better management of the City business during the course of this year; and among other acts of the Common Council, it was ordered that the entertainments given by the Magistracy should be curtailed, their great expense having occasioned many Citizens to retire into the country, rather than serve in the City offices. It was likewise enacted, that neither Lord Mayor, nor Sheriff should in future be obliged to keep a Lord of Misrule; and in consideration of the great charge of the feast on Lord Mayor's Day, it was determined that at every subsequent Mayoralty, 100l. should be paid out of the City Chamber in aid of the expenses.

The statutes against Heretics were now revived by the Commons, whose obsequiousness indeed was so great, that the Council thought it prudent to check their zeal, lest despair should induce the Protestants to fly to arms. The bloody tragedy, was however resolved on, and the first decided victim of religious persecution was the John Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, who, with Bradford, had assisted Bourn to escape from the rage of the populace at Paul's Cross. He was burnt in Smithfield on the fourth of February, 1555. Before his death, he requested to have a parting interview with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but Gardiner, blending insult with cruelty, ironically answered, that being 'a priest, he could not possibly have a wife.'* Many other persons were burnt in Smithfield in the course of the year; and the fires of persecution were now lit in every part of the Kingdom. Among the sufferers in London, were John Cardmaker, Canon of Wells, John Bradford, Prebend of St. Paul's, and John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester.

"On the last of September, by occasion of great winde and raine that had fallen, was such fluds, that that morning the King's Palace at Westminster, and Westminster Hall, was overflowen with water unto the staire foote going to the Chauncerie and King's Bench, so that when the Lord Maior of London should come to present the Sherifes to the Barons of the Exchequer, all Westminster Hall was full of water; and by report there that morning, a wherrie-man rowed with his boate over Westminster Bridge into the Palace Court, and so through the Staple Gate, and all the Wooll Staple into the King's Streete; and all the Marshes on Lambeth side were so overflowen, that the people from Newington Church could not passe on foote, but were carried by boate from the said Church to the Pinfold neere to Saint George's, in Southwarke."†

The constancy with which the persecuted Protestants maintained the principles of their belief, and the fortitude with which they endured the unspeakable torments to which they were condemned, made a wonderful impression upon the nation, and for a-while even the Catholics themselves appeared to respect their sufferings. Gardiner, who had vainly thought that a few eminent examples would be sufficient to check the spirit of Reformation, and awe the people into conformity with the religion of the Court, now shrunk from the bloody office he had engaged in; and Cardinal Pole, instead of endeavouring to further the Queen's designs, had advised moderation even in the Council. "The best means," said that candid Prelate, "of converting the Protestants, is by reforming the Clergy, whose irregular lives have first given birth to heresy."* Nothing, however, could appease the furious bigotry of Mary; and during the short remaining period of her detestable reign upwards of two hundred persons were brought to the stake. Most of these victims belonged to the diocese of Bonner, who took a brutal delight in forwarding the vengeance of the Queen.

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* Fox's Mar. Vol. III. p. 119.

† Stow's Ann. p. 1064.

In the years 1555 and 1556, many of the inhabitants of London were carried off by a raging *Fever;* among them were seven Aldermen, who all died within ten months. In 1557, an Ambassador Extraordinary from the Emperor of Russia and Muscovy, was received into London with great pomp, and conveyed in a grand procession to his lodgings in Fenchurch Street. Shortly afterwards, on the twenty-third of March, King Philip entered London on a visit to the Queen, whom he had not seen for two years and a half. The chief aim of his visit appears to have been to engage her in a war with France; which having done, he passed over to Calais on the sixth of July. In the following winter, the French took Calais in a few days, it having been left almost totally unprovided for defence. This loss, conjoined to the neglect of her husband, so affected the Queen, that she gradually declined in health, and at length died on the seventeenth of November, 1558. When near death, she said to her attendants, that were the cause of her disorder to be sought by opening her body, 'the loss of Calais would be found at her heart.'

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE METROPOLIS FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE REVOLUTION IN 1688; INCLUDING PARTICULARS OF THE GREAT PLAGUE IN 1665, AND OF THE FIRE OF LONDON, IN 1666.

When the death of Mary was announced to the Parliament by the Chancellor, so great was the joy that an involuntary burst of acclamation

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* Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 41.

acclamation pervaded the assembly, and the people without, as if instinctively, instantly caught the sound, and repeated shouts of 'Long live Queen Elizabeth,' spread the glad tidings through every part of the Metropolis. On the same day, Elizabeth was proclaimed at the usual stations in the City, amidst the loudest acclamations, as if from a prophetic feeling of the national prosperity and glory that would result from a reign so auspiciously commenced.*

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when her sister expired, but she arrived in London on the second day afterwards, accompanied by a numerous train of Lords and Ladies. For a few days she continued at the Charter House, then the residence of the Lord North: on the twenty-eighth she proceeded to the Tower, the Magistracy and City companies attending the procession. When she entered that fortress as a Sovereign, and amidst the heart-felt joy of an immense multitude, she could not help adverting to the different circumstances of her situation only a few years before, when she had been sent thither as a prisoner, and exposed to all the malignity of numerous and powerful enemies. In the fervour of her soul, she dropped on her knees the moment she alighted, and 'offered up to Almighty God, who had delivered her from danger so imminent, a solemn and devout thanksgiving, for an escape so miraculous, so she expressed herself, as that of Daniel out of the mouths of the Lions.† On the fifth of December, the Queen removed by water to Somerset Place, and from thence to her Palace at Whitehall.

On the first of January, 1559, the church-service was again read in English throughout London by proclamation, and it was commanded that all Churches in the Kingdom should conform to the practice of the Queen's Chapel: the elevation of the Host was also expressly forbidden. These innovations were considered by the Catholic Bishops as sufficiently significant of Elizabeth's designs in respect to Religion, and they all refused to assist in the ceremony of her Coronation. At length, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, was prevailed on to officiate, and she was crowned (January 15th,) in Westminster Abbey. "Three days before this she was conveyed by water to the Tower, attended by the Lord Maior of London and his brethren, the Aldermen, in their barges, and all the Craftes of the Citie in their barges richly decked with targets and banners of every misterie."† On the fourteenth she rode through the City of Westminster in great state, amidst the accustomed display of pageantry and expensive magnificence. In Cheapside, the Recorder presented her with 1000 marks in gold in a purse of crimson velvet, "in token of the affectionate loyalty of her faithful Citizens to a Sovereign whose prosperity they wished, and whose protection they implored." The Queen, in a short speech, returned thanks for the gift, and told her people, that "should occasion require, she would be found ready to spill her blood for their safety."† At another stage of her progress, a beautiful boy, intended to represent Truth, was let down from a triumphal arch, and he presented her with a copy of the Bible. This was received by the Queen with a most engaging gracefulness of deportment; she placed it in her bosom, and declared "that of all the endearing proofs of attachment which she had that day met with from her loving subjects, this gift she considered as the most precious, as it was to her of all others the most acceptable."‡

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* Bur. Hist. of the Reform, Vol. II. p. 373. † Ibid, p. 374.

Whilst the Parliament was engaged in promoting the Reformation, a *Conference* was appointed by the Queen to be held in Westminster Abbey, on three of the principal points in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, viz. "the performance of Divine Worship in an unknown tongue,"—"the Power of particular Churches to alter Rites and Ceremonies," and "the Propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass." On each side the arguments were to have been managed by nine Doctors, yet after the first proposition had been entered into, the Catholic Divines refused to suffer their reasons to be put into writing, though that had been previously agreed on. The assembly was therefore dismissed, all but the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, who were committed to the Tower for contempt in "giving such example of disorder, stubbornesse, and self-will, as hath not beene seene and suffered in such an honourable assemblie, beeing of the two Estates of this Realme, the Nobilitie and the Commons, besides the presence of the Queenes Majesties honourable Privie Counsell."*

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1078. † Hol. Chron. anno. 1559.

‡ Burn. Reform, Vol. II. p. 330

In July, a muster of 1400 armed citizens was made before her Majesty, at Greenwich; "of whom 800 were pikemen, in bright armour, 400 harquebusses in shirts of mail and helmets, and 200 halbardiers in German rivets;" the whole "furnished and set forth by the Companies of the Citie of London."† In the same month, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Ely, London, and several others, were deprived of their Sees for refusing to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy; and "divers deacons, archdeacons, parsons, and vicars," were turned out of their benefices, and the more violent of them committed to prison.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew, and several following days, "were burned in Paules Church-yard, Cheape, and divers other places of the Citie, al the roodes, and other images of churches: in some places, the coapes, vestments, alter-clothes, bookes, banners, sepulchres, and roode-lofts were burned."‡

In 1561, was a great *Scarcity* of grain in London; and in the same year, July the fourth, the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral was struck by lightning, and great part of the building was consumed. In 1563, and 1564, the *Plague* made great ravages in London, its destructive virulence being increased by "scarcitie of mony, and dearth of victuals." Upwards of 20,000 persons in the City and suburbs fell victims to this calamity, during the prevalence of which Michaelmass term was adjourned, and "for that the Plague was not fully ceased in London," Hilary term was kept at Hertford Castle.§

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1084. † Ibid. p. 1086. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 1129.

In July 1566, the foundations of the *Bourse*, or Royal Exchange, were laid by the munificent Sir Thomas Gresham, and the buildings were completed in the following year.

The year 1569 "exhibited a novelty in London of most pernicious example." The first public *Lottery* was then drawn at the west doors of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the drawing continued without interruption, day and night, from the eleventh of January till the sixth of May![*] The prizes were of plate, and the profits were appropriated to the repair of the sea-ports.

In the years 1569 and 1570, the City was so much infested by beggars and vagrants of all kinds, that on its being found that the sixteen Beadles of the several Hospitals were inadequate to the task of suppressing their irregularities, it was resolved to appoint a City-marshal, with proper attendants and authority, that the streets might be no longer over-run "with valiant and sturdy rogues and masterless men." About this time the Metropolis was again visited by a *Pestilence*. On this occasion some excellent regulations for preventing the spreading of the disease were made and promulgated by the Mayor and Aldermen.[†]

On the three first days of May, 1571, a "solemn *Just* was holden at Westminster before the Queenes maiestie, at the tilt, turney, and barriers."[‡] The challengers were Edward, Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton, Esq. "who all did very valiantly, but the chiefe honor was given to the Earle of Oxford."[§] In this and the following year several persons were executed in London for High Treason; among whom was Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded on Tower-hill.

The intrigues, foreign and domestic, that were now carrying on to disturb the Queen's government, occasioned an order to be sent to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to train the younger Citizens to the use of arms for the defence of the capital; and the precept was obeyed with such alacrity, that within two months afterwards, in May, 1572, a choice body of 3000 men, completely armed and disciplined, were mustered before the Queen in Greenwich-park. In the following year a great *Dearth* was experienced by the poor in London, through the exportation of provisions to the Netherlands; yet, "thanks be given to God,' says Stow, "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money."* In the year 1574, the *Plague* again extended its ravages through the Metropolis, and the Queen directed the Lord Mayor not to give any entertainment in Guildhall on the day of his entrance into office, that the concourse of people might not spread the contagion.

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 1131.

[†] These are printed at length in Mait. Lon. Vol. I. p. 159-60, edit. 1756.

[‡] Stow's Ann. p. 1141.

[§] Ibid.

About the same time the Common Council made various regulations to check the disorders that had arisen from the uncontrouled performance of stage-plays, interludes, &c. which had now become a very favourite amusement with the populace, but were generally conducted, if we may give credit to the record, by lawless vagrants, without either virtue or morals. The plays were commonly acted on Sundays and Festival days, in "great inns, which had secret chambers and places, as well as open stages and galleries, where maids, especially orphans, and good citizens children under age, were inveigled and allured to privy and unmeet contracts; and where unchaste, uncomely, and unshamefaced speeches and doings were published, and where there was an unthrifty waste of the money of the poor: sundry robberies, by picking and cutting purses, uttering of popular and seditious matter, many corruptions of youth, and other enormities: besides sundry slaughters and maimings of the Queen's subjects, by falling of scaffolds, frames, and stages, and by engines, weapons, and powder used in the plays."† It was therefore ordered that no innkeeper, or any other person within the liberties of the City, should suffer any play to be performed within his house or yard, which had not been first perused and allowed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; that no one should suffer any persons to perform in his house or yard, but such as were properly licensed, and bound in certain sums to the City Chamberlain, to prevent irregularity; and that no play should be openly performed, under pain of imprisonment and fine, in which were "any words, examples, or doings of any unchastity, sedition, or such-like unfit and uncomely matter."* The players thinking themselves aggrieved by these restrictions, petitioned the Queen and Council for more extended liberty; but without effect, as the continuance of the Plague rendered it necessary to subject them to yet greater restraints, and they were enjoined not to play on Sundays, nor on holidays till after evening prayers, nor yet to play in the dark, nor so late but that their auditors might return to their homes before sun-set, or at least before the darkness set in.

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1158.

† Hol. Chron. anno 1574.

The year 1575 furnished a lamentable instance of the power of intolerance and religious bigotry, and that at a time when the councils of Elizabeth were aided by the talents of a Bacon (Sir Nathaniel, Lord Keeper), a Cecil, and a Walsingham. In the year 1560, all Anabaptists had been commanded by proclamation to quit the Kingdom; yet it appears that there were still some who followed their belief in secrecy. These, however, had been sought out by the eye of persecution, and on the twenty-first of May, "being Whitson-eeven [anno 1575], one man and ten women, Dutch Anabaptists, were in the consistorie of Paule's condemned to be brent in Smithfield, but after great paines taking with them, onely one woman was converted, the other were banished the land."† This was a mild sentence, and might possibly be justified by the state of public affairs; yet nothing can excuse the condemning of men to the stake for religion, as was done in two months afterwards, on the twenty-second of July, when "two Dutchmen, Anabaptists, were brent in Smithfield, who died in great horror, with roaring and crieng."[*] In 1578, another man, named John Nelson, was "hanged, bowelled, and quartered," at Tyburn, for denying the Queen's supremacy.[†]

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* Hol. Chron. anno 1574.

† Stow's Ann. p. 1162.

On the fourth and fifth of February, 1579, "fell such abundance of *Snow*," in London, that "the same was found to lie two feete deepe in the shallowest," and when driven by the wind, "an ell or yard and halfe deepe." The snow continued to fall till the eighth, "and freezed till the tenth, and then followed a thawe with continuall raine a long time after, which caused such high floods, that the marshes and low grounds being drowned for a time, the water was so high in Westminster-Hall, that after the fall thereof, some fishes were found there to remaine."* In 1580, on the sixth of April, an *Earthquake* was felt in London, and though its duration did not exceed a minute, the shock was so severe that many churches and houses were much shattered, and several people killed and hurt. "The great clocke bell in the Palace at Westminster," says Stow, "stroke of itself against the hammer with shaking, as divers clockes and belles in the City and elsewhere did the like."† This Earthquake extended into many parts of England: in Kent there were three shocks, and much damage was done.

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[*] Stow's Ann. p. 1162. This proves the mistake of Salmon (Chron. Hist. Vol. I. p. 80.), who says, that the first who was executed purely for religion in this reign was a priest named Cuthbert Main; the latter did not suffer till November 1577.

[†] Stow's Ann. p. 1171. Under the date 1576, Stow records the following extraordinary examples of ingenuity. "A strange peece of worke, and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne within the Citie of London, and a Clarke of the Chancerie, named *Peter Bales*, who by his industrie and practise of his pen, contrived and writ, within the compasse of a Penie, in Latin, the Lord's Prayer, the Creede, the Ten Commandements, a Prayer to God, a praier for the Queene, his poste, his name, the day of the month, the yeere of our Lorde, and the reigne of the Queene: and at Hampton-Court hee presented the same to the Queene's Majestie, in the heade of a ringe of golde, covered with a chrystall, and presented therewith an excellent Spectacle, by him devised, for the easier reading thereof, wherewith hir Majestie reade all that was written thereon, and did weare the same upon hir finger.

"Also about the same time *Marke Scaliet*, blacksmith, borne in London, for trial of workmanship, made one hanging locke of yron, steele, and brasse, a pipe key filed three square, with a pot upon the shafte, and the bowe with two esses, al cleane wrought, which weied but one grain of golde, or wheat corne; he made also a chain of golde of 43 links to which chaine the locke and key being fastned, and put about a fleas neck, shee drew the same; all which locke, key, chaine and flea, weied but one graine and a half, as is yet to be seene upon Corne-hill, by Leaden-hall, at the sayde Marke's house."

On the seventh of July, in the same year, by a Proclamation dated at Nonsuch, all persons were prohibited from building houses within three miles from any of the City gates of London; and various other regulations were ordered to be enforced to prevent any further resort of people to the Capital from distant parts of the country. This ordinance was issued from the three-fold consideration of "the difficulty of governing a more extended multitude without device of new jurisdictions and officers for the purpose; of the improbability of supplying them with food, fuel, and other necessaries at a reasonable rate; and of the danger of spreading plague and infection throughout the realm."‡ In the following November, when the Lord Mayor elect went to the Exchequer to take the official oaths, he was strictly enjoined by the Lord Treasurer to enforce the Proclamation.

In 1581, January the twenty-second, a "great chalenge of *Justes* before the Queenes Maiestie was most courageously accomplished in the accustomed place of Westminster," but many of the beholders were killed and maimed by the falling of a "scaffold overcharged."§ In the following May, another splendid *Justing* was held at Westminster, for the entertainment of the

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1172—3. † Ibid. 1176.

‡ See the Proclamation at length in Mait. Lon. p. 158. Edit. 1759.

§ Stow's Ann. p. 1179.

French Embassadors who had arrrived in England to settle the terms of the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou:—Among the Challengers were the Earl of Arundel, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Fulke Greville.* In June the Cross in Cheap was greatly damaged by the populace, it being now regarded as a superstitious object, and held in abhorrence by numbers. During the course of this year, several Catholics were put to death for treasonable practises, among whom was the celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campian: he was "hanged, bowelled, and quartered" at Tyburn, with three other "seminary" Priests, on the first of December. In the following year, several other persons, mostly Priests, were executed at the same place, for like offences. In this year, the City was first supplied with water from the Thames, for domestic purposes, by means of a machine, invented by a Dutchman, named Peter Maurice: this was the origin of the Thames waterworks.

The *Plague* again extended its ravages through London, about this period, and 6930 persons are recorded by the Bills of Mortality, to have been carried off during the year ending December the twenty-seventh, 1582.

On the seventeenth of September, 1583, the London Archers had a splendid shooting-match in Smithfield, under the direction of their Captain, who was styled Duke of Shoreditch, and his several officers, the Marquisses of Barlow, Clerkenwell, Islington, Hoxton, and Shaklewell, the Earl of Pancras, and others. The archers assembled at Merchant-Taylors' Hall, to the number of 3000, sumptuously apparelled, (of whom 942 wore golden chains) and were attended by whifflers and billmen, to the amount of 4000, besides pages and footmen.†

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1180.

† The title of Duke of Shoreditch was bestowed by Henry VIII. in a frolic, on a Citizen, named Barlow, who resided at Shoreditch, and was thus dignified by the King for his superior skill in a shooting-match held at Windsor. The other titles were most probably of the Duke's creation: his own title is stated to have descended for several generations with the Captainship of the London Archers. *Bowman's Glory.*

In July 1584, Francis Throckmorton, Esq. eldest son to the Chief Justice of Chester, was executed at Tyburn, for High Treason, in plotting against the Queen with intent to restore the Catholic Religion, and place the crown upon the head of the captive Queen of Scots, whom Elizabeth had now kept imprisoned during sixteen years. One Thomas Carter, a Bookseller of London, was also " hanged, bowelled, and quartered," at Tyburn, for publishing a seditious and traitorous book.

The frequent attempts of the Jesuits to excite rebellion about this time, led to the banishment of seventy Catholic priests, some of whom were under sentence of death. It was thought expedient, however, to strengthen the government by new laws against the Jesuits, and those who took orders in a foreign land; for this purpose a severe Bill was passed by the Parliament, it being opposed alone by a native of Wales, named William Parry, LL. D. who described its provisions as 'full of blood, danger, despair, terror, and confiscations.'* His speech occasioned him to be committed to the Gate House, but on making a proper submission he was discharged in a few days and re-admitted to his seat. Hardly had he been set at liberty when he was accused of a conspiracy to assassinate the Queen, as she rode abroad to take the air; and upon his own confession, probably extorted by the rack, which was too frequently used, he suffered the death of a traitor, in the Palace Court at Westminster, on the second of March, 1585.

The general apprehensions of an invasion from Spain, about this period, induced Elizabeth to take the requisite precautions for defence, and both the naval and the military forces were considerably augmented. The Citizens of London, on this occasion, raised and armed at their own expense, a body of 5000 men, who in May were encamped on Blackheath, where they were several times reviewed by the Queen. In the August following " certeine soldiers being *pressed* in the severall wardes of the Citie of London,"† were furnished for the wars, and clothed in

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* D'Ewe's Jour. p. 340. †Stow's Ann. 1202.

red coats, "all at the charges of the companies and citizens," and sent to the assistance of the Dutch in the Netherlands.*

The year 1586 was productive of Babington's memorable Conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth and free the Queen of Scots from a captivity in which she had now passed almost eighteen years. Six persons had engaged to kill the Queen, and were all drawn in one picture, with Babington in the middle, and a Latin motto annexed, *(Quorsum hæc alio properantibus)* obscurely hinting their design. Through the watchfulness of Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary, the plot was discovered, and he contrived even to get the picture shewn to the Queen before the arrest of any of the conspirators. At length, however, they were seized about the middle of July, to the number of fourteen, "for joy of whose apprehension, the Citizens of London the 15. of the same moneth at night, and on the next morrow, caused the bels in the churches to be rung, and bonefiers in their streetes to be made, and also banqueted every man according to his abilitie, with singing of psalms and praysing God." These proofs of attachment were so acceptable to the Queen, that she addressed a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen expressive of her "great and singular contentment," at the pleasure manifested by the Citizens on the "apprehension of certaine divelish and wicked-minded subjects," who had so "most wickedly and unnaturally conspired." In the September following, the conspirators were tried at Westminster, and seven of them were adjudged guilty on their own confessions; the others were condemned by the jury. They were all "hanged, bowelled, and quartered, in Lincolnes Inne Fields, on a stage or scaffold of timber, strongly made for that purpose, even in the place where they used to meete and to conferre of their traitourous practices."* The ill-starred Mary, whose imprisonment had given rise to various attempts against the Queen's life, is said to have been implicated in Babington's Conspiracy; and this, whether true or false, furnished a plausible pretence for those proceedings which soon afterwards condemned her to the block. The sentence against her was proclaimed with particular ceremony at different places in London and Westminster, on the sixth of December, "to the great and wonderful rejoicing of the people of all sorts, as manifestly appeared by ringing of bels, making of bonfiers, and singing of Psalmes in every of the streetes and lanes of the Citie."† The City Magistracy, with divers earls, barons, &c. attended this judicial promulgation.

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* At the July Sessions, 1585, considerable attention was given by the Magistracy to the discovery and suppression of houses of resort for thieves. Fleetwood, the Recorder to the Lord Treasurer, with others of the Bench, discovered sixteen of these houses in London and Westminster, and two in Southwark. In one of these, an alehouse at Smart's Quay, near Billingsgate, the arts of cutting purses and picking-pockets, were taught scientifically. This was kept by one Wotton, a "gentleman born, and once a merchant of good credit, but fallen by time into decay." He had a regular school for teaching youth the necessary dexterity of hand which their trade required; and which was done by hanging up a pocket and a purse, one containing counters and the other silver, each of them being "hung about with hawk's bells," and having a "little sacring bell" at top. The pupil was instructed to take out the silver and the counters without gingling the bells, which when he had accomplished, his proficiency was rewarded by styling him a *Nypper* and a *Foyster:* the former term signifying a Pick-purse, or Cut-purse; and the latter a Pick-pocket.—*Stow's Sur. of Lond.*

On the sixteenth of February, 1587, the remains of the gallant and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, who was mortally wounded at Zutphen, in Flanders, were conveyed, with great funeral pomp, from the Convent of the Minorites, without Aldgate, to St. Paul's Cathedral, and solemnly interred. These obsequies were attended by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen "in murreie," by the Grocer's Company, of which Sir Philip was a member, and by many of the Citizens "practised in armes."‡ During this year the Metropolis experienced a great *Dearth* of corn, which arose to such a height that wheat was sold in the City at 3l. 4s. the quarter.

In the preparations made to repel the threatened attack of the boasted *Spanish Armada*, London took a most distinguished share; and, besides raising supplies of money in the way of loan, the

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1236. † Ibid. p. 1260. ‡ Ibid. p. 1257.

City voted a very large proportion of its population,* to be completely trained to arms, and maintained at its own expence, during the whole time the Queen's service should require. The number of troops thus raised was 10,000;† and the county supplied 1000 more, besides eighty-five light horse, and thirty-five lances.‡ Twenty-nine "shippes and barques," containing 2,140 men, were also supplied, victualled, and "paide by the Citie of London,"§ and the Merchant Adventurers of London also set out "tenne shippes of warre at their owne proper costs and charges."

The issue of the attempt made by the Armada to invade England, in July 1588, every one is acquainted with, but the cause of the threatened invasion being delayed for a whole twelvemonth after the preparations were arranged, is not so generally known, though nothing can redound to the greater credit of the London merchants. Bishop Burnet, who relates the story on the authority of the famous Boyle, Earl of Corke, regards it as one of the most curious passages in the whole English history. His words are these:—"But when it seemed not possible (to the Court) to divert the execution of so great a design, a merchant of London, to their surprise, undertook it. He was well acquainted with the state of the revenue of Spain, with all their charge and all that they could raise. He knew all their funds were so swallowed up, that it was impossible for them to victual and set out their fleet, but by their credit in the bank of Genoa. So he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and get such remittances made on that bank, that he should, by that means, have it so intirely in his hands, that there should be no money current there equal to the great occasion of victualling the fleet of Spain. He reckoned the keeping such a treasure dead in his hands till the season of victualling was over, would be a loss of 40,000l.; and, at that rate, he would save England. He managed the matter with such secrecy and success, that the fleet could not be set out that year; and at so small a price, and with so skilful a management, was the nation saved at that time."* Welwood says, and most probably with truth, that 'this scheme for retarding the expedition, was the contrivance of the great statesman, Walsingham, who got all the Spanish bills that were to supply the king with money to carry on his preparations, protested at Genoa.'† History has recorded the name of Thomas Sutton, Esq. the magnificent founder of the Charter House, as the merchant through whose agency the intentions of the Spaniards were thus frustrated.

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* In a recent selection of papers relating to the Spanish Armada, made by order of his Majesty, from the Tower Records, and printed (but not published) under the title of '*Report of the Arrangements* made for the Internal Defence of these Kingdoms,' &c. London is stated to contain "20,696 able housholders, servants of our nation, within the wardes—938 strangers, able men for service; and 36 personnes suspected in religion."

† These were levied in the different wards in the following proportions:—Aldersgate ward, 232; Aldgate, 347; Bassishaw, 177; Billingagate, 365; Bishopsgate, 326; Bread Street, 386; Bridge, 383; Broad Street, 373; Candlewick, 215; Castle-Baynard, 551; Cheap, 358; Coleman Street, 229; Cordwainers' Street, 301; Cornhill, 191; Cripplegate, 925; Dowgate, 384; Farringdon Within, 807; Farringdon Without, 1264; Langbourn, 349; Lyme Street, 99; Portsoken, 243; Queenhithe, 404; Tower, 444; Vintry, 364; Wallbrook, 290. *Mait. Lond.* p. 165-6.

‡ Stow's Ann. p. 1256. Rep. of Arrangements.

‖ Stow's Ann. p. 1257.

On the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth, in grateful piety, ascribed all the glory to Providence. *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*, was the motto she adopted for her medals, and she commanded a day of solemn thanksgiving to be observed over the whole Kingdom. She herself set the example, and on the twenty-fourth of November, rode in great state to St. Paul's Cathedral on a triumphal car, from which was suspended the standards and streamers taken from the Spaniards.‡ She was accompanied

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* Burn. Hist. of his own Time, p. 313. † Memorials, p. 9.

‡ Thuan's Hist. Lib. LXXXIX.

panied by all the chief Officers of State, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, the female nobility, and "other honourable persons, as well spiritual as temporal, in great number." The procession set out from Somerset House, and was received at Temple Bar by the Lord Mayor and his brethren, in scarlet, whilst the City companies, in their liveries, lined the way on each side within a double railing covered with blue cloth. At the great west door of the Cathedral, Elizabeth dismounted from her chariot, and was received, says Stow, "by the Bishop of London, the Deane of Paules, and other of the Clergy, to the number of more than fifty, all in rich coapes, where hir highness on her knees made hir hartie praiers to God." She then attended Divine service in the choir, and was afterwards conducted to a closet "of purpose made out of the north wall of the Church," towards the "pulpit crosse," where she heard a sermon preached by Dr. Pierce, Bishop of Salisbury. This ended, she "returned through the Church to the Bishop's Palace, where she dined," and she was afterwards re-conveyed "in like order as afore, but with great light of torches,"* to Somerset House.

In 1589, the City advanced a loan of 15,000l. to the Queen, at ten per cent.; and, in September, the same year, furnished 1000 men towards the army then forming to aid the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Fourth, in prosecuting his claim to the crown of France. On the fifth of January, 1590, great damage was done in London by a great and terrible tempest of *Wind*."† In the course of this year several priests and other persons were executed in different parts of the Metropolis for High Treason.

In July, 1591, a great commotion was excited in the City by a visionary enthusiast, named William Hacket, and his two phrenetic associates, Coppinger and Arthington. The former had lodgings at Broken Wharf, near the Thames; and in one of his insane ravings he commanded the others to go forth through the

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1282. † Ibid. 1286.

City and proclaim, that "Christ Jesus was come, with his fan in his hande, to judge the earth." This commission they executed with a loud voice, and with such success, that by the time they reached the Cross in Cheap, the pressure of the multitude was so great, that they could not proceed. They therefore mounted an empty cart, and entering into particulars, declared themselves the Prophets of Mercy and of Vengeance, called to assist Hacket in his great work; affirming, that all who believed them not, and 'especially the City of London,' were "condemned bodie and soule."* The Queene's Council, alarmed at the tumult, and probably apprehending some deeper design than appeared openly, had all the three visionaries immediately arrested and examined. Hacket was brought to trial on the twenty-sixth, "before the Lord Maior and other Justices, at the Sessions House neere Newgate," and was condemned to die, for having spoken "divers most false and trayterous words against hir Maiestie;" and for maliciously thrusting "an iron instrument into that part" of a a picture of the Queen "that did represent the breast and hart."† Two days afterwards he was drawn upon a hurdle to a gibbet raised near the "Crosse in Cheap," and was there "hanged, bowelled, and quartered," though all his words and whole demeanor exhibited the raving maniac. On the day following, Coppinger died in Bridewell, "as was said," from having "wilfullie abstayned from meate;" and Arthington died shortly after in the Wood-street Compter.‡

In 1592, the *Plague* raged with extreme violence in London, and the Michaelmas term was adjourned to Hertford. Its ravages continued through great part of the succeeding year; and, according to the Bills of Mortality, ending December the twentieth, 1593, upwards of 10,000 persons had died of it within that space. During the three latter years many Seminary Priests, and writers of seditious pamphlets were executed in London for High Treason. The Metropolis was so greatly infested with vagrants

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* Stow's Ann. p. 1289. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

grants and beggars in the beginning of 1593, that the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation against them; and by order of the Privy Council, dated in April the same year, the Lord Mayor and other Officers were enjoined to cause all beggars found within three miles of London, to be removed to their respective parishes.

In 1594, the Common Council, in conformity to the Queen's desire, agreed to furnish six ships of war and two pinnaces, for three months, and also 450 armed men, at the general charge of the Citizens. In the following year, was a great *Dearth* in London; but through the exertions of the City merchants in procuring corn, an expected famine was prevented.

About this period various *Tumults* occurred in London, through the licentiousness of the common people, conjoined perhaps with the general scarcity of provisions. To remedy these disorders, the Queen issued a Proclamation on the fourth of July, in which she declared her determination to "appoint a Provost-martial, with sufficient authority to apprehend all such as should not be readily reformed and corrected by the ordinary officers of justice, and then without delay to be executed upon the gallows, by order of Martial Law." In this instrument, the "late unlawfull assemblies and riots," are said to have been "compounded of sundry sorts of base people; some prentises, some wandering idle persons, of condition rogues and vagabonds, and some colouring their wandering by the name of soldiers." On the same day, Sir Thomas Wilford was appointed Provost-marshal, and "he rode about, and through the City," with a number of men on horseback armed with pistols, and apprehended many vagrant and idle persons. Five of these, described as "unrulie youths," who had been concerned in a riot on Tower Hill, in which the Lord Mayor had been insulted, were condemned for High Treason; and executed accordingly (July the 26th), on the spot where they had offended.* This example of severity, though doubtless illegal,

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* Howe's Stow, p. 769.

gal, intimidated the unruly, and the peace of the City was not again broken for many years.

In April, 1596, under orders from the Queen's Council, a body of 1000 able-bodied men was twice raised within the City, and completely armed for service in twenty-four hours. The last order was received in service time on the morning of Easter Sunday; and was so instantly obeyed, that the Aldermen, with their proper officers; closed up the church doors in their respective wards, "till they had *pressed* so many men to bee souldiers, that by 12 of the clocke," they had raised the requisite numbers, and "these forthwith furnished with armour, weapons, and all thinges necessary," were immediately marched to Dover, to join the army then assembling to relieve Calais, which was then besieged by the Spaniards.* In October, 1597, "divers people were smothered and crushed to death, pressing betwixt Whitehall and the Colledge Church to have seen her Majestie and nobilitie riding to the Parliament."†

In the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, the City was frequently applied to for supplies of money and soldiers, and though these demands were sometimes exorbitant, they were generally granted with an alacrity that demonstrated how fully the government possessed the confidence of the people. In 1598, many souldiers were '*pressed*' in London, as well as "in divers shires," and being furnished with all things necessary for the wars, were sent into the Low Countries.‡ In the following year, in August, great preparations were made in London to repel what was called another projected descent of the Spaniards, but they were, in fact, intended to secure the City against the apprehended attempts of the Earl of Essex, who was reported to be returning with his army from Ireland to take vengeance on his enemies. Elizabeth knew the violence of her favourite, but judged it imprudent to give publicity to his design; yet she was determined to be provided for defence, and therefore countenanced a rumour of a second

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* Howe's Stow, p. 770. † Ibid, p. 786. ‡ Ibid. p. 787.

Spanish invasion,* and commanded the Citizens immediately to fit out twelve ships, (which were afterwards increased to sixteen,) and provide 6000 soldiers. The latter were "with all speed made in readinesse," and daily trained to arms; and one moiety being "househoulders of good accompt, in brave furniture," was appointed to attend as a body-guard on the Queen's person. "In the meane space, many thousandes of horsemen and footemen, chosen persons, well appoynted for the warres, trayned upp in armour with brave liveries, under valiant captaynes, in divers shyres, were brought up to London, where they were lodged in the suburbs, townes, and villages neere adioyning, from the 18. of August til the twentieth or three and twentieth; in which time the horsemen were shewed in Saint James field, and the footemen trayned in other grounds about the Cittie."† During this season of expected danger, strong guards patrolled the streets of the City by the Queen's orders, chains were drawn across the avenues, and "lanthorns with lights of candles were hanged out at every mans doore, there to burne all night, and so from night to night, uppon payne of death."‡ The alarm continued about three or four weeks, when the Queen having received certain intelligence that Essex had relinquished his wild scheme, discontinued her preparations. Soon afterwards the Earl returned privately to London, with only six attendants, and was ordered into the custody of the Lord Keeper.

The seventeenth of November, 1599, being the forty-first anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, was kept in London with "great *Justings*, and other triumphs," which were "not ended in divers days after."§ In December, a most violent storm of *Wind* did considerable damage in the Metropolis and its neighbourhood. In July, 1600, the Citizens furnished 500 soldiers, "with their furniture," for the war in Ireland;|| and, in the September following, "souldiers prest in and about the Cittie, to the number of three hundred and fifty masterlesse men, vagrant persons," to be sent with "such like out of other parts of this realme," into Ireland.* In the following year, several gallies were fitted out by the City for the sea service, the expence of which was defrayed by a heavy assessment on the inhabitants.

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* Camd. Life of Elizabeth. † Howe's Stow, p. 788.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 789. || Ibid.

Though the Earl of Essex had partially regained the Queen's favour, by assuming that humbleness of deportment which corresponded with her determination to "bend his proud spirit," and had even been restored to full liberty, his disgrace had not sufficiently chastened his impetuosity of temper, and on Elizabeth's refusing to continue to him a grant "of the farm of sweet wines," from which he had previously derived much profit, he exclaimed so passionately against the Queen, that he again excited her anger; and this was shortly afterwards ripened into deep resentment on being informed that Essex in his rage had said that "She was grown an old woman, and no less crooked and distorted in her mind than in her body." The enemies of the Earl had now every advantage over him; they set spies upon his actions, and reported even accidental occurrences so unfavourably, that the Queen was incensed to vengeance.

The daring mind of Essex could but little brook the constraint in which he had been forced to live during the past twelvemonth, and he conceived the desperate project of seizing the Queen's person in her own Palace at Whitehall; with intent to drive his enemies from the Court, and invite the Scottish King to ascend the Throne. His measures, however, were taken with so little prudence, that "the Queene, upon jealousie that the Earle intended some practice," had him summoned to attend the Council, which he refused to do, on pretence of being indisposed. On the same night, February the seventh, 1601, he held a conference with his partizans at Essex House,† and it was resolved that on the next morning he should attempt to raise the City, where he was thought to have great influence; he had also been told that one of the Sheriffs, named Smith, who commanded a body of 1000 of the trained-bands was ready to join him.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 789.

† In the Strand; on the spot now occupied by Devereux Court and Essex Street.

Pursuant to this scheme, the Earls of Southampton and Rutland with 300 gentlemen, assembled at Essex House on the morning of the eighth, and the Earl putting himself at their head, sallied forth, and entering the City, cried out, "For the Queen! For the Queen! A Plot is laid for my life.—Arm, arm, my Friends, or you can do me no good;" but not a man stirred to join him, though numbers collected to see him pass. Still the Earl proceeded towards Fenchurch, near which the Sheriff resided whose aid he had been promised; yet Essex was doomed to be deceived; whilst "the Earle dranke," says Stow, "the Sheriffe went out at a backe doore unto the Lord Maior, offering his service, and requiring direction."

Meanwhile the Queen's Council exerted themselves with great activity to defeat the Earl's designs. The "Court was fortified and double guarded, and the streetes in divers places sette full of emptie carts and coaches to stoppe his passage if he should attempt to come that way."* The Lord Mayor had also received orders to look "to the Cittie, and by 11. of the clock the gates were shut and strougly guarded."†

Whilst Essex was at the Sheriff's, he was informed that an herald had proclaimed him a Traitor. On this he "went into an Armourer's house, requiring munition, which was denyed him: from thence the Earl went to and fro, and then came backe to Gracechurch streete, by which time the Lord Burghley was come thither, having there, in the Queen's name, proclaymed the Earle, and all his company traytors, as he had done before in Cheapeside. At hearing whereof, one of the Earles followers shot a pistoll at the Lord Burghley, whereupon hee well perceiving the stout resolution of the Earles followers, together with the peoples great unwillingness, eyther to apprehend the Earl or ayde him, returned to the Court."*

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* Howe's Stow, p. 792.

† Ibid.

Essex finding that all his endeavours to get the Citizens to declare in his favor were fruitless, and "being forsaken of divers his gallant followers, hee resolved to make his nearest way home; and comming towards Ludgate, hee was strongly resisted by divers companies of wel armed men, levyed and placed there by the Lord Bishop of London: then he retyred thence, Sir Christopher Blunt being fallen and sore wounded in the head. From thence the Earle went into Fryday streete, and being faynt, desired drinke, which was given him, and at his request unto the Citizens, the great chayne which crosseth the streete was held up to give him passage: after that he took boat at Queenehith, and so came to his house, which he fortified with full purpose to die in his owne defence."†

Shortly after the Earl's house was completely invested by the Queen's forces assembled under the Lord High Admiral, the Earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the Lords Thomas Howard, Effingham, Burghley, Cobham, Gray, and Compton, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. and the Earl and his partizans were summoned to surrender. To this it was answered that 'they would die sword in hand;' and the Lord Sands particularly pressed the Earl to fight his way through, observing that it "was more honourable to fall by the sword than the axe." Essex, however, "being sore vexed with the cryes of Ladies," and convinced probably of the impossibility of escape, surrendered about ten o'clock the same night, together with the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, and the Lords Sands, Cromwell, Monteagle, and others; all of whom were put into boats and sent to the Tower.‡ On the following day the Queen, by Proclamation, thanked the Londoners for their fidelity, and warned them withal to have a watchful eye on whatever passed in the City. Within a few days afterwards all vagabonds were ordered to leave the City on pain of death; the Court having received information, that a great number of such persons lay hid, with intent to rescue the Earl, should they find opportunity.

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* Howe's Stow p. 792. † Ibid.

‡ Camd. Eliz. "From this time," says Stow, "untill all arraynments and executions were past, the Citizens were exceedingly troubled, and charged with double watches, and warding, as well about the Court as the Cittie." *Howe's Stow*, p. 792.

On the nineteenth of February, Essex, and his friend Southampton, were condemned for High Treason in Westminster Hall, and the former was beheaded in the Tower on Ash-Wednesday, being the sixth day after. He died with a firm but penitent spirit; and was still held in such regard by the populace, that his executioner was beaten as he returned homewards, and would have been "murthered," had not the Sheriffs of London been called to "assist and rescue him."* In the following month, Sir Christopher Blunt, and Sir Charles Danvers were beheaded on Tower Hill, for their concern in Essex's conspiracy, and Sir Giles Mericke, and Henry Cuffe, Gent. were "hanged, bowelled, and quartered at Tyburn." The former had been the Earl's Steward, the latter his confidential Secretary.

On the twenty-fourth of December, a slight shock of an *Earthquake* was felt in London "even at noone."† In May, 1602, "great *pressing* of souldiers was made about London, to be sent into the Low Countries;"‡ and in the following month another Proclamation was made, for restraining the increase of buildings and for the "voyding of inmates," in the Cities of London and Westminster, and "for the space of three miles distant."§ In August, the City furnished 200 soldiers for service in Ireland; and in the ensuing January, fitted out two ships and a pinnace "to lye before Dunkerke," at an expense for manning and victualling, of 6000l. per annum. During the three last years, many Seminary Priests suffered in different parts of London.

On the twenty-fourth of March, 1603, the Queen expired at

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* Howe's Stow, p. 794. † Ibid, p. 797. ‡ Ibid. p. 804.

§ Howe's Stow, p. 812.

Richmond. She died partly of old age, but more with sorrow for the death of Essex. On the same day, James the Sixth of Scotland was proclaimed her successor at the accustomed places in the City; the Privy Council, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attending the ceremony. The Proclamation had been drawn up with much form, and was "most distinctly and ablie read by Sir Robert Cecil,"* the hypocritical Secretary of State to the late Queen.

Elizabeth was buried at Westminster on the twenty-eighth of April, "at which time that Cittie was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people in their streetes, houses, windows, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequie; and when they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the coffin, set forth in Royal robes, having a crown uppon the head thereof, and a ball and sceptre in either hand, there was such a generall syghing, groaning, and weeping, as the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man, neyther doth any Historie mention any people, time, or state, to make like lamentation for the death of their Soverayne."†

On the seventh of May, the new King made his public entry into London:—At Stamford Hill he was met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in scarlet robes, and "500 grave Citizens, in velvet coates, and chaynes of golde, being all very well mounted like the Sheriffes and their trayne; the Serjeants at Armes, and all the English Herauldds in their coates of armes, &c. and multitudes of people swarming in fields, houses, trees, and high wayes to beholde the King.—Albeit, these numbers were no way comparable unto those he mette neare London."‡ About six in the evening he was conducted to the Charter House, where he "and all his trayne were treated with a most royall entertainment," by the Lord Thomas Howard, for four days, after which he removed to Whitehall, and from thence to the Tower.

The preparations that were making by the Citizens to do honour to the King's Coronation were interrupted by a dreadful *Plague*, which spread its ravages through the Capital with more merciless virulence than any similar calamity that had happened since the time of Edward the Third. Their Majesties, however, were crowned on the twenty-fifth of July, but "they rode not through the Citty in royall manner as had beene accustomed, neither were the Cittizens permitted to come to Westminster, but forbidden by Proclamation, for fear of infection to be by that means increased, for there died that week, in the Citty and suburbs, 857 of the Plague."† This prohibition however did not extend to the Lord Mayor and principal Citizens, who officiated at the Coronation dinner, as usual, as Chief Butlers. On the day following, the King, who by his readiness to bestow honours, seemed to regard nobility as a jest, knighted all the City Aldermen who had not previously undergone that ceremony.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 812. † Ibid. p. 815. Ibid. p. 823.

The Plague continuing to increase occasioned the issuing of a Proclamation against the keeping of Bartholomew Fair, or any other fair within fifty miles of London; and, about the same time, the statute against rogues, vagabonds, sole, and dissolute persons, was ordered to be enforced; "multitudes of dwellers in straight roomes" were prohibited, and "newly-erected houses commanded to be pulled down."* Several other Proclamations against new buildings in London were made in this reign. A conceit or a pun passed with James for reason and argument, and he acted accordingly. 'The growth of the Capital,' he remarked, 'resembled that of the head of a rickety child, in which an excessive influx of humour drained and impoverished the extremities, and at the same time generated distemper in the overloaded part.'

The number that died of the Plague in the course of this year was 30,578. During its continuance the Michaelmas term was held at Winchester, and the Courts of Exchequer, &c. at Richmond in Surrey. At length, its ravages having ceased, the Citizens resumed the preparation of their Pageantry, and the King and Queen, with the young Prince, Henry, "passed triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster," on the fifteenth of March, 1604. The King rode on "a white gennet under a rich canopie," sustained by six gentlemen of the Privy Council. Seven triumphal arches, or gates, were raised in different parts of the City; and in the Strand was "erected the invention of a rainbow, with the moone, sunne, and starres, advanced between two pyramids."* In short, the whole City and suburbs, displayed a 'continued scene of Pageantry;' and all the City Companies were arrayed in their formalities, and marshalled in their order of precedence, from the upper end of Mark Lane to the Conduit in Fleet-street; the "stremers, ensignes, and banners of each particular company being decently fixed."† On the nineteenth of March, James opened his first Parliament, at Westminster, by a long speech from the throne, in which good sense and pedantry were pretty equally blended. In the July following this Parliament was prorogued in displeasure, for having dared to remind the monarch of the privileges of the Commons, after he had arbitrarily interfered in a contested election.‡ James began early to stretch the prerogative unwarrantably, and to his endeavours to establish a blind deference to kingly authority may be traced those events which led his successor to the block.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 827. † Ibid. p. 827.

In September, the King borrowed "certain sums" of money, on "privie Seales, sent to the wealthiest Citizens of London," for that purpose.§ These sums appear to have been punctually repaid, together with 60,000l. which Queen Elizabeth had borrowed of the Citizens in February, 1598.||

On the 24th of October, James was first proclaimed King of *Great Britain,* France, Ireland, &c. "in most solemne manner,

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* Howe's Stow, p. 837. † Ibid.

‡ Among the Acts passed by this Parliament through the King's influence, was that against '*Conjuration, Witchcraft, and dealing with Evil Spirits!*'

§ Howe's Stow, p. 856. || Ibid. p. 890.

ner, at the great Crosse in West Cheape."* This was preparatory to the Union with Scotland, a measure which the King had much at heart, though greatly against the inclinations of his English subjects.

In August 1605, the King granted to the City a Charter confirmatory of its right to the metage of all coals, grain, salt, fruits, eatable roots, and 'other merchandizes, wares, and things measurable,' brought within the limits of the City-jurisdiction of the River Thames; and which had been several times questioned by the Lieutenants of the Tower.

About this period the horrible Conspiracy, known in History by the name of the *Gunpowder Plot*, the grand object of which was to prepare the way for the restoration of the Catholic Religion, was carrying on by its daring contrivers, with every possible precaution that seemed necessary to ensure its success. The destruction of the King and Parliament was the preliminary measure through which the conspirators thought to accomplish their design; and the blowing up the Parliament House with gunpowder, at the moment when the Sovereign should be commencing the business of the Session by the accustomed speech from the throne, was the dreadful means by which that destruction was intended to be accomplished. All the principal conspirators were bigotted Catholics, who had for many years been plotting the downfall of Protestantism in this country, and had even sent messengers for foreign aid both to Spain and Flanders. Being disappointed, however, in that assistance they required, they resolved to depend upon their own efforts, and about Easter, 1604, Winter and Catesby conceived the infernal idea of the Gunpowder Plot;† and this scheme having been communicated to several others, under the strongest oaths of secrecy and the solemnity of the

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* Howe's Stow, p. 856.

† Robert Catesby, Esq. was a man of talents and of illustrious descent: Thomas Winter was a Catholic gentleman, who had been twice sent by Catesby to the Continent to negociate for assistance.

Eucharist, was agreed to be carried into effect on the meeting of Parliament in the ensuing February. Some scruples of conscience which even this hardened band could not help feeling, were soon removed by Jesuitical casuistry; and Henry Garnet, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, is stated to have administered the Sacrament to the five principal conspirators, Percy, Catesby, Winter, Guy Fawkes, and Wright, in a house at the back of St. Clement's Church in the Strand, immediately after they had sworn fidelity to each other, and to the cause, upon a Primer.

In the beginning of December, Percy, who was cousin to the Earl of Northumberland, and one of the gentlemen-pensioners, hired a house immediately adjoining to that part of the Parliament House appropriated for the assembly of the Lords. Here the conspirators commenced their operations by digging a hole in the foundation wall, which was of great strength, and about nine feet in thickness. At their first entrance they had "made competent provision for twentie days, of wine, beare, and baked meates, because their being there should neyther bee seene, nor suspected of any, neyther came they forth untill Christmas eeve:—they had also furnished themselves with weapons, shot and powder, being determined rather to die there in their owne defence, than to be apprehended. About Candlemasse they had wrought the wall halfe through, and as they were at worke, they heard a rustling of sea-coales in the next roome, which was a cellar right under the Parliament House, and then they feared they had been discovered."* This alarm, however, was of short duration; for, on enquiry, they found that the adjoining vault had been made a depositary for coals, that the coals were then under sale, and that the cellar was to be let. As nothing could be more favorable for their purpose, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals, as if for domestic use, and without any appearance of concealment.

The prorogation of Parliament, from February to October, (1605) gave

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* Howe's Stow, p. 875.

gave the conspirators sufficient leisure to further their design; and, at convenient opportunities, about thirty barrels and four hogsheads of gunpowder, which had been brought from Holland, were conveyed into the cellar by night, and covered with billets and faggots of wood, great iron bars, stones, &c.* All this was done without exciting any suspicion, and though the Parliament had again been prorogued, the long-expected day at length drew nigh, and every thing wore the aspect of success. The conspiracy had now been on foot upwards of eighteen months, and the important secret had been confided to more than twenty persons, yet neither fear, nor pity, nor remorse, had cooled the ardour of any one of the associates, nor had the least indiscreet hint or expression led a single step towards a discovery. "But God," says Rapin, "abhorring so detestable a plot, inspired one of the conspirators with a desire to save [William Parker] Lord Monteagle, son of the Lord Morley."†

About ten days before the time appointed for the Parliament to assemble, this nobleman received a Letter in "an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand,"‡ which, in ambiguous, yet strong language, recommended him to absent himself from Parliament, on account of a great, yet hidden, danger to which he would otherwise be exposed. "Think not slightly of this advertisement," said the writer, "but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safetie; for though there be no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, *they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, yet they shall not see who hurts them.*" After some reflection Monteagle carried the Letter to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State, who, finding the contents to agree with various obscure intimations of a Catholic conspiracy, which he had received from abroad, judged it of sufficient importance to be communicated to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, and some others of the Privy Council. Whether Cecil and the Lord Chamberlain had, at this time, actually divined the plot, as would seem from a Letter of Cecil's to Sir Charles Cornwallis, published in Winwood's Memorials,[*] or that the discovery was afterwards made by the superior sagacity of the Sovereign, as commonly believed, it was determined to proceed with the most cautious secrecy, and that nothing should be done till the King returned from Royston, where he then was on a hunting party.

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* State Trials, Vol. I., p. 190, *et seq.*

† Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 171.

‡ Discourse of the Treason.

James came to London on the thirty-first of October, and on the next day it was resolved that " a very secret and exact search should be made in the Parliament-House, and in all other rooms and lodgings near adjoining."[†] Yet, to prevent any needless alarm, as well as to avoid ' giving suspicion unto the workers of this mischievous mystery,'[‡] it was thought prudent to delay the search till the eve of the day, (November the fifth) on which the Parliament was to meet; and that it should then be made by the Lord Chamberlain, as if only in virtue of his office.

When the Lord Chamberlain entered the cellar, where the ammunition of the conspirators was deposited, and saw the ' great store of faggots, billets, and coals,'[§] that was there piled up, he inquired of Whinyard, keeper of the wardrobe, to ' what use he had put those lower rooms?'[‖] and was then informed that the cellar had been let to Percy, and that the fuel which he saw there was probably for that Gentleman's winter consumption. The Earl heard this with seeming inattention, but perceiving a man standing in an obscure corner of the cellar; ' he asked who he was?' and was answered, ' a servant of Percy's, and keeper of that place for him.' The figure and deportment of this pretended menial, " who, indeed, was the afore-named Fawkes, sole agent for this tragedy,"[**] (that is, the setting fire to the powder,) made a deep impression on the mind of the Lord Chamberlain; yet he " still carried a seeming careless survey of things, though

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[*] Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 171.

[†] Howe's Stow, p. 877.

[‡] Ibid.

[§] Ibid.

[‖] Ibid.

[**] Ibid. p. 878.

"with a very serious and heedful eye," and quitted the cellar with affected negligence.

When the Earl had made his report to the Council, it was agreed that a further search should take place about midnight, and that the billets and faggots should be removed under pretence of seeking for "certaine robes and other furniture of the Kinges, lately stolen out of the wardrobe."* Sir Thomas Knevet, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and a Magistrate for Westminster, was appointed to this business, and he going at the hour assigned, with proper attendants, first apprehended Guy Fawkes, who was found standing at the door, and then causing the fuel in the cellar to be removed, discovered the concealed gun-powder. Fawkes, who was wrapped in a cloak, and booted and spurred, was afterwards searched, and "there was founde in his pocket a piece of touchwood, a tinder-boxe to light the touchwood, and a watch which Percy and Fawkes had bought the day before to try conclusions for the long or short business of the touchwood which he had prepared to give fier to the trayne of powder."† He was also provided with a dark lanthorn, and when questioned as to his purpose, "instantly confessed his own guiltiness, saying, that if he had beene within the House, when they first layed hands upon him, hee woulde have blowne up them, himself, and all."‡ On his examination before the Privy Council, he displayed the same daring impudence, affirming, that he only "repented that the deed was not done," and that 'God would have concealed it, but the Devil was the discoverer." All that day he obstinately refused to discover who were his associates, but being committed to the Tower, and shewn the rack, he felt his spirit subdued, and on the next day, 'made a full disclosure of the conspiracy.§

For some days a general alarm spread over the Metropolis, and the Magistrates of London and Westminster were ordered to keep strong guards in their respective Cities. At length the particulars of the plot being fully disclosed and made public, great rejoicings took place, and " there were as many bonefiers in and about London, as the streetes could permit, the people praying God for his most gracious delivery, wishing that day for ever to be held festivall."* This sentiment was so far complied with, that the Parliament passed a Statute, ordering, that the Anniversary of the discovery should be kept in perpetual remembrance, by a distinct religious service in all the churches of the establishment. †

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* Howe's Stow, p. 878. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ King James's Works, p. 231.

After Fawkes was arrested, Percy, with most of the principal conspirators, 'fled into Warwickshire, where they endeavoured to excite an immediate and general rising of the Catholics, but without effect, though Sir Everard Digby was already in arms, with intent to seize the young Princess Elizabeth, who was then at Lord Harrington's, and who was to have been proclaimed Queen had the plot succeeded.' The whole number they could ever muster, did not exceed fourscore, including attendants, and the country being instantly raised by the Sheriffs, " they were obliged to take refuge at Holbeach, a house belonging to one of the conspirators, on the skirts of Staffordshire. There, though completely surrounded, they determined to defend themselves, but on the accidental ignition of some powder which had been

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* Howe's Stow, p. 879.

† Stat. at Lar. 3rd Jam. I. c. 1. The fifth of November is still one of the principal holydays of London, though of late years it has not been observed by the populace with so much festive diversion as formerly. The burning of Guy Fawkes, a figure made with old clothes, and stuffed with straw or rags, was a ceremony much in vogue with the lower classes, but is now chiefly confined to school-boys. The greater attention given by the Police to prevent tumults, and restrain the letting off of fire-works, through which frequent accidents attended the commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot, are, perhaps, the leading causes of the disuse of ancient custom,

put to dry before the fire, they opened the gate, and rushed out.* Percy, Catesby, Winter, and the two Wrights, fought desperately, and were all slain but Winter, who was taken alive after receiving several wounds. The two first fell by the same shot; "Catesby at his death saide, the plot and practise of this treason was only his, and that all others were but his assistants, chosen by himselfe to that purpose, and that the honor thereof only belonged unto himselfe."† Both their heads were afterwards "cut off, and set uppon the ends of the Parliament-House."‡ The other conspirators were mostly made prisoners on the spot, and were conveyed to the Tower.

On the thirtieth of January, 1606, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed as traitors, at the west end of St. Paul's Cathedral; and the next day, Guy Fawkes, Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, and Robert Keys, underwent a similar fate in the Old Palace-Yard, at Westminster. Their quarters were afterwards exposed on the different gates of the City, and their heads set upon poles on London Bridge. Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits, who had been condemned in March, for mis-prision of treason, was executed at St. Paul's, on the third of May; and several others suffered the just punishment of their guilt about the same time, in different parts of the country.

In June, Percy's cousin, the Earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000l. deprived of all his posts, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, on suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy; and the Lords Mordaunt and Stourton were fined, the first 10,000 marks, and the latter 6000, and ordered to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, for the like offence, though the only shadow of proof exhibited against them was, their absence from the Parliament. These sentences were passed by that iniquitous Court, the Star-Chamber. Shortly afterwards, the King granted crown lands, to the value of 200l. per annum, in fee, and a yearly pension of 600l. to the Lord Monteagle, in reward for his "discreete, timely, and dutifull imparting to the Council, the private Letter, out of which they had the first ground, and only meanes that discovered the Powder Treason."*

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* 'As they were mending the fire in their Chamber, a spark happened to fall upon two pounds of powder, which was drying a little from the Chimney, and it blowing up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others, that they opened the gate.'—*King James's Works*, p. 244.

† Howe's Stow, p. 879.

‡ Ibid.

In July, this year, Christian the Fourth, King of Denmark, came to England, on a visit to the Queen, his sister, and was treated with extraordinary magnificence. On his entry into London, a similar display of pageantry was made by the Citizens, as had been customary at Coronations. Both James and Christian rode through the City in grand procession, preceded by the Lord Mayor, bearing a golden sceptre, and followed by a most splendid train of British and Danish Nobility: "upon the Great Fountain, in Cheapside, was erected the Bower of the Muses; and near the Pageant, by the Goldsmiths'-Row, where sat the great Elders of the City in scarlet robes, the Recorder made a solemn oration in Latin, and presented the King of Denmark with a curious cup of massy gold."† Several of the Conduits run with wine, and at that in Fleet-street was a pleasant pastoral device, with songs, wherewith the Kings were much delighted. On the following day the Royal Dane visited all the principal buildings in the Metropolis.

James affected popularity, though his general conduct was such as very little to deserve it; he knew the advantage however of cultivating the good opinion of the Citizens, and on this principle, in June 1607, after dining with the Lord Mayor, who presented him with 'a purse of gold,' he became a 'brother' of the Cloth-worker's Company, and on that occasion made a grant to the Company of two brace of Bucks, annually, for ever. In the following month the King partook of a splendid entertainment

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[*] Howe's Stow, p. 885. [†] Ibid. p. 886, and Stow's Surv. of Lond.

ment in Merchant-Taylors' Hall, accompanied by Prince Henry, and 'very many of the nobility, and other honourable personages;' there he was again presented with 'a purse of gold,' and the Prince, by his desire, was made free of the Company, as were all the Lords then present, who had not before received the freedom of the City. These courtesies were followed by a new confirmatory Charter of all the accustomed rights and privileges of the Citizens; and by the same instrument the precincts of Duke's Place, St. Bartholomew's the Great and Less, Black and White Friars, and Cold Harbour, were all subjected in perpetuity to the jurisdiction of the City: this Charter was dated from Hampton Court, on the twentieth of September.

In October another Proclamation was issued respecting the increase of buildings in the Metropolis, and it was commanded that all new buildings "should have their utter walls, fore-fronts, and windows, either of brick or stone, by reason that all great and well-grown woods were spent and much wasted, so as timber for shipping waxed scarce."* In December, the King borrowed 120,000l. of "certain private Citizens, farmers of the Custom-house, for one whole year;" and in May 1608, he borrowed of "certain other Citizens 63,000l. for fifteen months. These sums were punctually repaid at the appointed times, with full royall consideration for the same."†

In 1609, the City acquired a considerable accession of power and property, though it was not eventually so productive of advantages as it at first promised. Almost the entire province of Ulster, in Ireland, having fallen to the Crown, the King made an offer of the escheated lands to the Citizens, on condition that they should settle an English colony there. This proposal was accepted, and the Common Council having voted 20,000l. towards accomplishing the design, a Committee of six Aldermen and eighteen Commoners was chosen to direct the proceedings; and, though some time was at first lost, so rapidly was the colonization forwarded, that within seven years arose the two capital towns of

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* Howe's Stow, p. 892. † Ibid. p. 896.

London-derry and Colerain. The former was erected into a City, and the latter incorporated under a Mayor; and in 1616, Sir Peter Proby, Alderman of London and Governor of Ulster, accompanied by "divers of the most eminent Citizens," went over to Ireland under a special Commission, taking with him two rich swords of state, as presents from the City to the above places.*

In January 1610, a grand display of feats of arms "and triumphant shews" was exhibited at Whitehall, in honour of Prince Henry, who had been recently made a Knight,† and who, on the fourth of June, was created Prince of Wales with great pomp and ceremony, in "the Great White Chamber," at Westminster‡. On this occasion the King made twenty-five Knights of the Bath, who were entertained for several days, at Durham House, in the Strand; and on the night after the creation of the Prince, "a most rich, and royall Maske of Ladies" was exhibited at Whitehall:—The following afternoon a splendid *Tournament* was held in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, and in the evening, "were novell triumphs, and pastimes uppon the water, over against the Court," the Thames, "being in a manner close covered with boats and barges full of people, and the shore on both sides surcharged" with spectators.§

In 1612, the flames of religious persecution were once more rekindled in London, and that to the eternal disgrace of King James, who, emulating the example of Henry the Eighth, suffered a poor wretch to be burnt at the stake in Smithfield, whom, in a personal conference he had failed to convince by his arguments. The name of this "obstinate Arian heretique," as Howe calls him, was Bartholomew Legat; he was accused of Socinianism, as well as of denying the orthodoxy of the Nicene and Athanasian

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* Strype's Stow's Sur. † Howe's Stow, p. 897. ‡ Ibid. p. 899.

§ Ibid. p. 902, numbered by mistake, 907. The share which the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the City Companies had in this festivity may be seen in the work referred to. The whole account is very curious and particular.

Creeds, and suffered under a writ *de Hæretico Comburendo* directed to the sheriffs. He was burnt on the eighteenth of March; and on the eleventh of the following month, Edward Wightman, "another obstinate miscreant heretique," underwent a like fate at Lichfield.*

In October, Frederic, the Elector Palatine, who afterwards assumed the title of King of Bohemia, arrived in London to espouse the Princess Elizabeth. During his stay the Court exhibited an almost continued scene of festivity; though the nuptials were for a short time delayed by the decease of the accomplished Prince Henry, who died on the sixth of November, "not without vehement suspicion of poison."† On the twenty-ninth of October, the Palsgrave, with his retinue, and many of the nobility were sumptuously banquetted by the Citizens at Guildhall; and after the solemnnization of his marriage on the fourteenth of February, 1613, the City presented the Princess with a "fayre chaine of Orientall Pearl," which cost above 2000l.‡ The marriage ceremony was performed in the Chapel at Whitehall, with a degree of pomp that could hardly be exceeded, and in the evening, "there was a very stately Maske of Lords and Ladies, with many ingenious speeches, delicate devises, melodious musique, pleasant daunces, and other princely entertainments of tyme; all which were singularly well performed in the Banquetting House."§ The expenses attending this most festive wedding, amounted to the enormous sum of almost 100,000l. of which 20,500l. was *aid-money*, collected from his subjects by the King's order, according to the ancient custom on the marriage of the eldest daughter of the Sovereign.‖ In April, the Palsgrave and his bride quitted the Kingdom.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 913; and Harris's Life of King James.

† Court and Cha. of King James, p. 78. ‡ Howe's Stow, p. 918.

§ Ibid. p. 916.

‖ "The four honourable *Innes of Court*, as well the elders and grave Benchers of each house, as the towardly young active gallant Gentlemen of the same houses, being of infinite desire to expresse their singular love and

In 1613, Sir Hugh Middleton completed his ever-memorable undertaking of supplying the Metropolis with water, by means of the New River, which was first admitted into the Reservoir in the Spa Fields, near Islington, on Michaelmas-Day, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of spectators. The spot where the Reservoir was dug, was "in former times, an open idell Pool, commonly called the Ducking Pond."*

About this period the base intrigues of the King's favorite, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, occasioned Sir Thomas Overbury to be committed to the Tower, where, after some unsuccessful attempts to deprive him of life by poison, he was smothered in his bed, through the machinations of Carr's infamous paramour, the Countess of Essex. Shortly afterwards the Countess's marriage with the Earl of Essex was declared a nullity, and James, who had been highly instrumental to this decision, gave his favorite permission to marry the divorced Countess, though the adulterous intercourse in which she had lived with Carr, had been matter of notoriety to the whole court; and, that the lady might not

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and duteous affection to his Majestie, and to perform some memorable and acceptable service worthy of their own reputation in honor of this Nuptiall, did thereupon, with great expedition, jointly and severally consult and agree amongst themselves to sette out two severell rich and stately Masks, and to perform them bravely without respect to charge or expenses; and from amongst themselves they selected the most pregnant and active gentlemen to bee their maskers, who, to the lasting honor of themselves and their societies, performed all things as worthily: they employed the best wits and skilfullest artizans in devising, composing, and erecting their severall strange properties, excellent speeches, and delicate musique, brave in habite, rych in ornaments, in demeanor courtly, in their going by land and water very stately and orderly: all which, with the rare inventions and variable entertainments of tyme, were such as the like was never performed in England by any societie, and was now as gratiously accepted of by his Majestie, the Queene, the Prince, and the Bride and Bridegroom." *Howe's Stow*, p. 917. The author proceeds to detail many curious particulars of the Masks, which he has praised so highly. One part of the procession was "an antique or mock-maske," of baboons riding upon asses!

* Howe's Stow, p. 939.

not be disgraced by having a second husband inferior in rank to the first, he also bestowed the Earldom of Somerset upon Carr, previous to his nuptials! Still further to depart from every thing that is dignified in a Sovereign, the King allowed the marriage to be solemnized in his own Palace at Whitehall, and was himself present, together with his Queen, Prince Charles, most of the nobility, and divers reverend Bishops.* This was on the twenty-sixth of December: "that night was a gallant maske of Lords," and such was the servile obsequiousness of the age, that, on the fourth of January following, the "Bride and Bridegroom," with the Duke of Lenox, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chamberlain, and many Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, were "entertayned with hearty welcome, and feasted with all magnificence," by the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, in Merchant Taylors' Hall.†

The next year (anno 1614) Carr was made Lord Chamberlain, in place of his father-in-law, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who was advanced to the dignity of Lord Treasurer; in these offices they disgusted the nation by the oppression and illegal measures which, under their auspices, were continually employed to fill the King's empty coffers; and, among which, was the sale of exclusive patents for monopoly, the issuing of commissions for reviving obsolete laws, the sales of honors of every degree at fixed prices, compositions for defective titles, excessive fines in the Star-Chamber, &c. Though very large sums were collected by these infamous arts, they proved insufficient to supply the incessant drain upon the treasury, which resulted from the Monarch's lavish prodigality; and a Parliament was therefore summoned to meet at Westminster, in April, though much against the King's will. Instead, however, of granting supplies so readily as courtly extravagance required, the Commons proceeded to state their grievances, and that in such forcible language, that James dissolved the Parliament with indignation, before they had passed even a single statute; and immediately afterwards he committed several of the Members to prison, without suffering them to be admitted to bail. The King had now recourse to a Benevolence; yet this was so generally opposed by the people, that it produced but little more than enough to defray the charge of the entertainments given in welcome of the second visit of the King of Denmark, who arrived unexpectedly in London, on the twenty-second of July, and continued till the first of August.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 928. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had refused his assent to the annulling of the Countess's first marriage, and had protested against the infamous proceedings which led to it, was disgraced, and deprived of his seat at the Council-Table. *Wel. Co. of King Jam. p. 72.*

† Howe's Stow, p. 928. "At their first entrance into the Hall," continues Howe, "they were received with ingenious speeches and pleasant melody; and all the meate at this princely feast was served to the table by choyse cittizens of comeliest personage, in their gownes of rich foynes, selected out of the 12 honourable companies. After supper, and being risen from the table, these noble guests were entertained with a Wassaile, two several pleasant masks and a play, and with other pleasant dances, all which being ended, then the Bride and Bridegroom, with all the rest, were invited to a princely banquet, and about three o'clock in the morning they returned to Whitehall; and, upon Twelfth Night, there was a maske of gentlemen at Gray's Inn."

During the course of the following year, the influence of the Earl of Somerset greatly declined. The King had now seen Villiers, and the charms of novelty superseded the claims of friendship. For a time, however, the Sovereign seemed to maintain a sort of balance between the rival favorites, yet Carr easily penetrated that his fall was at hand, and in contemplation of the probable consequences, he besought the King to grant him a general pardon; that, whatever might be his situation, the malice of his enemies should not affect him. By a strange oversight, Sir Robert Cotton, who drew the instrument, inserted in it a clause copied from a Bull that had been granted to Cardinal Wolsey by the Pope, which made the King say, that " he pardoned the Earl not only all manner of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages, whatever, already committed, but also all those which he should hereafter commit; and in this state the king *actually signed it*; but when it was referred to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, that upright judge refused to seal an instrument in which was a clause so unconstitutional, and the business was dropped. Whether the King had been previously informed of Overbury's murder, is not quite certain, though subsequent events strongly imply that he was not unacquainted with it; yet the detail of circumstances perhaps might have been concealed from him.

Shortly afterwards, however, the particulars of the murder were communicated to James, both by Sir Ralph Winwood, who had been made Secretary of State through Somerset, and by Sir William Thrumball, the King's envoy at Brussels, who had obtained a knowledge of it from one of the inferior agents.* James commanded them to keep it private, and even afterwards endeavoured to conciliate the jarring interests of Carr and Villiers, expressing "no displeasure against Somerset, but living with him as he was wont, without the least signs of any alteration in his friendship."† Yet, on a sudden, he dipatched a messenger by night from Royston, whither he had been accompanied by Somerset, to the Lord Chief Justice Coke, ordering him to cause all the parties in the murder of Overbury to be apprehended; and when Carr was arrested in his own presence, he pretended ignorance of the matter, and said, jestingly, "Nay, man, there is no remedy; for if Coke sends for me, I must go."‡ With a depraved baseness of dissimulation also, of which human nature can furnish few parallel instances, he took leave of his fallen favourite with expressions of the fondest affection; yet no sooner was he in his coach, and out of hearing, than he exclaimed, "Now the de'el go with thee, I will never see thy face more."§ He afterwards commanded the strictest scrutiny to be made into all the circumstances of the murder, and, speaking to the Judges, used the remarkable words, "If you shall spare any guilty of this crime, God's curse light upon you and your posterity; and, if I spare any that are found guilty, God's curse light upon me and my posterity for ever."[*] How the denunciation thus solemnly announced, was fulfilled, will presently be seen.

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* Co. of K. James, p. 86—88; Wilson, p. 698, and Franklyn's Ann.

† Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 188. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

Somerset was committed to the Tower, where his Countess, with Sir Gervase Elwayes, who was Lieutenant of that fortress at the time of Overbury's murder, Sir Thomas Monson, Mrs. Turner, and the other participators in the crime, were already confined. This was in October, and during that and the following month, Elwayes suffered on Tower Hill, and Mrs. Turner, with Weston and Franklyn, who had administered the poison to Overbury, were executed at Tyburn. Sir Thomas Monson, though twice arraigned, was saved from trial by the direct interference of the King, who seems to have been fearful that Monson would have uttered something to his prejudice, had the trial proceeded.[†]

In the ensuing May, the Earl and his Countess were tried in Westminster Hall, on succeeding days, and both found guilty. Weldon tells us, that the King was greatly agitated during the whole day of the Earl's trial, and that the Earl had previously said to Sir George Moore, who had been made Lieutenant of the Tower in the room of Elwayes, that 'he would not appear, unless they carried him by force in his bed;' and that, 'the King had assured him he should not come to any trial, *neither durst the King bring him to trial.*' He was, however, prevailed on by

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[*] Co. of K. Jam. p. 93.

[†] Co. of K. Jam. p. 104. One Simon Mason, who had been servant to Monson, and employed to carry jelly and tart to Overbury, "was likewise brought before the Court, but saved his life by his shrewdness. The Judge said to him, "*Simon, you have had a hand in this poisoning business.*"—"*No, my good Lord,*" he replied, "*I had but one finger in it, which almost cost me my life; and at the best cost me all my hair and nails.*" The truth was, that "this Simon was somewhat liquorish, and finding the syrup swim from the top of a tart, as he carryed it he did with his finger skim it off," and it was concluded that he would not have tasted the syrup had he known it to be poisoned. Ibid. p. 98.

an artifice, to submit to the judgment of his Peers; and, though condemned, his life was spared, and, whatever might be the cause, both himself and his Countess though confined till the year 1621, were then set at liberty; yet they were not released from their sentence till 1624, when the king granted them a full pardon, about four months before his decease.*

In October 1616, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and City companies, went in great pomp by water to Chelsea, whence they conducted Prince Charles to Whitehall, "with the most magnificent shews and curious diversions that had ever been seen upon the river Thames:" this was on the eve of the Prince being created Prince of Wales.

In 1617, the Citizens presented the King with 500 broad pieces of gold, on his return from his ill-advised journey into Scotland, where his measures were only efficacious in spreading the seeds of those troubles which distracted the kingdom in the following reign.† Soon afterwards James published his famous *Book of Sports*, by which the populace were tolerated to exercise certain recreations and pastimes on the Sabbath-day, and all parochial incumbents were positively enjoined to read the same in their respective churches, on pain of the king's displeasure. Notwithstanding the licence given by this book, the Lord Mayor had the courage to order the King's carriages to be stopped, as they were driving through the city on a Sunday, during the time of Divine service. This threw James into a great rage, and "vowing that he thought there had been no more Kings in England but himself," he directed a warrant to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them pass; which the prudent magistrate complied with, saying, "While it was in my power I did my duty, but that being taken away by a higher power, it is my duty to obey."*

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* The Earl and his Countess lived in the same house, but wholly estranged from each other, for many years after they were liberated from confinement. The Countess died in 1636, of a most loathsome and peculiar disease. The Earl lived till 1645, long enough to see his daughter married to the Duke of Bedford, who had by her the Lord Russel, that suffered in the time of Charles the Second.

† Previous to his journey, James issued a singular proclamation, in which he commands "all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who have mansion-houses in the country, to depart within twenty days, with their wives and families, out of the City and Suburbs of London, and to return to their several habitations, there to continue and abide until the end of the summer vacation, to perform the duties and charge of their places and service; and likewise, by housekeeping, to be a comfort unto their neighbours, in order to renew and revive the laudable custom of hospitality in their respective counties."

In October, 1618, the brave Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in the Old Palace Yard, at Westminster, on a charge of High Treason, for which he had been condemned on the unsupported testimony of the Lord Cobham, so long before as November, 1603. From that time till the year 1615, he had been imprisoned in the Tower, but he was then released, and had a private commission granted to him by the King, to proceed with a fleet to South America, in search of a gold mine. His voyage proving unsuccessful, he returned to Plymouth, where he was arrested by the King's orders, and re-conveyed to the scene of his former confinement, to come out no more but to the scaffold. In this instance James gave another proof of the base degeneracy of his soul, for Sir Walter having given to him, in confidence, a paper, detailing the particulars of his design, number of ships, destined ports, &c. that very paper was communicated by the King to Gondemar, the Spanish Ambassador; and was sent by Gondemar to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before Raleigh had sailed from the Thames; and it was found in the Spanish Governor's closet at St. Thomas's.

In 1620, the King exacted the sum of 10,000l. from the Citizens of London, in the way of *Benevolence*. In the same year, he granted permission to Clement Cottrel, Esq. Groom-Porter of his household, to licence gaming-houses in the Metropolis and its suburbs, for cards, dice, bowling-alleys, tennis courts, &c. These,

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* Wil. Life of K. James, p. 709. The answer of the Lord Mayor pleased the King, and the latter returned him his thanks. Ibid.

as the grant expressed it, were "for the honest and reasonable recreation of good and civil people, who, by their quality and ability, may lawfully use the games of bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nine-holes, or *any other game hereafter to be invented.*"

The influence which Gondemar had obtained in the Court, by means of Spanish gold, and flattering the King with continued hopes of the success of the Spanish match, so exasperated the populace, that they publicly insulted him, as he was passing through the streets of the City. This enraged the King so highly, that, on the next day, he openly reprimanded the Magistracy in Guildhall; and ordered one of the persons who had reflected on the Ambassador to be cruelly whipped from Aldgate to Temple-Bar.* This was in 1621; the same year the King issued a Proclamation against eating *Flesh* in Lent, by which the Magistracy of London were enjoined "to examine the servants of all innholders, victuallers, cooks, alehouse-keepers, taverners, &c. who sell victuals, concerning any flesh-meat sold by them at that season."

The Parliament, which had met at Westminster in January, 1621, having questioned many of the acts of the government, and opposed the arbitrary exercise of the King's prerogative, when infringing on the rights and privileges of the people, was finally dissolved by James, in great displeasure, on the sixth of January, 1622, by a Proclamation, beginning with these remarkable words, "Albeit the assembling, continuing, and dissolving of Parliaments, be a prerogative so peculiarly belonging to our Imperial Crown, and the times and seasons thereof so absolutelie in our owne power, that we neede not give any account thereof unto any, yet," &c.† This Proclamation was followed by another, in which 'all talking of state-affairs was forbidden, under severe penalties; and the Judges in their circuits charged to put the laws in force against licentious tongues.' Several Members of the House of Commons, who had been most zealous in defending their privileges, and among them Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, were soon afterwards committed to prison, by the King's orders. After the dissolution of this Parliament, James again attempted to supply his pecuniary wants by a general *Benevolence*, and the Judges, High Sheriffs, &c. to whom letters were directed on the occasion, were ordered to intimate, that the King would not be satisfied with what should be voluntarily offered, if it was not proportionate to the giver's abilities."*

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* Rush. Col. Vol. I. p. 54. † Ibid. p. 54.

During the sitting of the new Parliament, which Villiers, now Duke of Buckingham, had prevailed on the king to assemble in 1624, contrary to his own intentions, the breaking off of the Spanish match was publicly announced, and the satisfaction of the people was so great, that "the whole City of London," says Rapin, "shone with bonfires."† In this Parliament an act was passed for making the River Thames navigable as far as Oxford; and of the subsidies voted to the King from the Laity, eight Citizens of London were appointed to be Treasurers, with a certain right of controul over the expenditure. About the same time the City raised 2000 men, towards the forces ordered to be levied for the recovery of the Palatinate.

In March, 1625, the King was seized with a Tertian Ague, and he died, somewhat suddenly, on the twenty-seventh of that month, at Theobald's, not without suspicion of poison, though, according to the historian Clarendon, "without the least colour or ground."‡ There were many circumstances, however, that gave probability to the surmise, not among the least of which was the speedy dissolution of the second Parliament held in the next reign, after articles of impeachment had been voted against the Duke of Buckingham, one of which accused him of "applying a plaister to the late King's side in his last sickness, and of giving him a potion with his own hand at several times, in the absence, and without the order, of the physicians."§

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* Rush. Col. Vol. I. p. 60.

† Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 229.

‡ Hist of the Reb. Vol. I. p. 24. 8vo.

§ Rush. Col. Vol. I. p. 306.

On the twenty-eighth of March, Prince Charles was proclaimed King at the usual places in the City, and with the accustomed ceremonies. In the June following, Henrietta Maria, of France, the new Queen, arrived in London; but the preparations that had been making for her reception, were obliged to be laid aside through a dreadful *Plague* that had broke out in the Metropolis, and carried off, in the course of the twelvemonth, upwards of 35,000 persons. Charles's first Parliament, which met at Westminster in the above month, was speedily adjourned to Oxford, for fear of this calamity; and though its sittings at both places had not exceeded three weeks, it was dissolved on the pretence of the spreading of the pestilence; "but the true reason," says Rapin, "was because the King found not in this Parliament a compliance and disposition fit for his purpose."*

On the second of February, 1626, Charles was crowned at Westminster. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen officiated, as customary, as Chief Butlers at the dinner; but the accustomed procession through the City from the Tower, was dispensed with on account of the Plague.†

Four days afterwards a new Parliament met at Westminster; but the King's attempt to obtain supplies, were again answered by complaints of grievances, and demands of redress, and all the high authority which the Court assumed, served only to increase the pertinacity of the popular leaders. The impeachment of

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* Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 243.

† "When the Plague was somewhat assuaged, and there died in London but 2,500 in a week, it fell to Judge Whitelocke's turn to go to Westminster Hall, to adjourn Michaelmas Term from thence to Reading; and accordingly he went from his house in Buckinghamshire to Horton, near Colnbrooke, and the next morning early to High-Park Corner, where he and his retinue dined on the ground, with such meat and drink as they brought in the coach with them; and afterwards he drove fast through the streets, which were empty of people and overgrown with grass, to Westminster Hall; where the Officers were ready, and the Judge and his company went strait to the King's-Bench, adjourned the Court, returned to his coach, and drove away presently out of town." *Whit. Mem. of Eng. Aff.* p. 2. Edit. 1682.

Buckingham was resolutely proceeded with; and though the King endeavoured to awe the Commons into obedience, by committing Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, to the Tower, for contemptuous words, untruly affirmed to have been spoken by them against the Duke, who was as highly in favour with Charles as he had been with his father, the attempt was unsuccessful, and he was presently obliged to release the imprisoned members. Soon afterwards also, he was constrained, though very unwillingly, to consent to the liberation of the Earl of Arundel, who had been some time imprisoned in the Tower, for expressing himself somewhat warmly in debate against the prerogative. These compliances with the popular wish, were so coupled with unconstitutional assumptions, that they had little effect in promoting the King's views, and the Parliament was dissolved in disgust on the fifteenth of June. "Thus," says Whitelocke, "this great, warm, and ruffling Parliament had its period."

The measures that were immediately afterwards pursued by the King's Council, evince a determination to reduce the State to a complete despotism. The royal prerogative was held forth as superior to all arrangements of convention; forced loans and benevolences were exacted under the penalty of *martial law**; taxes were illegally levied; and it was publicly asserted from the pulpit, that "the King might make laws, and do whatsoever pleaseth him."†

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* "To the imposing loans was added the billeting of souldiers: martial law was executed, and the souldiers committed great outrages." Whit. Mem. p. 8. See also Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 259.

† Whit. Mem. p. 8. This was the subject of a sermon preached by Dr. Sibthorp, at Northampton; for refusing to licence the publication of which, Archbishop Abbot was suspended from his archiepiscopal functions. Dr. Manwaring, who went still farther in support of the same doctrine, by affirming, that "the King *was not bound to observe the laws of the realm* concerning the subjects' rights and privileges; but that his royal will and command, in imposing loans and taxes, without common consent in Parliament,

Under the oppressive system of coercion that was now instituted, London particularly suffered; and to this cause perhaps the determined support that was given by the inhabitants to the Parliament in the subsequent Civil Wars, may be more directly referred. The first attempt upon the City was to exact a loan of 100,000l.; but this having failed through the resolute opposition of the Citizens,* the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty were enjoined by precept from the Council, immediately to fit out twenty of the best ships in the river Thames for public service, to be well manned, and stored with provisions and ammunition for three months; and no intercession could obtain any abatement in this command. Many of the principal Citizens were also imprisoned for refusing to subscribe to the loan as individuals, whilst others in a lower sphere were "forced to serve in the King's ships then going forth."† Similar conduct was pursued generally throughout the country, "some being committed," and others "*pressed* for soldiers."‡ The strong disaffection excited by these unjust acts, became at length so violent, that Charles was content to remit his rigour from apprehension of the consequences; and on the advice of Sir Robert Cotton, he ordered writs to be issued for the assembling of another Parliament, to meet on the seventeenth of March, 1628. An order of Council was then made for the release of those gentlemen who had been imprisoned or confined for refusing to submit to the loan, and the King had the mortification to learn that twenty-seven out of the number were chosen by the people as representatives for the ensuing Parliament.

About this period, all the French ecclesiastics and other servants

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ment, *doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of eternal damnation*," was rewarded with a good benefice, and afterwards with a bishopric; and this after the Lords had sentenced him to pay a fine of 1000l. and to be imprisoned.

* Rush. Col. Vol. I. p. 415. † Whit. Mem. p. 8.

‡ Ibid. See more of these despotic proceedings in Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 422—429.

vants in the Queen's household, were dismissed and sent back to France; the Priests having had the impudence to make the Queen walk to Tyburn, and pray there by way of penance.*

On the eighteenth of June, 1628, Dr. Lamb, a reputed conjuror, and about eighty years of age, was insulted by the mob in the streets of the City, and so barbarously used, that he died within a few days.† The Council immediately wrote a letter to the Magistracy, accusing them of the most reprehensible neglect, and ordering strict search to be made after the murderers; yet not any of them were discovered, a circumstance that the Council affected to believe was from want of due vigilancy, and in consequence fined the City in the sum of 6000l.; but this was afterwards reduced to 1500 marks. This was in the year 1632, four years after the murder had been committed.

Charles was not altogether so unsuccessful with his third Parliament as he had been with his two former ones; though, for the purpose of securing more devotion to his will, he sought opportunity to intimate at the opening of the Session, "that in case the supplies he demanded were not granted, he could raise them other ways."‡ He was obliged, however, after many evasions, to agree to the *Petition of Right;* yet that was nothing more than the "confirmation of laws, which *till then* had passed for incontestible."* Shortly afterwards, the King, understanding that the Commons were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tunnage and poundage by royal authority alone, prorogued the Parliament till October.

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* Rush. Col. Vol. I. p. 423, 4; and Whit. Mem. p. 8.

† Whitelocke says, the rabble called him 'witch, devil, and the Duke's conjuror.' Ibid. p. 10.

‡ Clarendon, who cannot be accused of undue partiality in regard to the people, says, "Upon every Dissolution, such as had given any offence were imprisoned or disgraced; new projects were every day set on foot for money, which served only to offend and incense the people, and brought little supplies to the King's occasion (yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint, to be exposed when other supplies should be required); and many persons of the best quality under the Peerage were committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money required by those extraordinary ways. *Hist. Reb.* Vol. I. p. 26.

In the interval, the Duke of Buckingham, against whom the reprehensions of the Commons had been principally directed, was stabbed at Portsmouth, by John Felton, who had been a Lieutenant in the army, and whose mind had been wound up to the deed, by frequently hearing some popular preachers in the city."† On being threatened by Bishop Laud with the rack, unless he discovered his accomplices, he answered, that "if he was put to that torture, he knew not whom he should accuse, perhaps the Bishop himself."‡ Felton was executed at Tyburn, in November, and afterwards hanged in chains.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued from October, met on the the 12th of January, 1629: previous to this time, various new acts of aggression against the laws, and in violation of the rights of the people, had been committed on the part of the crown. Several merchants of the city had had their goods seized, for refusing to pay the demand of the King's officers for tunnage and poundage; and one of them, named Vassall, who had defended his refusal before the Barons of the Exchequer, had judgment given against him, and was imprisoned. Similar abuses were practised during the very sitting of the Parliament, and that upon the effects of John Rolls, Esq. a Member of the House, and Merchant of London, whose cause was immediately taken up by the Commons, and argued with much vehemence. They even examined the officers of the customs, who answered that they acted in virtue of a commission under the great seal; one of them declared, that "he had seized the goods for duties that were due in the time of King James," and that "his Majesty had sent for him, and commanded him to make no other answer."—This direct interference inflamed the House to the utmost, and, in a grand committee, they voted that Mr. Rolls "ought to have privilege both in person and goods;" but when the House was resumed, the Speaker refused to put the question, saying, "He durst not, for the King had commanded to the contrary."* On this the Commons adjourned, with much indignation, till the twenty-fifth of February; and were then further adjourned, by the King's order, till the second of March. On that day they again assembled, yet the Speaker still refused to put the deferred question, and saying he was commanded by his Majesty to adjourn the house till the tenth of March; he endeavoured to "go forth of his chair,"† but was held in it by force, whilst the doors of the House were locked, and a strong Protestation drawn up by Sir John Elliot, put to the vote, and approved by the majority, though not without great tumult and confusion, and even some blows.‡

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* Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 276.

† Clar. Hist. Vol. I. p. 27.

‡ Whit. Mem. p. 11. The council, by the King's directions, required the opinion of the Judges on the question, "Whether Felton might be racked by the law?" They answered, unanimously, that "By the law he might not be put to the rack."—*Ibid.* That this torture was in use for state purposes, within the preceding ten years, is proved by a warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower, dated in 1619, and signed by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Arundell, Lord Carew, Lord Digby, Secretary Naunton, and Sir Edward Coke, by which one Samuel Peacock was ordered to be put to the torture, "either of the manacles or the rack." See *Archæologia*, Vol. X.

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* Whit. Mem. p. 12. † Ibid.

‡ Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 278. The Protestation consisted of the three following articles. First: Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or by favour, or countenance, seem to extend Popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the truth and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth.

Second: Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

Third:

On the same day the King, by Proclamation, declared his intention to dissolve the Parliament; and on the next, nine of the principal members were summoned before the Council, to answer for their late conduct. Four of them, viz. Denzil Hollis, Sir John Elliot, William Coriton, Esq. and Benjamin Valentine, Esq. were all that appeared, and they refusing to answer out of Parliament, for what was said in Parliament, were committed close prisoners to the Tower.* Warrants were also issued for the apprehension of the other five, whose names were Sir Miles Hobert, Sir Peter Hayman, William Stroud, Esq. John Selden, Esq. and Walter Long, Esq. These severe measures increased the public discontents, and the ferment was not at all lessened by a Proclamation issued by the King, in April, in which he declared that "he should account it presumption in any to prescribe to him the time for calling a Parliament." This, as Lord Clarendon states, was "generally understood to inhibit all men to speak of another Parliament;"† and Weldon observes, that it "was said the king made a vow never to call any more."‡.

The imprisoned Members were afterwards proceeded against in the Star-Chamber, by information of the Attorney-General, and several of them were condemned in exorbitant fines. Some of them were afterwards released from confinement on petition, and giving "sureties for good behaviour:" Sir John Elliot, and the others who refused such an alternative, were kept in prison till they died.

To advert to all the important transactions that took place in the Metropolis, during the eventful struggle between Charles and his people, would far exceed the necessary limits of this work; a brief

Third: If any merchant or person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy of the same. *Rush. Col. Vol. I. p. 660.*

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* Whit. Mem. p. 12. † Hist. Reb. Vol. I. p. 67.

‡ Co. of K. Charles, p. 194.

a brief review must therefore suffice. The excessive oppressions to which the nation was subjected, were more particularly felt in London than in other parts of the Kingdom, from its being more directly within the vortex of the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts, and from the effects of the monopolies, which had a most injurious influence on trade and commerce. "Projects of all kinds," says Clarendon, "many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the King, the profits to other men."

In 1631, Mervin, Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven, was beheaded on Tower Hill, for aiding his servant to commit a rape on his own wife, and for other crimes. In 1632, William Prynne, Esq. was committed to the Tower, for publishing his *Histrio-Mastix*, a passage in the index of which was, by Archbishop Laud, and other prelates, "whom Prynne had angered by some books of his against Arminianism, and the jurisdiction of the bishops," construed to reflect upon the Queen, who had acted a part in a pastoral about "*six weeks after*" the objectionable words were published.* Prynne himself, after a long confinement, was rigorously prosecuted in the Star-Chamber, and fined 5000l. expelled from the University of Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn, disabled from following his profession of the law, condemned to stand twice in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life: this cruel sentence was most severely executed.

On Candlemas-day, 1634, the four Inns of Court, "to manifest their opinion of Prynne's new learning, and serve to confute his *Histrio-Mastix*, against Interludes," entertained their Majesties with a splendid and expensive '*Masque;*' the airs, lessons, and songs for which were composed by the celebrated Lawes, and the music was so performed, that, according to Whitelocke, to whom "the whole care and charge of" this part of the pageant was entrusted, "it excelled any music that ever before that time had been held in England." The theatre for the display of this exhibition, was the Banquetting House, at Whitehall, to which the masquers and their company went in gorgeous procession from Ely House, in Holborn.* The "Masque," says Whitelocke, was "*incomparably* performed in the dancing, speeches, music, and scenes;—none failed in their parts, and the scenes were most curious and costly." The Queen joined in the dance, with "some of the masquers, and the great ladies of the court were very free and civil, in dancing with all" of them. These "sports" continued till "it was almost morning," when their Majesties having retired, the "Masquers and Inns of Court Gentlemen were brought to a stately banquet, and after that was dispersed, every one retired to their own quarters." The splendour and expense of this spectacle, appear to have exceeded every

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* Whit. Mem. p. 18. The words were,—"*Women Actors Notorious Whores.*"

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* At the head of the Cavalcade, "marched twenty footmen in scarlet liveries, with silver lace," each having a sword, a baton, and a torch;" these were the Marshals-men who cleared the streets—the Marshall himself was Mr. Darrel, of Lincoln's Inn, afterwards knighted by the King, an extraordinary handsome proper gentleman, mounted upon one of the King's best horses, and richest saddles, and his own habit was exceeding rich and glorious." After him followed about a dozen trumpeters, preceding one hundred gentlemen of the Inns of Court, the most proper and handsome of their respective societies, gallantly mounted on the best horses, and with the best furniture that the King's stable, and the stables of all the noblemen in town, would afford," and all of them richly habited, and attended by pages, and lacquies bearing torches. "After the horsemen came the *Anti-Masquers;*" the first of which being "of cripples and beggars, on horseback, mounted on the poorest leanest jades that could be gotten, had their music of keys and tongues, and the like, snapping, and yet playing in a concert before them." Next came "men on horseback, playing upon pipes, whistles, and instruments sounding notes like those of birds of all sorts, and in excellent concert, followed by the Anti-Masque of Birds:" this was "an owl in an ivy-bush, with many several sorts of other birds in a clustre about the owl." Then came "other musicians, on horseback, playing upon bag-pipes, horn-pipes, and such kind of northern music, speaking the following Anti-Masque of Projectors, to be of the Scotch and northern quarters." Foremost in "this Anti-Masque rode a fellow on a little horse, with a great bit in his mouth, signifying a Projector, who 'begged a patent that none in the kingdom should ride their horses but with such bits as they should buy of him.' Then came a fellow with a bunch of carrots upon his head, and a capon upon his fist, describing a Projector," who "wanted a monopoly for the invention of fattening capons with carrots." Other Projectors were, "in like manner, personated in this Anti-Masque, and it pleased the spectators the more, because by it an information was covertly given to the King of the unfitness and ridiculousness

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ness of those projects; and the Attorney Noy, who had most knowledge of them, had a great hand in this Anti-Masque of the Projectors." Other Anti-Masques succeeded, and then came "six of the chief Musicians, on horseback, habited as heathen priests, and followed by an open chariot, containing about twelve persons, representing Gods and Goddesses. Other Musicians came next, both on horseback and in a chariot, playing upon excellent and loud music all the way:" after them came the chariots of the Grand Masquers; "themselves proper and beautiful young gentlemen," most splendidly habited in "doublets, trunk-hose, and caps, of most rich cloth of tissue, thick studded with silver spangles, with sprigs in their caps, and large white silk stockings up to their trunk-hose." These chariots were built in the form of the "triumphant cars of the Romans," and were "carved and painted with exquisite art;" and drawn by four horses abreast, richly caparisoned. Each of them contained four persons, chosen from the different Inns of Court, attended by footmen carrying large flambeaux, "which, with the torches, gave such a lustre to the paintings and spangles, and habits, that hardly any thing could be invented to appear more glorious." The number of spectators was immense, and the Banquetting House "was so crowded with fine ladies, glittering with their rich clothes and fairer jewels, and with Lords and Gentlemen of great quality, that there was scarce room for the King and Queen to enter." Their Majesties, who stood at a window to see "the Masque come by," were so "delighted with the noble beauty of it," that they "sent to the Marshall to desire that the whole shew might fetch a turn about the Tilt-Yard," that they might see it a second time. The Masquers then alighted at Whitehall Gate, and were conducted to their assigned places.—"The charge of the whole Masque, which was borne by the Societies, and by the particular Members, was accounted to be above 21,000l." The management was directed by a Committee of eight persons, two for each Inn, viz. "for the Middle Temple, Mr. Edward Hyde and Mr. Whitelocke; for the Inner Temple, Sir Edward Herbert and Mr. Selden; for Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Attorney [General] Noy and Mr. Gerling; and, for Gray's Inn, Sir John Finch and Mr. ———," *Whit. Mem.* p. 18—21.

every thing of the kind that had ever before been exhibited in this country; the charges borne by the Inns of Court, and their individual members, were alone reckoned to amount to upwards of 21,000l. The Queen "was so taken with this show and Masque, that she desired to see it acted over again; whereupon an intimation being given to the Lord Mayor of London, he invited the King and Queen, and the Inns of Court Masquers, to the City, and entertained them with all state and magnificence, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, and at no less charges." The Masquees afterwards received the particular thanks of their Majesties; and, "thus," concludes Whitelocke, from whose curious detail this account is derived, "these dreams past, and these pomps vanished."*

In 1634, writs were first issued for the levying of *Ship-Money*, a project contrived by the Attorney-General, Noy, for filling the King's coffers, by imposing a general tax upon the country, in form of a commutation for the neglect of supplying shipping for national service. These writs were, at first, confined to the port and maritime towns, but were afterwards extended to all inland places, every Sheriff being "directed to provide a ship of war, or, instead of a ship, to levy the money upon his county, and transmit it to the Treasurer of the Navy for the King's use."† The first demand made upon the Citizens of London was for seven ships of from three to nine hundred tons burthen, properly manned and equipped, and though this order was strongly opposed as being contrary to the City rights and privileges, a full compliance was enforced, and the expenses, as directed by the writ, were raised by assessments on the inhabitants of the City and its liberties.

In 1635, the Metropolis was again ravaged by a *Plague*, which carried off 10,400 persons in the course of the year. To prevent its spreading, St. Bartholomew's and Southwark Fairs were prohibited from being held, and the great resort of nobility and gentry to London was restrained by Proclamation, such resort

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* Whit. Mem. p. 21.

† Clar. Reb. Vol. I. p. 68.

sort "being found to impoverish the country and increase the infections in the City." In the beginning of the next year, the Attorney-General instituted a process in the Star-Chamber against several hundred persons, 'Lords, Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, Ladies, and others,' for disobeying the said Proclamation.*

In 1637, the grand question of the legality of Ship-Money, brought forward by the patriot Hampden, was finally decided in the King's favour, in the Courts at Westminster, only two of the judges, Croke and Hatton, declaring for Hampden. In this year, "the *Sickness* began to increase in London, and it was thought fit to adjourn part of the Trinity Term."† The convictions in the Star-Chamber were this year carried to an excess of cruelty and extortion. Burton and Bastwick were each fined 5000l.; condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life for writing against Episcopacy: and Prynne, whose former sentence has been mentioned, was now tried for schism, in writing "a book scandalous to the King and Church." On this occasion, he was condemned to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to pay 5000l. and to be branded with an S in both cheeks, for schismatic.‡

In October, 1638, the King granted a new Charter to the City, which confirmed most of its ancient rights, and conferred some additional privileges. Yet this act of favour was soon followed by a recurrence to oppression, for, in the next year, a suit was commenced in the Star-Chamber, against the Lord Mayor, Citizens, &c. for alledged omissions and infringements in the colonization of Ulster, in Ireland;§ and after a hearing of seventeen days, the defendants were adjudged to lose all their lands and possessions in that country. They were also sentenced to pay 50,000l. but this fine was remitted by the King,

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* Rush. Col. Vol. II. p. 288.

† Whit. Mem. p. 24.

‡ Ibid. p. 25.

§ See before, p. 314, 315.

and the whole proceedings were afterwards abrogated by the Parliament.[*]

In the year 1640, the conjuncture of affairs was such, that the King once more felt it necessary to summon a Parliament. "The multiplied extortions of the Star-Chamber, and High-Commission Courts, the forced loans and benevolences, the granting of patents for monopolies, and the numerous other abuses daily committed against the rights and privileges of the subject, proved too little productive to meet the exigencies which the public service experienced; and which, by a sort of natural re-action, had principally grown out of the very system that had been instituted to give permanence to despotic rule."[†] A Parliament therefore was assembled at Westminster, on the thirteenth of April, but requiring, as a condition to the granting of supplies, that the national grievances should be first redressed, the King dissolved it in anger on the fifth of May.

The meeting of this Parliament, under such peculiar circumstances, and after a lapse of full twelve years, had created a great ferment in the public mind, and the King's Council had already ordered the Lord Mayor to call out 800 of the Trained-bands, to prevent tumult; yet, after its dissolution, that number was thought insufficient to maintain tranquillity, and the whole of the Trained-bands was ordered to be 'drawn forth in arms,' if necessity required. Three days before this, on May the eleventh, Archbishop Laud, to whose advice the dissolving of the Parliament was principally attributed, was attacked in Lambeth Palace, by a rabble of about "500 persons," chiefly City-apprentices, who had assembled in consequence of an inflammatory paper having been posted up two days before at the Royal Exchange. As the Archbishop had provided for the defence of the Palace, and had himself left it by water, no other mischief was done by the rioters than the breaking of a few glass windows, and the release of some prisoners: but "the Judges having resolved it to be treason, one of their captains, a cobler, was hanged, drawn, and quartered for it, and his limbs set on London Bridge."*

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[*] Rush. Col. Vol. III. It appears from Whitelocke, that the Citizens, to prevent sentence being adjudged against them, offered, by way of composition, to build a stately Palace for the King in St. James's Park; to pull down Whitehall; and to open a stately way from Charing Cross to Westminster Hall, along the banks of the Thames. *Mem.* p. 33.

[†] Beau. of Eng. Vol. VII. p. 375.

The King, though wholly deprived of the expected aid from Parliament, and yet determined to carry on the war in which he had unnecessarily engaged against the Scots, was now obliged to resort to his usual means of obtaining money, forced loans and arbitrary impositions. Sir Nicholas Rainham, and three other Aldermen of London, were committed to different prisons for refusing "to give in the names of the inhabitants of their respective wards," whom they might conceive were able to contribute to a loan of 200,000l. which his Majesty demanded from the City within a week or two after the dissolution of the Parliament.† Soon after, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were commanded to raise "coat and conduct money," for 4000 men whom they had before been required to furnish towards the northern expedition; and, about the same time, "his Majesty in Council," ordered the Attorney-General to prefer an indictment against the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for "their contempt and default in the execution of the writ of ship-money." In the September following, the King, by a new Charter, for which he was paid 4200l. confirmed to the City, the rights of package, scavage, baillage, &c. within the City and its Liberties, and the Port of London. In the same month, a deputation of Aldermen and Citizens, was sent to the King at York, with a strong Petition, stating the grievances under

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* Whit. Mem. p. 33. Clarendon says, that the man who suffered was a "taylor," and that the rabble consisted of "mean, unknown, dissolute persons, to the number of some thousands." *Hist. Reb.* Vol. I. p. 143.

† Ludlow says, that besides the 'imprisonment of the chief officers, an order issued forth to take the sword from the Lord Mayor.' *Mem.* p. 4.

which the country laboured, and "beseeching a Parliament to be summoned with all convenient speed."*

Charles was now in such great straits, for want of pecuniary assistance, that, in a "great Council" of Peers, assembled on the twenty-fourth, he declared his intention of calling a Parliament, at Westminster, on the third of November; and this was immediately communicated to the City, by a deputation of six noblemen, as an inducement to obtain, for his Majesty, a loan of 200,000l. on the security of the '*Peers' Bond.*' This had its effect, and that sum was engaged to be furnished in four equal monthly payments.

Soon after the Parliament had assembled, orders were issued by the Commons, for the removal of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, from the places where they had been confined under the direction of the Star-Chamber Court, to London; and as they were considered to have been victims to the popular cause, their entry into the Metropolis was hailed by an assembled multitude with the loudest acclamations of joy.†

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* The sending of this Petition was endeavoured to be prevented by the Privy Council, who, because it was signed by the inhabitants of each ward, declared it "very dangerous and strange," and "not warranted by the Charters and Customs of the City." The grievances complained of, as more particularly affecting the Metropolis, were as follows:—"The pressing and unusual impositions upon merchandize, importing and exporting, and the urging and levying of Ship-Money; the multitude of monopolies, patents, and warrants, whereby trade in the City, and other parts of the Kingdom, is much decayed; the sundry innovations in matters of religion; the great concourse of Papists, and their inhabitations in London, and the suburbs; the imprisonment of divers Citizens for non-payment of Ship-Money and impositions; and the prosecution of many others in the Star-Chamber, for not conforming themselves to committees in patents for monopolies, whereby trade is restrained;" and the current "grievances and fears, which have occasioned so great a stop and distraction in trade, that your petitioners can neither buy, sell, receive, or pay, as formerly, and tend to the utter ruin of the inhabitants of the City," &c. *Rush. Col.* Vol. II. p. 2.

† When they came near London, says Clarendon, "multitudes of people,

In the course of the proceedings of this Parliament, "the King felt himself compelled, by the conjuncture of affairs, to consent to many Acts which circumscribed his prerogative, and seemed calculated to restore the blessings of civil liberty;" yet so little confidence had the people in the good faith of his ministers, that "even the facility with which his consent was given to some of the proposed measures, operated as a ground of suspicion as to the real nature of his future views."

The leading men in the House of Commons, among whom was Cromwell, afterwards Protector, the patriot Hampden, Pym, Hasilrigge, Fiennes, and Sir Harry Vane, were either Presbyterians or Independents, and, of course, equally inimical to episcopacy; they may, therefore, without violating probability, be regarded as the promoters of a Petition, and long Schedule of Grievances against the government, discipline, and ceremonies of the Church, which was presented to the House, by Alderman Pennington, on the eleventh of December, and was signed by 15,000 Citizens.* The prayer was, that "the said government, with all its dependencies, roots and branches, may be abolished, and all laws in their behalf made void."†

Shortly afterwards, the Citizens advanced 60,000l. on the credit

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ple, of several conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them some miles from the town, very many having been a day's journey, and they were brought about two o'clock in the afternoon, in at Charing Cross, and carried into the City, by above 10,000 persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands; the common people strewing flowers and herbs in the way as they passed, making a great noise and expressions of joy for their deliverance and return." *Hist. Reb.* Vol. II. p. 202. It was, probably, on this occasion, that "the King made the Lord Cottington, Constable of the Tower of London, and placed there a garrison of 400 men, to keep the City from tumults; but the House of Commons, and others without, being much dissatisfied thereat, the King took off the garrison and commission of Constable, and left it to a Lieutenant [Sir William Balfour] as before." *Whit. Mem.* p. 36, 37.

* Whit. Mem. p. 37.

† Rush. Col. Vol. II. p. 2.

credit of the House, "to be paid out of the next subsidies," as well as several other sums for supply of the King's army, and providing for the northern counties.*

On the twenty-second of March, 1641, the Earl of Strafford, who had been imprisoned by the Commons, for High Treason, was brought to his trial in Westminster Hall, their Majesties, with the Prince, and divers foreign Lords, and many Ladies, being present, as well as the Members of both Houses of Parliament. The trial lasted till the seventeenth of April, when the Commons, being apprehensive that the Earl would escape through the influence of the King with the Peers, passed a Bill of attainder against Strafford, aud sent it up to the Lords. Charles now made great exertions to save his minister, and, on the first of May, in a conference with both Houses, "he did passionately desire of them not to proceed severely against the Earl."† This interference sharpened the asperity of Strafford's enemies, and on the next day, "being Sunday," the pulpit was made the vehicle to excite the people against him, so that on the following morning "a rabble of about 6000, out of the City, came thronging down to Westminster, with swords, cudgels, and staves, crying out for *Justice* against the Earl; pretending decay of trade and want of bread."‡ This commotion continued several days, a report having been circulated, and apparently on good grounds, that a design was in progress to rescue the Earl, either by bringing up the northern army and seizing the Tower, or by contriving his escape by artifice.§ The Lords were insulted, and many of them, says Clarendon, "grew so really apprehensive of having their brains beaten out, that they absented themselves," and the populace would not disperse till the *Protestation* to maintain and defend the true Reformed Religion; the person of the King; the power and privilege of Parliaments; and the lawful rights and liberties of the Subjects; was taken by both Houses, on the fifth and sixth of May. On the following day, the bill of attainder was passed by the Lords, who, about a fortnight before, had a *Petition* presented to them against the Earl, signed by upwards of 20,000 Citizens, and others, inhabitants of London, "said to be of good rank and quality."* The King was next constrained, by the popular clamour, though with the most decided reluctance, to assent to the Earl's death, and that ill-fated nobleman was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twelfth of May: he suffered with the greatest fortitude.

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* Whit. Mem. p. 38. † Ibid. p. 43. ‡ Ibid.

§ Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant, acknowledged that 2000l. had been offered him to consent to the Earl's escape; and Captain Billingsley, who had brought a warrant from the King with two hundred men to be received into the Tower, was overheard, by three women, discoursing with the Earl on the means of getting away. *Whit. Mem.* p. 44.

The attempts to save the Earl had been mingled with rumours of an intended dissolution of Parliament; to prevent this, a bill was brought into the Commons, and quickly hurried through both Houses, by which the King was prevented dissolving them without their own consent. Charles gave his consent to this bill by the same commission that signed the attainder against Strafford, and the Parliament immediately proceeded to assume the whole direction of the State, and to punish all those who had been concerned in the levying of Ship-Money, &c. The Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts were also abolished, the patents for monopolies abrogated, the bill for Triennial Parliaments passed, and various other statutes made for securing the rights and liberties of the people.

The appearance of tranquillity which resulted from these proceedings was of short continuance, as the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion, in October, gave rise to new jealousies, and Charles, though then in Scotland, whither he had gone in August to attend the Scottish Parliament, was requested by the Commons to change his ministers, on the ground that "they had just cause to believe, that the conspiracy and commotions in Ireland were but

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* Rush. Col. Vol. IV. p. 234.

the effects of the counsels of those who continued in credit, authority, and employment about his Majesty."* The Queen herself was more than suspected of maintaining a correspondence with Lord Antrim, one of the chief agents in the Rebellion.

On the twenty-fifth of November their Majesties returned from Scotland, and were met between Kingsland Road and Stamford Hill, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and five hundred Citizens on horseback, chosen from the different Companies, and conducted in grand procession to Guildhall, where they were splendidly entertained. In the evening they were conducted to the Palace at Whitehall; the conduits running with wine, and the populace making loud acclamations of joy. Sir Richard Gourney, the Lord Mayor, by whose influence this entertainment was principally given, was soon afterwards created a Baronet.†. Notwithstanding this apparent cordiality, the King within a few days judged it necessary to retire with his family to Hampton Court, his Palace having been several times surrounded by an insulting rabble: on the Petition of the City, however, procured by the address of Gourney, which assured him, that 'the better sort of people' were not at all concerned, he shortly returned to Whitehall.

Affairs were now fast advancing to a crisis: the Commons presented to the King their celebrated *Petition* and *Remonstrance*; and the Citizens presented a strong Petition to the Commons, for 'the punishing of delinquents, redressing grievances, and removing the Popish Lords and Bishops from the House of Peers.' This was signed by more than 20,000 persons; and a Petition against the Bishops was also presented by the City apprentices. The prevailing animosities were aggravated by a most intemperate *Protestation* presented to the Lords by twelve Bishops, ten of whom were in consequence committed to the Tower on the thirtieth of December, and the two others to the custody of the Black Rod.

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* Rush. Col. Vol. II. p. 422.

† For more particulars, see Mait. Lon. Vol. I. p. 340—5.

Some days previously to this, the King had removed Sir William Balfour from the command of the Tower, and immediately caused Colonel Lunsford, who was " such a man as he might rely upon," to be " sworn in his place."[*] This greatly displeased the Londoners, and a design was projected by the populace, to seize the Tower by force, unless the new Lieutenant was removed; of which information being given to the King by the Lord Mayor, the keys were taken from Lunsford,[†] and Sir John Byron was afterwards appointed Lieutenant.

On Monday, the twenty-seventh, a great *Tumult* of London apprentices and others, occurred at Westminster; and the words ' no Bishops!' no Bishops!' became the rallying cry of the multitude. The Archbishop of York, who had imprudently laid hands on a youth that was more vociferous than the rest, narrowly escaped with life from the effect of pressure, and several other Prelates and Lords were insulted. About the same time, Colonel Lunsford passing through Westminster Hall with thirty or forty officers, was assailed with abuse by the crowd; and this leading to blows, they drew their swords, " and wounded some twenty apprentices and citizens."[‡] This news was immediately carried to the City, when " the apprentices and others" ran to Westminster, armed with swords and staves, " which caused a dreadful uproar;" but the prudent conduct of the Lord Mayor, in ordering out the Trained-bands, and shutting the City gates, prevented the disorder from increasing, though both himself and the Sheriffs were much insulted in their attempts to preserve tranquillity. The Tumult continued for several days; and it was not till the House of Commons, after a conference with the Lords, exerted themselves to restrain the popular indignation, that the rabble dispersed.[§] The Protestation of the Bishops was partly occasioned by the occurrences of these days: the Commons described it as containing "matters of dangerous consequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliament."

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[*] Clar. Reb. Vol. I. P. 2. p. 332.

[†] Rush. Col. Vol. IV. p. 462.

[‡] Ibid. 464.

[§] The appellation of *Roundhead* and *Cavalier*, by which the Parliamentarians and Royalists were afterwards respectively stigmatized in the minds of

On the fourth of January, 1642, Charles made his rash and ill-advised attempt to seize the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the Commons, Sir Anthony Hazilrigge, John Pym, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, and William Stroud, Esqrs.; whom, by his Attorney General, Sir Edward Herbert, he had accused on the preceding day of High Treason. The King went to the House in person, "guarded," says Whitelocke, "with his Pensioners, and followed by about two hundred Courtiers and *Souldiers of Fortune*, most of them armed with swords and pistols."* Leaving his guard at the door, he entered the House, and sitting down in the Speaker's chair, he looked round, and not seeing any of the accused Members, he asked the Speaker 'whether he saw any of them, and where they were?' The Speaker, with admirable presence of mind, falling on his knee, answered, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased

of their opponents, originated in these Tumults. It was then the custom of the London apprentices to have their hair cut close and round to the form of the scull, and during their daily progress to Westminster, they commonly stopped at Whitehall, where "the Queen observing out of the window, Samuel Barnardiston among them, exclaimed, 'See what a handsome young Roundhead is there." [Rapin's Hist. Vol II. p. 403. n. 3.] This term "was perhaps first publicly used" [Ibid.] by "Captain David Hyde, who whilst walking near Westminster Hall with three or four other officers, during the disturbances, drew his sword, and said he would "cut the throats of those Round-headed, cropp'd-eared dogs that bawled against the Bishops." [Rush. Col. Vol. IV. p. 493.] After the entrenchments had been made round London by the labour of the Citizens, the Royalists made a song against them in the opprobrious style, as "Round-headed Cuckolds come dig."

* Whit. Mem. p. 50.

pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and humbly beg your Majestie's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."* The King being thus disappointed, quitted the House, amidst the cry of '*Privilege! Privilege!*'

The five Members, who had been timely informed of the King's design, had left the House about half an hour before his arrival, and taken refuge in the City; "which," says Clarendon, "was that whole night in arms, in spite of all the Lord Mayor could do to compose their distempers."† The next morning, the King, accompanied by a few Lords, went to Guildhall, where a meeting of the Common-Council had been convened by his orders, and where, in a short speech, he demanded the accused Members, and professed his attachment to the Protestant Religion; which he said he would defend, both against 'Papists and Separatists.' He then invited himself to dinner with one of the Sheriffs, "who was of the two," says Clarendon, "thought less inclined to his service," and in the afternoon he returned to Whitehall; "the rude people flocking together round his coach, and crying out, *Privilege of Parliament!*"‡ On the same day, the House of Commons adjourned till the eleventh, having first appointed a grand Committee of twenty-four to sit in the interior of Guildhall. During this period, the accused Members, "who were at their friends' houses in the City, were highly caressed, and had the company of divers Members of the House, to consult together, and to lay their further designs, and they wanted nothing."§

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* Whit. Mem. p. 50. † Hist. Reb. Vol. I. P. 2. p. 360.

‡ Clar. Reb. Vol. II. P. 2. p. 361.

§ Whit. Mem. p. 51. Clarendon says, that when it was known "in what house they were together," the Lord Digby offered to go into the City with a select company of gentlemen, "whereof Sir Thomas Lunsford was one," to seize upon them, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the place: but the King liked not such enterprizes." *Hist. Reb.* Vol.

On the day of the re-assembling of the House of Commons, the Committee proceeded by water to Westminster, guarded by a great number of Citizens and seamen “in boats and barges, with guns and flags,” accompanied by the accused Members,[*] whilst the Trained-bands, who had been ordered out to receive the Committee on its landing, were put under the command of Major-General Skippon, and marched in great state to Westminster, amidst the acclamations of vast multitudes of people; not only collected from the Metropolis, but also from the surrounding counties. To render this triumph more complete, the King had withdrawn with his family to Hampton Court on the preceding evening, through alarm at what might possibly happen from an infuriated populace. As soon as the Commons were assembled, votes of thanks and indemnity were passed for all who had been concerned in protecting the ‘Privileges of Parliament,’ whether Citizens or otherwise. The House also, the more effectually to ensure its independence and safety, ordered that two companies of the Trained-bands should daily attend them under Skippon’s command, and that the Tower should have a sufficient guard round it, both by land and water, to prevent any more of the stores being removed; the Committee when it sat in the City having obtained evidence that one hundred arms and two barrels of powder had been carried by night to Whitehall.[†] The King soon afterwards abandoned his intended prosecution, and consented to various measures proposed by the Commons, and, among others, to the total abolition of Episcopacy; yet the fears

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Vol. I. P. 2. p. 360. In another place Clarendon says, “it was very well known where the accused persons were, all together in one house in Coleman Street.” *Ibid.* p. 363.

[*] So Whitelocke (Memorials, p. 52.); yet Clarendon intimates, that the “accused Members” came from their lodgings in the City to Westminster by land.”

[†] Rush. Col. Vol. IV. p. 480.

fears and animosity which these events had excited, impelled both the King and the Parliament to make preparations for the expected, but direful consequence, an appeal to arms. Before the mask, however, was entirely thrown off by either party, the Commons succeeded in procuring the Lieutenancy of the Tower for Sir John Conyers.

After the King had been refused admittance into Hull, he issued Commissions of Array for raising troops for his service in different counties: one of these was directed to Sir Richard Gourney, the Lord Mayor of London, who caused it to be proclaimed in divers parts of the City; for which proceeding he was immediately impeached, and by sentence of the Peers, degraded from his high office, rendered incapable of receiving any further honour, and committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the Parliament. About the same time, Charles, by a letter dated from York, commanded the Citizens not to contribute any supplies to the Parliament, either in men or money, on pain of forfeiture of their Charters.

On the twenty-second of August, the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, "in the evening of a very stormy day; and on the same night the Standard was blown down by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed up again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed."* In the following month, Charles began his march towards London, of which the Parliament having notice, the Trained-bands were ordered to be in readiness, and the passages about the City fortified with "posts, chains, and courts of guard;" and it "was wonderful to see," says Whitelocke, "how the women and children, and vast numbers of people would come and work, about digging, and carrying of earth, to make their new fortifications."†

After the battle of Edge Hill, fought on October the twenty-third, and in which both parties claimed the victory, London was thrown into great agitation, from the reports of those who had fled on the first onset, and stated the Parliament's army to be wholly defeated. The Earl of Essex returned to London in the beginning of November, and the Parliament voted him 5000l. for his conduct in the late battle. On the twelfth, the King advanced with his army to Brentford, where, after a sharp fight, he defeated Colonel Hollis's regiment, and towards night got possession of the town. Intelligence of the King's progress having reached London, every possible exertion was made by the Parliament to assemble a sufficient force to prevent his entrance into the Capital; and therefore, "with unspeakable expedition, the army under the Earl of Essex was not only drawn together, but the Trained-bands of London led out in their brightest equipage upon the heath next Brentford, where they had indeed a full army of horse and foot fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adversary."* The Earl drew up his forces upon Turnham Green, the whole army "consisting of 24,000 men; stout, gallant, proper men, as well habited and armed as were ever seen in any army, and seemed to be in as good courage to fight the enemy."†. The Earl encouraged his men by riding from regiment to regiment, and speaking to each; "and when he had spoken to them, the souldiers would throw up their caps and shout, crying, '*Hey for old Robin*'"‡ Both armies continued to face each other the whole day, yet neither seemed emulous to begin the attack: Charles probably was disappointed in the assistance he had expected from his London friends, and Essex was apprehensive that part of his troops would desert their colours should the battle commence. In the evening the King drew off to Kingston, and on the next day the General gave orders for the Citizens to go home, which they gladly obeyed.[*] After stopping a few days at the Palace at Hampton Court, the King went to Oatlands, his troops still remaining about Kingston; but "being then informed of the high imputations laid upon him of breach of faith by his march to Brentford,"[†] after overtures had been made for a treaty, "he gave directions for all his forces to retire to Reading."[‡]

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* Clar. Reb. Vol. I. P. 2. p. 720.

† Whit. Mem. p. 60.

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* Clar. Reb. Vol. II. p. 75. Whitelocke says, "the Parliament sent a Committee to the City, to move them to send forth their Trained Bands to joyn Essex;" and this was accomplished by the exertions of the Lord Mayor, Pennington, Major-General Skippon, and the other Militia Officers who had been named in the Parliament, notwithstanding a considerable division in the City Councils.

† Whit. Mem. p. 52. ‡ Ibid.

Much intrigue was exerted by both parties during the winter, to secure the assistance of the Citizens; but the Parliament having the advantage of local influence, finally prevailed. Pennington, who had been re-chosen to the office of Lord Mayor, was a firm adherent to the Commons; and the two Sheriffs, Langham and Andrews, were as equally devoted to the popular cause.

In February, 1643, the Common Council, after passing an act for fortifying the City with outworks, &c. enacted, that all "the passages and ways leading to it should be shut up, except those entering at Charing Cross, St. Giles's in the Fields, St. John's Street, Shoreditch, and Whitechapel; and the exterior ends of the same streets should be fortified with breast-works and turnpikes, musket-proof: that the several courts of guards and rails at the extreme parts of the liberties of the City be fortified with turnpikes musket-proof; that all the sheds and buildings contiguous to London Wall, *without*, be taken down; and that the City Wall with its bulwarks be not only repaired and mounted with artillery, but likewise that divers new works be added to the same at places most exposed."[§] For carrying these works into execution, eight-fifteenths were directed to be levied in the different wards; and on the seventh of March this act of Common Council was confirmed by an Ordinance of Parliament, which also empowered the Deputy-Lieutenants and Magistracy having jurisdiction without the Liberties of the City, to raise certain sums upon every house above the annual value of five pounds, that was situated "within the line of the trenches and fortifications," to go in aid of the said works.*

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[*] Whit. Mem. p. 63. "The good wives and others, mindfull of their husbands and friends, sent many cart-loads of provisions, and wines, and good things to Turnham Green, with which the souldiers were refreshed, and made merry; and the more, when they understood that the King and all his army were retreated." *Ibid.*

[†] Clar. Reb. Vol. II. p. 76. [‡] Ibid.

[§] Jour. Com. Coun. Quoted in Mait. Lond. p. 237, edit. 1739.

About this time, and whilst the Treaty entered into with the King at Oxford, was yet pending, the Commons "passed an ordinance for a weekly assessment throughout the kingdom for the support of the war; by which was imposed upon the City of London the weekly sum of 10,000l.; and to this they added other ordinances," one of which "was for the sequestering and seizing of the estates of all who adhered to the King."* At the same season a two-fold *Conspiracy* was carrying on by the Royalists for the purpose of seizing the Capital, the Lord Mayor, and the principal Members of Parliament, and in fine, for the complete restoration of regal authority. From Waller, the Poet, himself a Member of the House, who was at the head of one of the branches of this Conspiracy, this bears the name of 'Waller's Plot;' yet the principal promoter appears to have been Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knt. "a Citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active, spirited man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for Peace in the City." This gentleman procured a Commission from the King (dated March the sixteenth), constituting himself, with sixteen other persons named in the Commission, and four others left for the Commissioners to appoint, *a Council of War* for the whole Metropolis; with full power and authority to raise forces, "and with them to fight against our enemies and rebels, and them to slay and destroy, or save," &c. This Commission was brought privately to London by the Lady Daubigney, with whom Waller was in habits of confidential intercourse, and was by some

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* These works principally consisted of a strong earthen rampart flanked with bastions, redoubts, &c. surrounding the whole City, and its Liberties, including Southwark. From Virtue's print it may be seen that the line begun below the Tower, at the junction of the river Lea with the Thames, and went northward towards the windmill in Whitechapel Road; then inclining to the north-west, it crossed the Hackney and Kingsland Roads, near Shoreditch, and turning to the south-west, crossed the end of St. John's Street, Gray's-Inn Lane, Bloomsbury, and Oxford Road, near St. Giles's Pound. Then proceeding westward to Hyde Park Corner, and Constitution Hill, it inclined towards Chelsea Turnpike, Tothill Fields, and the Thames. Again commencing near Vauxhall, it run north-eastward to St. George's Fields, then making an angle to the east, crossed the Borough Road at the end of Blackman Street, proceeded to the end of Kent Street, on the Deptford Road, and inclining to the north-east, joined the Thames nearly opposite to the point where it begun. This line was defended by a chain of twenty-three forts, &c. The first, "a bulwark and half, on the hill at the north end of Gravel Lane; second, a horn-work, near the windmill in White chappel Road; third, a redoubt, with two flanks, near Brick Lane; fourth, a redoubt, with four flanks, in Hackney Road, Shoreditch; fifth, a redoubt, with four flanks, in Kingsland Road, Shoreditch, sixth, a battery and breast-work, at Mount Mill; seventh, a battery and breast-work, at St. John-Street end; eighth, a small redoubt, near Islington Pound; ninth, a large fort, with four bulwarks, at the New River Upper Pond; tenth,

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tenth, a battery and breast-work, on the hill east of Black-Mary's Hole; eleventh, two batteries and a breast-work, at Southampton House; twelfth, a redoubt, with two flanks, near St. Giles's Pound; thirteenth, a small fort, at the east end of Tyburn Road; fourteenth, a large fort, with four half bulwarks, across the road at Wardour Street; fifteenth, a small bulwark, at Oliver's Mount; sixteenth, a large fort, with four bulwarks, at Hyde Park Corner; seventeenth, a small redoubt and battery, on Constitution Hill; eighteenth, a court of guard at Chelsea Turnpike; nineteenth, a battery and breast-work, at Tothill Fields; twentieth, a quadrant fort, with four half bulwarks, at Vauxhall; twenty-first, a fort with four half bulwarks, at the Dog and Duck, St. George's Fields; twenty-second, a large fort, with four bulwarks, near the end of Blackman Street; and, twenty-third, a redoubt, with four flanks, near the Lock Hospital, Kent Road."

* Clar. Reb. Vol. II. p. 172.

unknown means obtained possession of by the Parliament. This discovery being connected with some discourse having a similar bearing to that which passed between Waller, and Tomkins his brother-in-law, (who was 'Clerk to the Queen's Council,') and which was overheard by a servant, was considered of such high importance, that the Parliament ordered a "Day of Thanksgiving to God for their wonderful delivery." Waller with great difficulty saved his life by the most degrading submission, and cowardly disclosures; but was fined 10,000l. Tomkins, and Chaloner, his intimate friend, "a Citizen of good wealth and credit," were hanged; the former near his own house in Holborn, by the end of Fetter Lane; the latter, 'by his house in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.' The others "were not proceeded capitally against, but had their estates sequestered." This Plot led to the framing of the *Sacred Vow and Covenant*, which was solemnly taken by both Houses of Parliament on the sixth of June.*

On the third of May, Cheapside Cross, which had long given offence to puritanical fanaticism, "and other Crosses were voted down."†

On the tenth of May, the *Book of Sports* was burnt by the common Hangman in Cheapside, in pursuance of an Ordinance of both Houses, passed five days before; "all persons having any of the said books in their hands," being "required to deliver them forthwith," to be burnt according to the order.‡

On the seventeenth of July, the King, by a Proclamation dated at Oxford, interdicted all intercourse of whatever kind with the City and Suburbs of London; a measure which, whilst it produced no possible advantage to his own affairs, did him great detriment, by exasperating the rancour of his enemies. On the following day, the Common Council ordered 50,000l. to be raised for the defence of the City, on the security of the City Seal.

The King's successes in the war about this time, having disposed a considerable party in the Parliament to make propositions for Peace, the design was vehemently contended against by the London Sectaries; and on the ninth of August, a Petition from the City was carried up, and presented to the Commons by the Lord Mayor, (who was attended by such a vast tumultuary concourse of people, that many of the members withdrew from the House through fear,) which most strenuously urged them to persist in their former resolutions, though they "should perish in the work."* This Petition was quickly followed by another for Peace, purporting to come from "many *civilly disposed women*, inhabiting the Cities of London and Westminster, the Suburbs, and parts adjacent." Clarendon says, that this Petition was carried up "by a great multitude of the wives of substantial Citizens;"† but Rushworth, with more probability, describes them as "about two or thousand of the meaner sort of women, with white ribbands in their hats."‡ The Commons returned for answer, that 'they were not enemies to Peace, and that they did not doubt in a short time to answer the ends of their Petition.' This reply not being satisfactory to the civilly-disposed ladies, they continued to beset the House, and by noon their numbers had increased to about 5000, among whom were many men in women's apparel, by "whose instigation they loudly exclaimed, *Peace! Peace!*" at the doors of the House; and "their insolence increasing, they cried out, 'Give us those traitors that are against Peace, that we may tear them to pieces! Give us that dog, Pym!'" The Trained-bands were then ordered to disperse them; but meeting with resistance, and being opposed with stones and brick-bats, they fired, when several being killed and others wounded, the rest dispersed.§

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* Clar. Reb. Vol. II. p. 249—260.

† Whit. Mem. p. 66.

‡ Rush. Col. Vol. III. p. 2.

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* See Petition; Rush. Col. Vol. III. P. 2.

† Hist. Reb. Vol. II. p. 321. ‡ Rush. Col. Vol. III. P. 2.

§ Clarendon, without noticing the outrageous conduct of the women, makes the attack upon them to be immediately consequent to the offering of the

On the eleventh of August, the Common Council voted that a further sum of 50,000l. should be borrowed of the City Companies for defence of the City; and on the twenty-first, the Committee in whom the government of the City Militia was vested, gave orders, that all shops within the lines of communication "should be shut up, and continue so, till Gloucester be relieved;" which city was then closely pressed by the King's forces, and considered to be in such great danger, that every exertion was making by the Parliament to send the Earl of Essex with an army to its relief. The London troops that joined the Earl, consisted of two regiments of Trained-bands, three auxiliary regiments, and one regiment of horse. These troops performed exemplary service in the first and most desperate battle at Newbury, fought on the Earl's return from Gloucester, from which city the King had drawn off as he approached. Clarendon, in speaking of the battle, says, "The London Trained-bands and auxiliary regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation;) behaved themselves to wondér, and were in truth, the preservation of that army that day: for they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest, and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about."* A short time before this, Sir John Conyers was removed from the Lieutenancy of the Tower on his own petition, and the command of that fortress was immediately given by the Parliament

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the Petition. His words are, "thereupon a troop of horse, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed silkman, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they charged among the silly women, as an enemy worthy of their courage, and killed and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest." *Ibid.*

* Hist. Reb. Vol. II. p. 347.

Parliament to Sir Isaac Pennington, the Lord Mayor, "that the City might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them, which had always jostled with their own."*

On September the twenty-fifth, the *Solemn League and Covenant* was taken in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, by both Houses of Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and the Scottish Commissioners; and within a few days afterwards, it was also taken by all the principal Citizens and inhabitants of London.

On the seventeenth of October, the King issued a new prohibition against the trade and commerce of the Metropolis, by which it was declared, that all persons who had any dealings with its inhabitants, should suffer every severity of the law that could be inflicted on Traitors.

In the beginning of January, 1644, the City gave a splendid *Entertainment* at Merchant Taylors' Hall, to both Houses of Parliament, the Earls of Essex, Warwick, and Manchester, with other Lords, the Scottish Commissioners, and the principal Officers of the Army. The company assembled "at Sermon, in Christ-Church, Newgate-street, and thence went on foot to the Hall," the Lord Mayor and Aldermen leading the Procession; and "as they went through Cheapside, on a scaffold, many Popish pictures, crucifixes, and superstitious relicks were burnt before them."† This Entertainment was given in consequence of the discovery of a design to read a letter from the King at a Common Hall, the obvious tendency of which was to destroy the prevailing unanimity of the Citizens in favour of the Parliament.

London was at one and the same time the seat of the Parliament and the very centre of its strength; and Clarendon, speaking of the Commons, calls it "their devoted City," and "inexhaustible magazine of men." This was on occasion of "two of the strongest auxiliary regiments" having been sent to reinforce the army of Sir William Waller, who, principally by their aid, defeated Lord Hopton

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* Hist. Reb. Vol. II. p. 343.

† Whit. Mem. p. 76.

Hopton on the twenty-ninth of March, on Cheriton Down, near Winchester. "The London forces," says Whitelocke, "did very brave service: they drave the enemy from the hedges, which they had lined with musquetiers, and gained the passage to a wood which stood the Parliament forces in great stead, and shortly after put the enemy to a rout; which was so total, that scarce ten of them were left together."* Shortly afterwards, the Parliament having resolved to increase their armies so much, that no force which the King could bring into the field should be able to resist them, the City ordered four of the Trained-bands and auxiliary regiments to reinforce the Earl of Essex; and three other regiments of the Trained-bands of the Tower Hamlets, Southwark, and Westminster, to join Sir William Waller: these regiments altogether consisted of about 8,400 men. On the fifteenth of May, an Ordinance of Parliament was made for the removal of "all suspicious persons, recusants, and the wives of recusants, and the wives of such persons as are in arms against the Parliament," out of every place within the "line of communication."

About this time, the Citizens sent out two brigades of horse and foot to repress the incursions of the garrisons of Greenland House and the Basing House, by which the western trade on the river Thames had been greatly impeded; and Greenland House was reduced by these forces. In June, the Parliament passed an Ordinance for the cutting and drying of Peat and Turf upon all sequestered, royal, and church lands, near London, for supplying the Metropolis with fuel, the coal trade having been completely stopped by the Marquis of Newcastle, who was in possession of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

On the first of January, 1645, Captain Hotham was beheaded on Tower Hill, for treachery in different instances, and betraying a regiment of Parliament-horse to the enemy; and on the following day, Sir J. Hotham, his father, was decapitated on the same spot, for having corresponded with the Earl of Newcastle and other Royalists. On the tenth of the same month, Archbishop Laud was also beheaded on Tower Hill for High Treason; a bill of attainder having been passed against him by the Commons, after the Lords had acquitted him.

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* Whit. Mem. p. 81.

On the nineteenth of June, both Houses of Parliament were magnificently entertained by the Citizens at Grocers' Hall, on occasion of the decisive victory obtained by Fairfax and Cromwell, over the King's army at Naseby; "and after dinner they sang the 46th Psalm, and so parted."* Shortly afterwards, the City lent the Parliament 4000l. to pay the arrears of the Scottish army.

The late defeats and dispersion of the King's troops occasioned great numbers of the Royalists to resort to London, and a rumour was spread that the King himself intended to come privately to the City. This report so alarmed the Parliament, that besides empowering the Trained-bands to search for delinquents, and expel them from all places within the Bills of Mortality, they issued three other Ordinances;—the first enjoining the "City-militia to secure the King's person, should he come, or attempt to come within the lines of communication;—the second, commanding all Papists, and those who had borne arms against the Parliament, to depart the Metropolis;—and, the third, declaring that whoever should harbour or conceal the person of the King should be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Commonwealth.† Charles, however, instead of coming to London, had retired northwards; and whilst with the Scottish army, at Newcastle, he wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, expressing his full resolution to comply with the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, in "every thing for settling truth and peace." This was dated May the nineteenth, 1646.

About this time, considerable dissentions began to prevail in the City, among the different Sectaries, (of which the principal were the Presbyterians and the Independents,) and Petitions for the furtherance

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* Whit. Mem. p. 146.

† Rush. Col. Vol. IV. P. 1.

furtherance of their respective objects, were presented to the Parliament by both parties. The proceedings were marked by that acrimony which is least accordant with the true spirit of religion; yet, after various success, and a long contest, the Independents finally prevailed.

In the beginning of the year 1647, the City advanced 200,000l. to the Parliament, on the security of the Excise Duties, and the sale of the Bishops' lands: this sum formed part of the 400,000l. demanded by the Scots before they would agree to deliver up the King to the Parliamentary Commissioners. In the April following, a second 200,000l. was advanced for the public service, by the City on "good security."*

The dispute between the Parliament and the Army was now arriving at its height, and the approach of the latter towards London excited general alarm. The Commons at first seemed determined to maintain their authority; a Committee of Safety was appointed, and the Trained-bands were ordered immediately to arm under pain of death; yet, on further consideration, they were dismissed, and strong guards only were stationed upon the line which encircled the Metropolis. A correspondence between the Lord Mayor and Common-Council, and the Army, was now carried on by consent of the Parliament, the former acting as mediators, and, for a time, some appearance of conciliation was maintained. At length, in May, the Presbyterians assumed sufficient spirit to pass an Ordinance for chusing "a new Committee of Militia in the City of London," and none were chosen but of their own denomination. This measure was soon followed on the part of the Army, by the accusing of eleven of the most active Members of the Commons in the Presbyterian interest, of High Treason, and the accused persons, after a few days, thought it prudent to retire from the House till the heat of the contest was allayed.† In the month following, the Commons found it necessary to revoke their Ordinance in respect to the Militia, yet this revocation was again rescinded on an imperious Petition from many thousand apprentices and young Citizens, who, as appears from Whitelocke, were instigated by some of the Common-Council to overawe the Parliament by violence, and "many among them came into the House of Commons and kept the door open and their hats on, and called out as they stood, *Vote! Vote!* and in this arrogant posture stood till the votes passed in that way."*

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* Rush. Col. Vol. IV. P. 1.

† Clar. Reb. Vol. III. p. 59.

The Speakers, and many of the Members of both Houses, of the Independent party, immediately repaired in haste to the Army, complaining of the violence that had been exercised; and though the remnant of the Parliament had chosen new Speakers, and passed several votes agreeably to the wishes of the Citizens, the approach of Fairfax, who was now rapidly advancing to London, paralyzed their efforts, and the Army was admitted into the City without opposition. The Independent Members were now restored to their seats, Fairfax was constituted Constable of the Tower, and every thing was regulated as the Army thought proper, which was now as fully master of the Parliament as of the Sovereign, whose person had been before secured by Colonel Joyce, under the secret orders of Cromwell.

On the second of September, it was voted by the Parliament, "That the works about London be demolished, according to a paper from the Army, to ease the charge of maintaining and keeping them."† On the ninth, "another Ordinance past to enable the Militias of London and Westminster to pull down the courts of guards and lines, and to sell the timber."‡ On the fourteenth, the Common-Council consented to advance a loan of 50,000l. for the payment of the Army;"§ and, on the twenty-fifth, Sir John Gayer, Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen Bunce, Cullam, Langham, and Adams, were committed to the Tower for High Treason, in the late attempt of 'putting force upon the Parliament.'

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* Whit. Mem. p. 263. † Ibid, p. 270.

‡ Ibid. p. 271. § Ibid.

In April, 1648, a great *Tumult*, originating in Moorfields, "about tippling and gaming on the Lord's Day contrary to an Ordinance of Parliament," agitated the Metropolis for two days, and, but for the vigorous conduct of Fairfax, would probably have led to the overthrow of the then existing government. The people first overpowered a party of the Trained-bands, and seizing their colours and drums, beat up for recruits, and forming into something like military order, surprised Newgate and Ludgate in the night, and seized the keys. Then dispersing into different bodies, and greatly increasing in number, one party proceeded towards Whitehall, but were repelled by the soldiers at the Mews, whilst another beset the house of the Lord Mayor, and took from it a piece of ordnance (a Drake), with which they proceeded to Leadenhall, and got possession of the Magazine; they also broke open different houses to obtain arms and ammunition, and some houses were plundered. They next invited the mariners, and watermen on the river, to join them, their cry being '*For God and King Charles!*' In the night, Fairfax held a Council of War, wherein it was determined to attack the insurgents with the only two regiments that were then in London, rather than afford them more time to embody their strength; and in the morning, these troops entering at Aldersgate, marched without opposition to Leadenhall, where they charged the rioters, who, firing their Drake, wounded a Captain and Lieutenant, and killed a woman, but then fled. Several of the insurgents were put to the sword, and many wounded and taken prisoners. The other parties were dispersed without resistance, and "the City gates set open, and all quiet before ten o'clock."* This tumult had been fomented by the Royalists; but effectually to destroy their hopes, the Commons ordered the Tower to be garrisoned by 1400 foot, besides horse.† The City-chains and posts were also directed to be taken down, yet soon afterwards, on Petition of the Common-Council, they were again restored.

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* Whit. Mem. p. 299. † Ibid. p. 300.

The contention between the Army and the Parliament greatly strengthened the King's interest, and in the course of the year, risings of the people in his favour took place in different parts of the country. Several lesser tumults arose in London, and the City was greatly agitated by the rival parties, and the lengthened dispute about providing pay for the Army. A treaty was once more commenced with the King, and, during the absence of Cromwell in Scotland, the Presbyterians again obtained predominance in the Parliament, and even charged Cromwell himself with High Treason, though the exertions of his party prevented the charge being entered into. Shortly afterwards, the officers of the army presented their celebrated *Remonstrance* to the Parliament, and dispatched a party of horse to the Isle of Wight, to secure the person of the King, who had sometime before privately withdrawn himself from Hampton Court. The Commons, however, having voted in direct opposition to the Army, the latter marched forward to London, and on the fourth and fifth of December was quartered, by Fairfax, about Westminster and its neighbourhood.* On the following day, guards were placed in all the avenues to the Parliament House, and a detachment under Colonel Pride, attended at the door of the Commons, and seized forty-one members, and refused admittance to about one hundred and sixty others: by which procedure the House was reduced to about one hundred and fifty persons, many of them officers. This proceeding, which, Dugdale informs us, was called *Colonel Pride's Purge*, threw the Citizens into the greatest consternation, which was still increased by the discharge of the Trained-bands, yet their apprehensions were somewhat quieted by the strict discipline maintained by Fairfax among his troops, who were restrained from plundering and violence, under pain of death. On the next day Cromwell returned from Scotland; and "many more of the Members of the House of Commons were seized and secured."* On the eighth, by order of the General and Council of the army, two regiments of foot, and several troops of horse were quartered in the City, and upwards of 20,000l. was seized in the Treasuries of Weavers' Haberdashers', and Goldsmiths' Halls, for payment of the arrears due to the Army. The next day two more regiments were marched into the City, and, in answer to some propositions made by the Common Council, Fairfax replied, that if all the arrears and assessments required for the support of the Army, till the ensuing twenth-fifth of March, were paid up within fourteen days; 'the troops should withdraw, but that in the mean time their quartering in the City would facilitate the work.'†

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* "The General and his Army marched to London, and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, York House, and other vacant houses, and in villages near the City." *Whit. Mem.* p. 353.

The army having now determined to bring the King to trial, the Commons, on the sixth of January, 1649, passed an Ordidance for that purpose; a special provision being inserted, 'in case the King should refuse to plead to the charge against him.' On the eighth the 'High Court of Justice,' assembled in the Painted Chamber, and all the preliminary arrangements being completed, removed on the twentieth, to Westminster-Hall, which had been properly fitted up for the trial. "The King who had been removed from Windsor Castle to St. James's, and thence to Sir Robert Cotton's house, was now placed at the Bar, but refusing to acknowledge the legal jurisdiction of the Court during that and the two following days, the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, and proceeded to hear witnesses against him on the charge of 'Traitorously levying war against the People.' On the twenty-seventh the Court resumed its sittings in Westminster-Hall, and the King being again brought up, he was sentenced to be put to death, as a 'tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, by the severing of his head from his body.' Three days afterwards (January the thirtieth) this sentence was fully executed, on a scaffold, erected in the street before Whitehall; the King submitting to his sad fate with exemplary and truly Christian fortitude."*

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* Whit. Mem. p. 355.

† Ibid. The foot were quartered in private houses, the horse in inns.

Measures were now taken to settle the Kingdom in a Commonwealth; the House of Peers was declared dangerous and useless: the Kingly office was abolished, and a Council of State, consisting of thirty-eight persons, was appointed to administer the laws. On the ninth of March, Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel, were beheaded in Palace-Yard, Westminster; and on the first of April, the Lord Mayor, Sir Abraham Reynardson, having refused to obey the orders of the House, in proclaiming the abolition of Monarchy, was fined 2000l. degraded from his office, and committed to the Tower for two months.

In the same month, the City agreed to advance a loan of 120,000l. for the service in Ireland, and this was afterwards increased to 150,000l. On the seventh of January, the Lord Mayor and Common Council gave a splendid Entertainment, to the House of Commons and principal Officers of the Army, at Grocers'-Hall, in commemoration of the late suppression of the Levellers. On the following day the Lord-General Fairfax was presented by the City with a "large and weighty bason and ewer of beaten gold; and to Cromwell was given plate to the value of 300l. and 200 pieces in gold.† Shortly afterwards Richmond Park was given to the Citizens, "as a testimony of the favour of the House to them."‡

On the fourth of January, 1650, about sixty houses in Tower-street, with all their inhabitants, were blown up by the explosion of twenty-seven barrels of gun-powder, which took fire through carelessness at a ship-chandler's, opposite Barking Church. The number of sufferers was much increased through a parish feast held on that day, at the Rose Tavern, next door but one to the house where the powder was, all within which perished. A cradle and child were carried up by the blast, and lodged upon the upper leads of Barking Church, and on the following day the infant was rescued from its perilous situation without injury.

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* At this scene were many sighs, and weeping eyes; and divers strove to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood.'—*Whit. Mem.* p. 370.

† Whit. Mem. p. 392. ‡ Ibid. p. 396.

On the twenty-ninth of May, Cromwell returned to London, from his victorious campaign in Ireland, and was received with every demonstration of joy. In the following month, he was constituted Captain-General of all the forces of the Commonwealth; and three days afterwards he commenced his march towards Scotland, where Prince Charles had numerous supporters, and was then in arms. Though the struggle was desperate, Cromwell eventually overcame all opposition, and on his return 'to the Metropolis, after the decisive battle of Worcester, fought on September the third, 1651, he was met at Acton by the Speaker and many Members of Parliament, the Council of State, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, many persons of quality, with the Militia, and multitudes of People, who 'welcomed him with shouts and acclamations.' Four days afterwards he and his principal officers, &c. were feasted by the City with all possible magnificence.

On the twentieth of April, 1653, Cromwell, by one of those daring acts, which nothing but imperious necessity can justify, dissolved the Long Parliament, as it has since been designated in History, by military force.* In the December following, he was solemnly sworn into the office of Lord Protector, in the Chancery Court, at Westminster. In the following February, he dined with the Corporation of the City, at Grocers'-Hall, and the entertainment was conducted with Regal splendour: "on this occasion Cromwell exercised one of the functions of a Sovereign, by conferring the honour of Knighthood on the Lord Mayor." His endeavours to obtain the Crown were not, however, successful, yet he procured all the authority of a King to be granted to him under his former title, and he was, in consequence, solemnly inaugurated in Westminster-Hall, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1657, with a magnificence little inferior to a Coronation. During the ceremony, the Lord Mayor stood on the left of the Protector's chair, holding the City sword.* In the year following, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against Cromwell's life, "in which," says Whitelocke, "Major-General Harrison was very deep." The principal conspirators were seized on the night of the fourth of February, at their house of rendezvous in Shoreditch, and Doctor Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby were sent to the scaffold. The Protector died at Whitehall, on the third of September, this year, (1658) and was buried in Westminster-Abbey, with more than regal pomp; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens attending the solemnity.

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* For the very interesting particulars of this transaction, see Beauties of England, Vol. VII. p. 423.*—427.*

Richard, his successor, had too little talent to direct the vessel of the state at that tempestuous period, and bending to the pressure, he suffered the army to restore the Long Parliament, by which his power was rendered nugatory, and then abdicated the Protectorate within eight months. The Citizens now declared for a free Parliament, and so offended the Rump, as the sitting Members of the Long Parliament were called in derision, by their refusal to grant any supplies of money, that General Monk was ordered to march into the City, with his army, in order to enforce obedience. The City Gates and Portcullisses were also ordered to be destroyed, which was immediately done at Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Aldgate; and the other Gates were all more or less damaged.† Several of the Aldermen and Common Council were also arrested.

Three days afterwards, Monk, who had discovered that the aid of the Citizens was necessary to forward his views in restoring Monarchy, drew up his forces in Finsbury Fields, and, having himself dined with the Lord Mayor, he accompanied him to a meeting of the Aldermen and Common Council, at Guildhall, where, after many excuses for his late conduct, "they pledged their troth each to other, in such a manner, for the perfect union, and adhering to each other for the future, that as soon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the General to his lodgings, and all the bells of the City proclaimed, and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the Army and City were of one mind: and as soon as the evening came, there was a continual light of Bon-fires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of scorn and contempt of the Parliament, as testified the non-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bon-fire at which they did not roast a Rump, or pieces of flesh made like one, which they said 'was for the celebration of the funeral of the Parliament,' and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General."*

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* See Whit. Mem. p. 661.

† On the ninth of February, 1660.

The artful management of Monk proved effectual; the City chose him Major-General of their forces, and advanced 60,000l. towards the public emergencies. The Members who had been excluded from the Parliament in 1648, were admitted to take their seats; and being superior in number to the others, they proceeded, under Monk's instructions, to prepare the way for the Restoration. After issuing writs for a new Parliament to meet on the twenty-fifth of April, they appointed a Council of State, in which were "many sober and honest Gentlemen, *who did not wish the King ill*."† Their last act was to "dissolve that present Parliament, against all the importunities made by the Sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of their party in the City of London, that they would not dissolve themselves), but to the unspeakable joy of the rest of the Kingdom."‡

During the intervening time till the Parliament met, Monk and his Council were several times feasted by different City Companies in their respective Halls; and though the design of restoring the King was not openly avowed, it was easy to see that some considerable change was meditated. At length, on the first of May, 1660, the General told the Parliament that Sir John Greenvile was without with letters from the King; and this was no sooner spoken, than a general burst of acclamation evinced how well the wary Monk had taken his measures.* The same gentleman, with the Lord Viscount Mordaunt, was also the bearer of another letter directed to the City; with which the Common Council was so well pleased, that they voted a gratuity of 300l. to each of the messengers, and deputed fourteen of their principal members to wait on his Majesty in Holland, with assurances of their fidelity and cheerful submission, and to present him, in the name of the City, with 10,000l. The House of Commons also resolved to give the King 50,000l., and the Citizens agreed to advance that sum. A few days afterwards, the Common Council made an order, that "the new Park, which Oliver had given them," should be restored to the Sovereign, "and he assured that the City had only kept it as stewards for his Majesty."† On the eighth, the new King was solemnly proclaimed at Westminster-Hall Gate, by the title of Charles the Second; "the Lords and Commons standing bare by the Heralds whilst the proclamation was made." He was afterwards proclaimed at the accustomed places in the City, amidst the loudest shouts and acclamations, "and the City was full of bonfires and joys."‡

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* Clar. Reb. Vol. III. P. 2. p. 716. † Ibid. p. 721. ‡ Ibid.

On the twenty-sixth, the King landed at Dover; and on the twenty-ninth, he made his public entry into the Metropolis: "all the ways thither," says Clarendon, "being so full of people and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered there." In St. George's Fields, he partook of a rich collation, provided by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, under a magnificent tent;

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* Clar. Reb. Vol. III. P. 2. p. 756. † Whit. Mem. p. 702.

‡ Ibid. p. 703.

after which he proceeded through the City to Whitehall; the houses being hung with rich silks and tapestry, the conduits flowing with wine, and the streets and buildings crowded with spectators; all of whom "expressed their joy with such protestations as can hardly be imagined." The procession itself was conducted with extreme pomp; the King riding between his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, preceded by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and six hundred of the principal Citizens, in gorgeous apparel, with gold chains, as well as by many hundred gentlemen, "all gloriously habited and gorgeously mounted." On the same night, Monk was invested with the Order of the Garter at Whitehall, as an earnest of the honours about to bestowed upon him for his dexterous management.*

On the 5th of July, the King, with the Princes his brothers, all the principal Nobility, the great Officers of State, and both Houses of Parliament, was sumptuously banquetted by the City, at Guildhall, the viands being intermingled with "the most exquisite rarities."

In the month of October, Major-General Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Chief-Justice John Coke, the Rev. Hugh Peters, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, and the Colonels Adrian Scroop, John Jones, Francis Hacker, and Daniel Axtell, were condemned under a Special Commission at the Old Bailey, for High Treason, in having sat in the High Court of Justice, or been otherwise active in promoting the death of the late King. Most of them were executed at Charing Cross; and the cruel sentence pronounced on traitors, was, in respect to Major Harrison, who was the first that suffered, fulfilled to the very letter; and three days afterwards, when Chief-Justice Coke and Hugh

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* Ludlow says, "The dissolution and drunkenness of that night were so great and scandalous, in a nation which had not been acquainted with such disorders for many years past, that the King, who still stood in need of the Presbyterian party, which had betrayed all into his hands, for their satisfaction caused a proclamation to be published "*forbidding the drinking of healths.*" *Mem.* p. 348.

Peters were drawn upon sledges to the place of execution, "his head was placed on that which carried the Chief-Justice, with the face uncovered, and directed towards him."* This shocking spectacle failed, however, in producing its intended effect; his firmness was unconquerable. They all indeed met their deaths with the greatest fortitude, except Peters, and boldly vindicated the act for which they had been condemned.†

In the beginning of January, 1661, a desperate Insurrection was made in the City, by the phrenetic sect, called *Fifth-Monarchy Men,* who, to the number of sixty, well-armed, sallied forth from their Meeting House, in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, under the conduct of their preacher, who was a cooper, named Thomas Venner. After killing a man in St. Paul's Church Yard, who declared for King Charles, in opposition to their cry of 'King Jesus,' they routed a party of the Trained-bands led on by Sir Richard Brown, the Lord Mayor. They next marched triumphantly through the City to Bishopsgate, and going on the outside of London Wall, re-entered the City at Cripplegate, when hearing that a body of horse was coming against them, they retreated to Beech Lane, where they killed a headborough, and afterwards took shelter for the night in Caen Wood, near Hampstead. Here some of them were made prisoners on the following morning, and the rest dispersed; yet on the next day they rallied

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* Lnd. Mem. p. 368.

† "The temper of the nation," says Burnet, "who properly discriminates between the feelings of the People and the sentiment which governed the Court," appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings: for though the Regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by crowds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight; yet the odiousness of the crime at last grew to be so much flattened by the frequent executions, and most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and shew of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the King was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene so near the Court as Charing Cross. *Burn. Hist of his own Time,* Vol. I. p. 162.

lied again, and returning to the City, fought a severe battle with some horse and Trained-bands in Wood Street, till two of their fiercest combatants were killed, and Venner wounded and made prisoner. They then retreated towards Cripplegate, and Colonel Cox, their leader, posted ten men in a neighbouring ale-house, who defended it with such resolution, that it was not carried till seven of them were killed. At length, after the loss of twenty men, the maniacs fled; and eleven, out of fourteen, who were made prisoners, were soon afterwards condemned and executed. Twenty of the King's troops lost their lives in this contest, besides those of the Trained-bands, and others.*

On the twenty-third of April, the King was crowned at Westminster, on which occasion he revived the ancient custom of proceeding in grand procession through the City from the Tower. To increase the splendour of this solemnity, five Earls were created, and several Barons, and the whole display was extremely magnificent. Four costly triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the City, and the houses were decorated in a most rich and expensive manner.

The eighth of May was distinguished by the meeting of Charles's *Pensionary Parliament*, by which many enactments were made completely destructive to the liberties of the people, and which, by its protracted duration, (nearly eighteen years) was far more eminently deserving of the appellation of the Long Parliament, than that of the Commonwealth had been.

On the twenty-second of May, by order of the Parliament, the *Solemn League and Covenant* was burnt by the common Hangman in Cheapside; and, on the twenty-eighth, the Acts for the trial of King Charles, the abolition of the House of Peers, the establishing a Commonwealth, the renunciation of the Stuart family, and the security of the Protector's person, were similarly destroyed by the Hangman in the midst of Westminster Hall, whilst the Courts were sitting.

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* Ken. Reg. p. 361.

On the tenth of April, 1662, the King, by his Letters Patent, restored and confirmed to the City the Province of Ulster, which the Court of Star-Chamber had declared forfeited in 1639. It is under this grant that the City Companies now hold their Irish estates. On the nineteenth of the same month, Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead, three of the King's judges, who had been outlawed, and afterwards seized at Delft, in Holland, suffered the death of Traitors at Tyburn; and on the sixth of June, Sir Harry Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill, "where," says Burnet, "a new and very indecent practice was begun. It was observed, that the dying speeches of the Regicides had left impressions upon the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the Government; so strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that drummers were placed under the Scaffold, who as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums."* On the twenty-fourth of August, St. Bartholomew's Day, the Act of Uniformity was carried into effect, when about 2000 Presbyterian and other Ministers, threw up their livings, in preference to submitting to the conditions of the Statute. Most of the London churches were among the number thus vacated.

On the twenty-fourth of June, 1663, the King, on petition of the Lord Mayor and Citizens, and "for divers good causes and considerations," as the instrument itself expresses, granted to the City a new Charter, confirmatory of all its former ones, and of all legal uses, prescriptions, and rights whatever.

After Charles had resolved on the Dutch war in 1664, the City advanced 100,000l. towards fitting out a fleet; and within four months afterwards, came forward with a second loan of the like sum. For this ready attention to the public service, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were given to the Citizens assembled in common Council, in Guildhall, by a Deputation of six Lords and twelve Commoners.

The year 1665 became memorable in London by the direful ravages of the GREAT PLAGUE, which first broke out at a house in

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 124.

in Long Acre, near Drury Lane, in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, whither goods had been imported from Holland that had been brought from the Levant. Its virulence was most rife between the months of May and October, in the above year; yet its appearance was noticed as early as December, 1664, and it had not entirely ceased till January or February, 1666.*

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* *Journal of the Plague Year.* From this work, which comprehends a most interesting narrative of the principal occurrences in this season of almost unparalleled calamity, the following particulars are extracted. They give a vivid idea of the extent of the distress, and of the horrible scenes attendant upon Pestilence. Mr. Gough attributes this *Journal* to the celebrated Daniel De Foe, but De Foe could have been only the Editor. The work itself represents the Author, as having continued in London during the whole time of the Plague, and for some portion of it, to have been one of those officers who, under the appellation of "*Examiners*" were appointed to shut up infected houses, and to see that the regulations made for stopping the progress of the contagion were properly attended to. For the sake of brevity this will be quoted as De Foe's Journal in the ensuing pages.

"I lived without Aldgate," says our Author, "about mid-may between Aldgate Church and White Chappel-Bars, on the left-hand or north-side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the City, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town, their consternation was very great; and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the City, throng'd out of town, with their families and servants, in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in White-Chappel; that is to say, the broad street where I lived. Indeed, nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches fill'd with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away. Then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses, with servants, who, it was apparent, were returning or sent from the countries to fetch more people: besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with baggage, and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.—

"This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting to the Lord-Mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now,

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In the autumn of 1664, several private Councils were held by the Government for the purpose of determining on the best means of preventing the introduction of this dreadful calamity, which was known to be then raging in Holland, where also it had been

as there had none died in the City for all this time, my Lord-Mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too for a while. This hurry continued some weeks; that is to say, all the month of May and June; and the more, because it was rumoured, that an order of the government was to be issued out, to place turn-pikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass for fear of bringing the infection along with them; though neither of these rumours had any foundation, but in the imagination, especially at first." *Mem. of the Plague*, p. 8, 9.

"I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, tho' not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the Church-yard of our parish of Aldgate. A terrible pit it was;—about 40 foot in length, and about 15 or 16 broad, and at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep: but it was said they dug it near 20 feet deep afterwards, in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had it seems, dug several large pits before this: for tho' the plague was long a-coming to our parish, yet, when it did come, there was no parish in or about London, where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and White-Chapel.

"I say they had dug several pits in another ground, when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the '*Dead carts*' began to go about, which was not in our parish till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps 50 or 60 bodies each; then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which by the middle to the end of August came to from 200 to 400 a week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface; and the water coming on at about 17 or 18 feet, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit: but now, at the beginning of September, the Plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials increasing to more than was ever buried in any other parish about London, of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadfull gulph to be dug; for such it was, rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supply'd them for a month or very destructive in the preceding year. On the first rumour therefore of the Plague having broken out in Long Acre, about the beginning of December, and that two persons, said to be Frenchmen, had died of it in one house, the Secretary of State ordered

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more, when they had dug it; and some blam'd the church-wardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them, they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear, the church-wardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think, they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish, who can justify the fact of this, and are able to shew even in what part of the church-yard the pit lay better than I can: the mark of it, also, was many years to be seen in the church-yard on the surface, lying in length parallel with the Passage which goes by the west wall of the church-yard out of Houndsditch, and turns east again into White Chappel, coming out near the Three Tuns Inn.

"It was the 10th of September that my curiosity led, or rather drove me, to go and see this pit again, when there had been near 400 people buried in it: and I was not content to see it in the day-time, as I had done before; for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth by those they call'd the buryers, which at other times were call'd bearers; but I resolv'd to go in the night, and see some of them thrown in.

"There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection: but after some time that order was more necessary; for people that were infected, and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits, wrapt in blankets, or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then wall'd about, many came, and threw themselves in, and expired there before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, tho' not cold.

"This may serve a little to decribe the dreadful condition of that day; tho' ordered the bodies to be inspected by two Physicians and a Surgeon; and on their report, it was inserted in the weekly Bill of Mortality, that two persons were dead of this disorder. This occasioned considerable alarm throughout the Metropolis; and the

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tho' it is impossible to say any thing that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it other than this; that it was indeed very, very, very dreadful, and such as no tongue can express!

"I got admittance into the church-yard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who, tho' he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go; telling me very seriously, (for he was a good, religious, and sensible man,) that it was, indeed, their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it, but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that, perhaps, it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. 'Nay,' says the good man, 'if you will venture upon that score, 'name of God, go in; for depend upon it, 'twill be a sermon to you; it may be, the best that ever you heard in your life. 'Tis a speaking sight (says he), and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance;' and with that he opened the door, and said, 'Go, if you will.'

"His discourse had shock'd my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while; but just at that interval I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bell-man, and then appear'd a dead-cart, as they call'd it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. There was nobody, as I could perceive at first in the church-yard, or going into it, but the buryers, and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart; but when they came up to the pit, they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands, as if he was in great agony; and the buryers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious or desperate creatures that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves: he said nothing as he walk'd about, but two or three times groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

"When the buryers came up to him, they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, the death of another man of the Plague, in the same house where it had first appeared, in the last week of December, increased the apprehensions that were already entertained. In the four or five weeks following, it made a marked, yet silent progress, if the

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deed, having his wife, and several of his children, all in the cart, that was just come in with him; and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief, that could not give itself vent by tears; and calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in, and go away; so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit promiscuously, which was a surprize to him, (for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, tho', indeed, he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable;) I say, no sooner did he see the sight, but he cry'd out aloud, unable to contain himself, I could not hear what he said; but he went backward two or three steps, and fell down in a swoon. The buryers ran to him, and took him up; and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye Tavern, over against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He look'd into the pit again as he went away; but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that tho' there was light enough, for there were lantherns and candles in them, plac'd all night round the sides of the pit, upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

"This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful, and full of terror; the cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose, that what covering they had, fell from them, in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it; for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together: there was no other way of burials; neither was it possible there should; for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.*

"I was

* "It was reported by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them decently wound up, as we call'd it then, in a winding sheet ty'd

the expression may be allowed, for although it was not till the second week in February that any person was again officially reported to have died of the Plague, yet the weekly Bills of Mortality prove that the increase of deaths, from the twenty-seventh of

"I was indeed shock'd with this sight; it almost overwhelm'd me, and I went away with my heart much afflicted, and full of the afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe. Just at my going out of the church, and turning up the Street towards my own house, I saw another cart with links, and a Bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-Alley, in the Butcher-Row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the Street also towards the church. I stood a while; but I had no stomach to go back again, to see the same dismal scene over again; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness the risque I had run, believing I had gotten no injury; as indeed I had not. *Mem.* p. 71—76.

"After the Funerals became so many, that people could not toll the Bell, Mourn, or Weep, or wear Black for one another, as they did before, no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died; the fury of the Infection appeared to be so increased, that in short, they shut up no Houses at all: it seem'd enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the Plague spread itself with an irresistible Fury, so that, as the Fire the succeeding Year, spread itself, and burnt with such violence, that the Citizens in despair gave over their endeavours to extinguish it, so in the Plague, it came at last to such violence, that the people sat still looking at one another, and seem'd quite abandon'd to Despair; whole streets seem'd to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants; Doors were left open, Windows stood shattering with the Wind in empty houses, for want of people to shut them. In a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and to think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for, but an universal desolation; and it was even

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ty'd over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart, and carry them quite naked to the ground: but as I cannot easily credit any thing so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors as that was, I can only relate it, and leave it undetermined.

"Innumerable stories also went about of the cruel behaviours and practices of nurses, who tended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they tended in their sickness;" but these reports were mostly, if not altogether false.

of December to the twenty-fourth of January, was, on the average, as many as forty-six per week.* It may be remarked likewise, that the increase was chiefly set down under those diseases which in their nature most assimilate with the Plague, as Spotted Fevers,

even in the height of this general Despair, that it pleased God to stay his hand, and to slacken the Fury of the Contagion, in such a manner as was even surprising like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular hand, and that above, if not without the Agency of means.

"But I must still speak of the Plague as in its height, raging even to Desolation, and the people under the most dreadful Consternation, even as I have said, to Despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carry'd them in this Extremity of the Distemper; and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could afflict a Man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul, than to see a Man almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his Bed into the Street, come out of Harrow-Alley, a populous Conjunction or Collection of Alleys, Courts, and Passages, in the Butcher-row in Whitechapel. I say, what could be more affecting, than to see this poor Man come out into the open Street, run Dancing and Singing, and making a thousand antick Gestures, with five or six Women and Children running after him, crying, and calling upon him, for the Lord's sake, to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him, or to come near him. This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows, for all this while, the poor afflicted man, was, as I observ'd it, even then in the utmost Agony of Pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which cou'd not be brought to break, or to suppurate; but by laying strong causticks on them, the Surgeons had, it seems, hopes to break them; which causticks were then upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron.

* In the week ending December the 27th, the number of deaths were 291, which was considered as pretty high, the general average at this time being about 270.

From December the 27th to January the 3rd	349	Increased	58
January the 3rd to the 10th	394		45
10th to the 17th	415		21
17th to the 24th	474		59
		Total	183

Fevers, &c. The prevalence of a frost, attended by sharp winds, checked the mortality till the months of April and May, when a gradual increase of deaths by the Plague was returned in the Bills, and particularly within the parish of St. Giles.*

During

iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continu'd roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

"No wonder the aspect of the City itself was frightful: the usual concourse of people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated: the Exchange was not kept shut indeed, but it was no more frequented: the *Fires* † were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days by a very smart and hasty rain: But that was not all, some of the Physicians insisted that they were not only of no benefit, but injurious to the health of people. This they made a loud Clamour about, and complain'd to the Lord Mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, oppos'd them, and gave their reasons why the Fires were and must be useful to assuage the Violence of the Distemper. I cannot give a full account of their arguments on both sides, only this I remember, that they cavil'd very much with one another: some were for Fires, but that they must be made of Wood and not Coal, and of particular sorts of Wood too, such as Fir in particular, or Elder, because of the strong effluvia of Turpentine; others were for Coal and not Wood, because of the Sulphur and Bitumen; and others were for neither

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* At this time only one person had been reported to have died of the Plague within the City; and he was a Frenchman, who had removed to Bearbinder-lane, from Long Acre, near the house where the infection had began.

† "The *Public Fires* which were made on these occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have cost the City about 200 Chalder of Coals a week, if they had continued, which was indeed a very great quantity, but as it was thought necessary, nothing was spar'd; however, as some of the Physicians cry'd them down, they were not kept a-light above four or five Days; the Fires were ordered thus:

"One at the Custom-House, one at Billingsgate, one at Queen-hith, and one at the Three-Cranes, one in Black-Friers, and one at the Gate of Bridewel; one at the Corner of Leadenhal-Street, and Grace-Church; one at the North, and one at the South-Gate of the Royal Exchange; one at Guild-Hall, and one at Blackwell-Hall Gate; one at the Lord Mayors' Door, in St. Helens, one at the West Entrance into St. Pauls', and one at the Entrance into Bow Church. I do not remember whether there was any at the City Gates, but one at the Bridge foot there was, just by St. Magnus Church." 254, 5.

During the two last weeks of May, and the first week of June, the disorder spread in a dreadful manner: whole streets were infested with it, and though many arts were employed to conceal its ravages, apprehension and dismay spread over the Metropolis. In

neither one or other. Upon the whole, the Lord Mayor ordered no more Fires, and especially on this account, namely, that the Plague was so fierce that they saw it evidently defied all means, and rather seemed to encrease than decrease upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the Magistrates, proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully, than from any unwillingness, either to expose themselves, or undertake the care and weight of Business; for, to do them justice, they neither spared their pains nor their persons; but nothing answered, the infection rag'd, and the people were frighted and terrified to the last degree, so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and, as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their Despair.

"But let me observe, that when I say the people abandon'd themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious Despair, or a Despair of their eternal state, but I mean a Despair of their being able to escap the infection, or outlive the Plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few People that were touch'd with it in its height about August, and September, escap'd: and which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observ'd, many were infected, and continued so many Days, and then grew better, after having had the Poison in their Blood a long time, but now on the contrary, most of the people who were so taken during the two last Weeks in August, and in the three first Weeks in September, generally died in two or three Days at farthest, and many the very same day they were taken; whether the Dog-days, or as our Astrologers pretend to express themselves, the Influence of the Dog-Star, had that malignant effect; or all those who had the seeds of Infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported, that above 3000 People died in one Night, and they that wou'd have us believe they more critically observ'd it, pretend to say, that they all died within the space of two Hours, (viz.) between the Hours of One and Three in the Morning.

"As to the suddenness of peoples' dying at this time more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood. One family without the Barrs, and not far from me, were all

In the second week of June, the deaths greatly increased; in St. Giles's parish, where its strength yet lay, about one hundred died of the Plague, but within the City walls, only four were enumerated, and Southwark was yet entirely free. About this time, his

all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family; that evening one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and dy'd the next morning, when the other apprentice and two children were touch'd, whereof one dy'd the same evening, and the other two on Wednesday: in a word, by Saturday at noon, the master, mistress, four children, and four servants, were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman, who came in to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who liv'd not far off, and who had not been sick.

"Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carry'd away dead, and especially in an Alley farther on, the same side beyond the Barrs, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron; there were several houses together, which (they said) had not one person left alive in them, and some that dy'd last in several of those houses, were left a little too long before they were fetch'd out to be bury'd; the reason of which was not as some have written very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead; but that the mortality was so great in the Yard or Alley, that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons, that there were any dead bodies there to be bury'd. It was said, how true I know not, that some of those bodies were so much corrupted and so rotten, that it was with difficulty they were carry'd; and as the carts could not come any nearer than to the Alley-gate in the High Street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left, I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

"As I have mention'd how the people were brought into a condition to despair of life and abandon themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks, that is, it made men bold and venturous, they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went any where and every where, and began to converse; one would say to another, I do not ask you how you are; or say how I am, it is certain we shall all go, so 'tis no matter who is sick or who is sound, and so they run desperately into any place or any company.

"As it brought the people into publick company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches, they inquir'd no more into who they sat near to, or far from, what offensive smells they met with or his Majesty with his whole Court departed for Oxford, where they continued till after Christmas; leaving the chief weight and direction of the Capital, in this most calamitous era, to the Duke of Albemarle, and Sir John Lawrence, "*London's generous Mayor,*" who

> "When Contagion, with mephitic breath,
> And wither'd Famine urg'd the work of death,
> — — — — — — — — — —
> With food and faith, with med'cine and with prayer,
> Rais'd the weak head, and stay'd the parting sigh,
> Or with new life relum'd the swimming eye.
>
> *Darwin's Botanic Garden.*

In

or what condition the people seemed to be in, but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together, as if their lives were of no consequence, compar'd to the work which they came about there. Indeed, the zeal which they shew'd in coming, and the earnestness and affection they shew'd in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest what a value people would all put upon the worship of God, if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last. Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at, or scruple about the person whom they found in the pulpit when they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted, but that many of the ministers of the parish-churches were cut off among others in so common and so dreadful a calamity; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country, as they found means for escape. As then some parish-churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people made no scruple of desiring such Dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of the Act of Parliament, called The Act of Uniformity, to preach in the churches, nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty of accepting their assistance, so that many of those whom they called silenced ministers, had their mouths open'd on this occasion, and preach'd publickly to the people.—

"While the height of the distemper lasted, I retir'd to my home, and continued close ten or twelve days more; during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves in my view, out of my own windows, and in our own street; as that particularly from Harrow-Alley, of the poor outrageous creature which danced and sung in his agony, and many others that were. Scarce a day or night passed over, but some dismal thing or other happened

at

In the months of June and July the infection spread rapidly, and consternation and horror dwelt in every bosom. All whose circumstances or duties would permit, quitted the Metropolis, and the roads were thronged with multitudes hastening from the scene of death. From the Parishes of St. Giles, Westminster, St. Martin, and St. Andrew, the disorder passed eastward on the outskirts of the City to Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, and Shoreditch; where the crowded habitations of the poor and labouring classes offered a full prey to its ravages. The deaths progressively increased from 500, to 600, 700, 1000, 1400, and upwards,

B b weekly,

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at the end of that Harrow-Alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery. Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of that Alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixt or compounded of skreetches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it; almost all the dead part of the night the Dead-cart stood at the end of the Alley, for if it went in it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodys, and as the church-yard was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again: it is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends to the cart, and by the number one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were people enough for a small city liveing in those places. Several times they cryed Murther, sometimes Fire; but it was esie to perceive it was all distraction, and the complaints of distress'd and distemper'd people.

"I believe it was every where thus at that time, for the Plague rag'd for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have express'd; and came even to such a height, that in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order, of which I have spoken so much, in behalf of the Magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets or Burials in the Day-time, for there was a Necessity, in this Extremity, to bear with its being otherwise, for a little while.

"One thing I cannot omit here, and indeed I thought it was extraordinary, at least, it seemed a remarkable Hand of Divine Justice, (viz.) that all the Predictors, Astrologers, Fortune-tellers, and what they call'd cun-

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weekly, as the Bills of Mortality prove; though many hundreds, who also died of the Plague in those weeks, are registered under the heads of spotted fever, teeth, surfeits, &c. the surviving friends of the deceased making false returns to prevent having their houses

ning Men, Conjurers, and the like; calculators of Nativities, and dreamers of Dreams, and such people, were gone and vanish'd, not one of them was to be found: I am, verily, persuaded that a great number of them fell in the heat of the Calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great Estates; and indeed their gain was but too great for a time through the Madness and Folly of the people; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long Home, not able to foretel their own fate, or to calculate their own Nativities: some have been critical enough to say, that every one of them dy'd; I dare not affirm that; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the Calamity was over.

" But to return to my particular Observations, during this dreadful part of the Visitation; I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for by all the Accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it; the Number in the Weekly Bill amounting to almost 40,000, from the 22d of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks: the particulars of the Bills are as follows, (viz.)

From August the 22d to the 29th	7496
To the 5th of September	8252
To the 12th	7690
To the 19th	8297
To the 26th	6460
	38,195

" This was a prodigious Number of itself, but if I should add the Reasons which I have to believe that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me, make no scruple to believe that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the City at that time, was inexpressible; the Terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the Dead, began to fail them; nay, several of houses shut up, and themselves inclosed, together with the sick and the dying.

The shutting up of houses where any person was known to be afflicted with the Plague was among the earliest of the precau-

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of them died altho' they had the Distemper before, and were recover'd; and some of them drop'd down when they have been carrying the Bodies, even at the Pit-side, and just ready to throw them in; and this Confusion was greater in the City, because they had flattered themselves with Hopes of escaping; and thought the bitterness of Death was past. One cart they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken of the Drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the Cart, and left the Bodies, some thrown out here, some there, in a dismal manner; another cart was, it seems, found in the great Pit in Finsbury Fields, the Driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near the Pit, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also: it was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, cou'd not be certain. In our parish of Aldgate, the Dead-carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the Church-yard Gate, full of dead bodies, but neither Bell-man or Driver, or any one else with them; neither in these, or many other cases, did they know what bodies they had in their Cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of Balconies and out of Windows, and sometimes the Bearers brought them to the Cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

" The Vigilance of the Magistrates was now put to the utmost Trial, and it must be confess'd, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion also, that whatever expence or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the City or Suburbs either.—First, Provisions were always to be had, in full Plenty, and the Price not much rais'd neither, hardly worth speaking. Second, No dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if one walk'd from one end of the City to another, no Funeral or sign of it was to be seen in the Day-time, except a little, as I have said above, in the three first weeks in September.

" This last article perhaps will hardly be believ'd, when some accounts which others have published since that shall be seen, wherein they say, that the dead lay unburied, which I am assured was utterly false; at least, tionary measures that were taken to keep it from spreading; yet, with problematical effect, as many an entire family was thus exposed to its virulence, who would otherwise, perhaps, have found safety in flight. Still, as a means of preventing that communication between the healthy and the diseased, by which the contagion was principally extended, it was in many instances beneficial; yet, had a sufficient number of Pest-houses been appointed to receive the infected in the early stage of the Pestilence, all the proposed good would have been obtained without the hazard of so many attendant evils. The Justices for Middlesex, by direction of the Secretary of State, begun the practice in the Parishes of St. Giles, St. Martin,

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if it had been any where so, it must ha' been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed to escape, and where no Notice was given to the Officers: all which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand; for this I am positive in, having myself been employ'd a little in the Direction of that part of the parish in which I liv'd, and where as great a Desolation was made in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants as was any where. I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remain'd unburied; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of; none for want of people to carry them off, and Buriers to put them into the ground and cover them; and this is sufficient to the argument; for what might lie in Houses, as in Moses and Aaron Alley, is nothing; for it is most certain, they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first Article, namely, of Provisions, the scarcity or dearness, tho' I have mention'd it before, and shall speak of it again; yet I must observe here, that the Price of Bread in particular was not much raised, for in the beginning of the year (viz.) in the first Week in March, the Penny Wheaten Loaf was ten Ounces and a half; and in the height of the contagion, it was to be had at nine Ounces and an half, and never dearer, no not all that Season: and about the beginning of November it was sold ten Ounces and a half again, the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city, under so dreadful a Visitation before. Neither was there (which I wondred much at) any want of Bakers or Ovens kept open to supply the people with Bread; but this was indeed alledg'd by some Families, viz. That their Maid-Servants going to the Bake-houses with their Dough to be baked, which was then the Custom, sometimes came Home with the Sickness, that is to say, the Plague upon them.' *Mem.* p. 196—209.

Martin, and St. Clement, about the latter end of June; on the first of July, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen adopted a similar regulation in the City and its Liberties; and in a week or two afterwards, the Magistrates of the Tower-Hamlets ordered the same measure to be taken in the eastern parishes. Watchmen were appointed to guard the houses that were shut up, both by night and by day, and on every door thus closed, a large red cross was marked, with this supplicatory sentence printed over it:—*The Lord have mercy upon us!*

During the month of August, the infection greatly extended its ravages, and though every precaution that prudence and skill could suggest, was taken to prevent its spreading, it now began to rage with considerable violence, even within the City itself. All trade, but for the immediate necessaries of life, was at an end; the streets were deserted of passengers, every place of diversion was closed, and assemblies of whatever kind, except for the celebration of prayer and Divine worship, were strictly prohibited.* Still, however, the Pestilence spread: in darkness it held on its way; the noon-day beam extracted not its venom. In the last week of August, that is, from the twenty-second to the twenty-ninth, and whilst the City was as yet comparatively free, the number of deaths by the Plague was recorded in the bills at 7496. It should be remembered too, that this was at a time when nearly 200,000 persons are thought to have previously quitted the Metropolis.

This vast increase of mortality occasioned the adoption of fresh

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* "All the Plays and Interludes, which, after the manner of the French Court, had been set up, and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing-rooms, and music-houses, which multiplied, and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shews, rope-dancers, and such like doings, which had bewitched the poor common people, shut up their shops, finding indeed no trade: for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things, sat upon the countenances even of the common people. Death was before their eyes, and every body began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions." *Jour.* p. 35.

fresh measures of precaution, the principal of which was the lighting large fires in every street, and keeping them burning for several days and nights together. These fires were first lit on the fifth of September, in consequence of a Proclamation issued by the Lord Mayor, "with the advice of the Aldermen, his brethren, and the Duke of Albemarle;" strictly commanding "all persons whatsoever inhabiting in the City of London and its Liberties, to furnish themselves with sufficient quantities of firing, to wit, of sea-coal, or any other combustible matter, to maintain and continue fire constantly burning for three whole days and three whole nights." Under this order, which professes to have been founded on the "experience of former ages, and of later days, in other countries," as well as on the general opinion of "all judicious persons," in respect to fire being "a potent and effectual means of correcting and purifying the air," all "streets, courts, lanes, and alleys, in the City and its Suburbs," had fires kindled in them; one fire being maintained at the expence of every twelve houses, and six bushels of coal allotted for the consumption of every twenty-four hours.* From fifteen to twenty, or more, large public fires, were also lit in different parts of the City; yet, if a judgment may be formed from the vast and rapid increase of deaths that immediately followed, these measures, instead of proving salutary, were most eminently deleterious. The dead augmented beyond the means of enumeration, the church-yards were no longer capable of receiving the bodies, and large open spaces, on the outskirts of the Metropolis, were appropriated for the purpose. "Whole families, and indeed, *whole streets of families*, were swept away together, insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead."†

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* See London Gazette, for 1665; where also many other curious particulars of the Plague may be found.

† De Foe's Jour. p. 119. "The work of removing the dead bodies by Carts,

The Pestilence was now at its height; its ravages had extended into Southwark, and from the City into all the parishes eastward of the Tower. The digging of single graves had been long discontinued, and large pits had been excavated, in which the dead were deposited with some little regularity and decent attention; but now all regard to ceremony became impossible. The grave was indeed a 'yawning abyss:' deeper and more extensive pits were dug, and the rich and the poor, the young and the aged, the adult and the child, were all promiscuously thrown headlong together into one common receptacle. By day, the streets presented a most frightful aspect of desolation and misery; and at night, the *Dead Carts*, moving with slow pace by torch-light, and with the appalling cry, '*Bring out your Dead!*' thrilled horror through every heart that was not hardened by suffering to calamity.

In the three first weeks of September, the numbers returned dead in the Bills amounted to upwards of 24,000; a most frightful aggregate in itself, yet a most imperfect one in respect to the actual number that fell victims to the Plague alone within that period. Many of the searchers and other officers, whose duties enjoined them to make the returns, acknowledged their incorrectness; and many more, before they could give in their lists, were themselves

numbered

Carts," continues our author, "was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was much complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead; but that sometimes the bodies lay several days unburied, till the neighbouring families were offended with the stench, and consequently infected: and this neglect of the officers was such that the Churchwardens and Constables were summoned to look after it, and even the Justices of the *Hamlets* were obliged to venture their lives among them to quicken and encourage them, for innumerable of the bearers dyed of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near; and had it not been that the number of poor people who wanted employment and wanted bread was so great that necessity drove them to undertake any thing, and venture any thing, they would never have found people to be employed, and then the bodies of the dead would have lain above ground, and have perished and rotted in a dreadful manner."

numbered with 'those that were.'* The more probable calculation is, that at this time not fewer than 10,000, persons, weekly, were carried off by the infection itself, without enumerating those who died by the different disorders which it generated, or of which it increased the malignancy. "Now, it was indeed a dismal time," says De Foe, "and for about a month together, not taking any notice of the Bills of Mortality, I believe there did not die less than 1500, or 1700 a-day, one day with another."†

In the last week of September, the Pestilence began to abate in virulence; for though more persons were now sick than at any former period, the number of dead returned in the weekly Bill had decreased upwards of 1800, viz. from 8,297, to 6,460. This alteration revived the hopes of the people,‡ and gave new vigour to the Magistracy, who with nearly unceasing vigilance had, from the very beginning of the calamity, been employed in the God-like office of endeavouring to mitigate human woe. Another week succeeded, and the deaths were still found to lessen; a third passed, and the trembling confidence of the multitude was fixed in certainty. The 'destroying angel' was indeed 'stayed;' and though the number 'hearsed in death' in the second week of October, amounted to upwards of 5000, yet the decrease was so great, that joy once more was seen to spread itself over the Metropolis.

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* De Foe's Jour. p. 115. "For about nine weeks together, there died near a thousand a-day, one day with another, even by the account of the weekly Bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account by many thousands; the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was kept, but they worked on; the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. It was said, that within the year the parish of Stepney had one hundred and sixteen sextons, grave-diggers, and their assistants; that is to say, bearers, bellmen, and drivers of carts, for carrying off the dead bodies." *Ibid.*

† Jour. p. 118. Dr. Hodges states, in his *Loimologia*, that in one week, in September, 12,000 died of the Plague; of whom 4000 deceased in one night.

‡ "It is impossible," says De Foe, "to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning, when the weekly Bill came out: a secret surprize and smile of joy set on every bodies face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side together before; where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows, and call from one house to another, and ask 'how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the Plague was abated!' Some would return, when they said good news, and ask 'what good news?' and when they answered, that the Bills

From this period till the end of October, every week's report shewed that the infection had lost much of its malignancy; for though considerable numbers still died, the instances of convalescence were so numerous, that many thousands of those whom apprehension had driven from their homes, now daily returned in the full assurance of security. The conduct which this feeling inspired, merged into rashness; even the limited suggestions of common prudence were despised, and the healthy associated with the diseased, as if the contagion had no power to excite alarm. Through this imprudence, the deaths in the first week of November increased about 400; and "there were more people infected and fell sick now, when there did not die above 1000 or 1200 in a week, than there was when there died four or six thousand in a week; and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered; that is to say, they generally recovered."* This doubtless may be attributed to the growing severity of the weather; "for the winter now came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts, and this encreasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the City began to return."†

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Bills decreased almost 2000, they would cry out, 'God be praised!' and would weep aloud for joy; and such was the joy of the people, that it was as it were life to them from the grave." *Jour.* p. 283.

* De Foe's Jour. p. 265. † Ibid. p. 263.

From this time till the end of the year, the Pestilence, with a few slight intermissions, gave place to returning sanity. The Court came back to London in the beginning of February, and before the expiration of that month the contagion was regarded as having entirely ceased.

During the eight weeks, beginning with the eighth of August, and ending with October the tenth, when the mortality was at its greatest height, the number of deaths returned in the Bills of Mortality amounted to 59,870; of these, 49,705 were recorded under the head Plague.* It must be evident, however, from what has been said above, that nearly the whole of this melancholy aggregate ought to be referred to the infection, as the average of deaths from other causes would not have amounted to 2300 within the time mentioned. The entire number returned in the Bills, as having died of the Plague within the year, was 68,590; yet there can be no doubt that this total was exceeded by many thousands who fell by the infection, but whose deaths were not officially recorded. "I saw, under the hand of one," says De Foe, "that made as strict an examination as he could, that there really died 100,000 people of the Plague, in that one year; and if I may be allowed to give my opinion of what I saw with my eyes, and heard from other people that were eye-witnesses,

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* The numbers of deaths, returned in the Bills for these weeks were as follow:—

	Died of all Diseases.	*Of the Plague.*
From Aug. the 8th to Aug. the 15th	5319	3880
15th to the 22nd	5568	4237
22nd 29th	7496	6102
29th to Sept. the 5th	8252	6988
Sept. the 5th to the 12th	7690	6544
12th 19th	8297	7165
19th 26th	6460	5533
26th to Oct. the 3rd	5720	4929
Oct. 3rd to the 10th	5068	4227
	59,870	49,605

eye-witnesses, I do verily believe that there died, at least, 100,000 of the Plague only, besides other distempers, and besides those which died in the fields, and highways, and secret places, out of the compass of the communication, as it was called; and who were not put down in the Bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor despairing creatures who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid, or melancholy, by their misery, as many were, wandered away into the fields and woods, and into several uncouth places, almost any where, to creep into a bush, or hedge, and *die*."* The whole number of deaths within the year, as given in the Bills, was 97,306.

During the violence of the Pestilence, vast sums were contributed towards the relief of the poor, by the benevolent in all parts of England; and many thousand pounds were also disbursed by the City, for the like purpose. That nothing might be wanting to promote the general good, the College of Physicians composed a set of 'Directions' for the proper treatment of the disease in its different states; and this was published and distributed gratuitously.

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* Jour. p. 116. "The number of those miserable objects was great.—The country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then with long poles, and hooks at the ends of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in from as far as they could cast it, to cover them; taking notice how the wind blew, and so coming on that side which the seamen call to *windward*, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them: and thus great numbers went out of the world, who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the Bills of Mortality, as without." *Ibid.*

Among the Orders issued by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were the following:—"That the burial of the dead, by this visitation, be at the most convenient hours, always either before sun-rising, or after sun-setting, with the privity of the church-wardens, or constable, and not otherwise; and that no neighbours nor friends be suffered to accompany the corps to church, or to enter the house visited, upon pain of having his house shut up, or be imprisoned. And that no corps dying of infection shall be buried, or remain in any church in time of common prayer, sermon, or lecture; and that no children be suffered at any time of burial of any corps, in any church, church-yard, or burying-place, to come near the corps, coffin, or grave. And that all the graves shall be at least six feet deep." It was ordered likewise that neither 'hogs, dogs, cats, tame pigeons, nor conies,' should be kept within the City; and that "the dogs be killed by the dog-killers appointed for that purpose."

Numerous lives were preserved by means of the shipping on the river Thames, which lying in rows, two and two, extended from the Pool to Long Reach; in some parts forming a double and a triple line. Into these the infection did not reach, excepting in some few instances immediately contiguous to London, where due precaution in obtaining necessaries had not been exercised. Many of the watermen also took their whole families into their boats and small craft, and moved up the river, where they continued till the Plague subsided; lying on each side the stream close to the shore, or in small huts or tents set up in convenient places. In the whole, upwards of 10,000 persons are estimated as having been thus secured from the contagion. The delivery of corn and coals, at Bear Quay, and the contiguous wharfs, was subjected to such judicious regulations by the care of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, that the traders brought up their vessels with full confidence of safety; through which means the Metropolis was always well supplied with corn, and generally with coal.*

The general manner in which the pestilence affected its victims, was by fevers, vomiting, head-ach, pains in the back, and tumours, or swellings in the neck, groin, and arm-pits, accompanied by inflammation and gangrene. In the height of the disease, the deaths occurred within two or three days after the patient was taken ill; and sometimes within three, four, or six hours, where the Plague spots, or *tokens*, as they were called, had shewn themselves without previous illness. In a few instances, the same persons had the distemper twice. The violence of the pain arising from the swellings frequently occasioned delirium; and where the tumours could not be maturated, death was inevitable. In the milder stages of the contagion the deaths did not occur for eight or ten days; and when the disease was subsiding, the patient was relieved by profuse sweats, and the swellings dispersed or broke, without exciting that insufferable torment which had proved so destructive.*

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* For a short time during this calamity, coals were extremely dear, the chaldron rising to 4l. It was probably on this occasion that the Common-Council, in order to defeat the combination of dealers, and "for the benefit and relief of the Poor in times of dearth and scarcity," &c. made an Act, by which the City-Companies were ordered to purchase and lay up, yearly, between Lady-day and Michaelmas, 7510 chaldrons of coals, that the same might be vended, in dear times, at such prices as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen should direct; so that the same should not be sold to loss. The number of chaldrons to be purchased by each Company is particularly mentioned in the Act, which bears date on the first of June, 1665. *Mait. Lond.* Vol. I. p. 431-2. Edit. 1756.

The stoppage of the Plague, after all human efforts had been tried as it were, with only partial success, was by many regarded as supernatural. De Foe was of this opinion, and he uses language particularly strong in expressing it. "*Nothing*," he says, "*but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent Power could have put a stop to the infection.* The contagion despised all medicine: death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all, and of every thing that had a soul. Man every where began to despair, every heart failed them for fear: people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in every countenance."* Again, "It was evidently stayed by the secret invisible hand of Him that had at first sent this disease as a judgment upon us; and let the atheistic part of mankind call my saying what they please, it is no enthusiasm;

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* Among the *Anecdotes* connected with the Plague, most persons have heard the story of the 'Blind Piper,' who having been taken up in the streets when stupidly intoxicated, was thrown into a Dead-cart, but coming to himself whilst in the cart, he "set up his pipes," which affrighting the Buryers, they all ran away. De Foe relates the tale differently. He says the circumstance occurred within the bounds of "one John Hayward," who was Under-sexton (all the time of the Plague) of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, without ever catching the infection. "This John told me," says our author, "that the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor man, and usually walked his rounds about ten o'clock at night, and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public-houses, where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he, in return, would pipe and sing, and talk simply, which diverted the people, and thus he lived. During the Plague, the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when any body asked how he did, he would answer, 'the Dead-cart had not taken him yet, but had promised to call for him next week.' It happened, one night, that this poor fellow" having been feasted more bountifully than common, fell fast asleep, "and was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, in the street near London Wall, towards

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towards Cripplegate, and, that upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some house hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body, really dead of the Plague, just by him, thinking too, that this poor fellow had been a dead body as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

"Accordingly, when John Hayward, with his bell and the cart, came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instruments they used, and threw them into the cart, and all this while the Piper slept soundly. From hence they passed along, and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart, yet all this while he slept soundly. At length the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mount Mill, and as the cart usually stopt some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped, the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when raising himself up in the cart, he called out '*Hey! Where am I?*' This frighted the fellow that attended about the work; but, after some pause, John Hayward recovering himself, said, 'Lord, bless us! there's somebody in the cart not quite dead.' So another called to him, and said, 'Who are you?' The fellow answered, 'I am the poor Piper. Where am I?' 'Where are you?' says Hayward, 'Why, you are in the Dead-cart, and we are a-going to bury you.' 'But I an't dead tho', am I?' says the Piper; which made them laugh a little, tho', as John said, they were heartily frighted at first: so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business." *Jour.* p. 106, 107.

* Jour. p. 282.

siasm; it was acknowledged at that time by all mankind. Those physicians who had the least share of religion in them were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it!"*

Whatever deference may be given to the idea of an immediate interposition of Providence, the alteration of the weather in September was doubtless a principal means by which the spreading of the Pestilence was arrested. Echard, whose authority was Dr. Baynard, "an ingenious and learned physician," speaking of the state of the seasons whilst the infection raged, says, that 'there was such a general calm and serenity of weather, as if both wind and rain had been expelled the kingdom, and for many weeks together he could not discover the least breath of wind, not even so much as would move a fane.' That 'the fires in the streets with great difficulty were made to burn;' and that by the extreme rarefaction of the air, the birds did pant for breath, especially those of the larger sort, who were likewise observed to fly more heavily than usual.'†

The *Dead-Carts*, as they were emphatically called, appear to have been first employed about the month of July, when all the common ceremonies of interment were obliged to be dispensed with, through the dreadful augmentation in the number of the deceased. These carts were not confined to any particular parish or district, but went their rounds nightly to collect the dead wherever their service was required; and when, in the opinion of the 'Buryers,' a sufficient load was heaped up, such load was drawn to the most convenient or nearest pit, and there thrown in as hastily as possible; sometimes immediately from the cart; and sometimes by means of long hooks, made like a shepherd's crook, with which the bodies were dragged out. From the narrow lanes and alleys, where the carts could not enter, the bodies were carried to the carts on a kind of hand-barrow; by the Buryers, whose chief precaution against catching the infection themselves, was the free use of rue, garlic, tobacco, and vinegar. These, however, were ineffectual preservatives in most instances, yet the extreme misery and want that reigned among the poor, produced a constant succession of persons ready to undertake the dangerous office; but to see this executed effectually required all the watchfulness of the Magistrates.

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* Jour. p. 284.

† Hist. of Eng.—It should be remarked, that De Foe's statement differs essentially from this. He says, that "after a hard frost, which lasted from December almost to March, came moderate weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing winds, and in short, very seasonable weather; and also several very great rains." *Jour.* p. 30.

The many thousands that were thrown out of employ at this calamitous period, by the total stoppage of all trade, and of every kind of manufacture, rendered the preservation of public order a concern of the greatest difficulty. At one time, indeed, when the contagion was approaching its zenith, the strongest apprehensions were entertained lest the populace should break out in general tumult, for, in the desperation of the moment, even this had been threatened. The consummation of horror which such an event must have produced, was warded off by the prudent conduct of the Magistracy, in supplying the wants of the most necessitous and desperate; yet, says De Foe, "though the good management of the Lord Mayor and Justices did much, the Dead-carts did more." The Pestilence extended its ravages, and whole multitudes of the poor were swept away together.

Among the employments which the Plague itself furnished, was that of watching the houses shut up by authority, the inhabitants of which were not allowed any kind of communication whatever, but through the watchmen, who relieved each other every twelve hours, and whose duty it was to procure provisions, and other necessaries, for the houses they were appointed to guard. This was a business of much danger, not only from the chance of infection, but likewise from the occasional desperation of those who were confined, and who, made frantic by disease or anguish, would rush into the streets in defiance of all opposition. Instances were not wanting also, in which the watchmen were killed in preventing the escape of individuals,

viduals, or families; and many more occurred wherein every person, in an infected house, but the immediate sufferers, found means of getting away, notwithstanding all the vigilance that could be exercised. The difficulty of prevention, indeed, may be easily conceived, when it is mentioned that more than 10,000 houses are supposed to have been shut up at one time. The female poor, a very large class of which consisted of servants, who had been discharged almost as soon as the Plague began to spread, suffered extremely; many were employed as nurses, and in other capacities about the sick, "and this took off a very great number of them."

Every possible exertion was made by the Magistracy to secure a regular supply of food, and to the honour of all concerned, this was effectually accomplished, with scarcely any advance of prices. For the security of the country dealers, whom apprehension might otherwise have kept from bringing their provisions to town, new markets were established on the outskirts of the Metropolis, and proper regulations made to ensure the safety of those who attended them.* In the distribution of necessaries to the

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* Either the Lord Mayor, or one or both of the Sheriffs, were, every market-day, on horseback to see these orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets and going back again; and that no nuisances nor frightful objects should be seen in the streets to terrify them, or make them unwilling to come. "It was, indeed, one admirable piece of conduct in the said Magistrates, that the streets were kept constantly clear, and free from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant, unless where any body fell down suddenly, or died in the streets, and these were generally covered with some cloth or blanket, or removed into the next church-yard till night. All the needful works that carried terror with them, that were both dismal and dangerous, were done in the night; if any deceased bodies were removed, or dead bodies buried, or infected clothes burnt, it was done in the night, and every thing was covered and closed before day. So that in the day-time, there was "seldom," any other signal of the calamity to be seen or heard, except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, and, sometimes,

the houses that were shut up, every care was taken to alleviate misery. To the necessitous both food and medicine were furnished gratuitously, and the Aldermen frequently rode through the streets on horseback to enquire whether the wants of the people in the shut up houses were duly supplied by the officers appointed for the purpose.

The purchase of provisions was a concern of much danger, as it very frequently brought the healthy into immediate contact with the infected. " It is true," De Foe remarks, " that people used all possible precaution; and when any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not receive it from the butcher, but took it off the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer always carried small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were used:—but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards."*

In the delirium which the pain of the disorder often produced, many committed suicide, chiefly by drowning; many also died of mere fright, and others of anguish of mind, at the loss of their dearest relatives. Child-bed women suffered particularly, the number of those who died in the course of the year amounting to more than three times as many as were returned in the Bills during the preceding twelvemonth.

The stoppage of public business, in the height of the contagion, was so complete, that grass grew within the very area of the Exchange, and even in the principal streets of the City. All the Inns of Court were shut up, and all law proceedings suspended.

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sometimes, from the passionate exclamations and lamentations of the people, out at their windows, and from the number of houses and shops shut up." *De Foe's Jour.* p. 113, 114.

* Jour. p. 93.

ed. Neither cart nor coach was to be seen from morning till night, excepting those employed in the conveyance of provisions, in the carriage of the infected to the Pest-houses, or other hospitals, and a few coaches used by the physicians.* The Pest-houses, of which there were only two, were situated in Bunhill Fields, near Old Street, and in Tothill Fields, Westminster. These were found to be of the greatest utility, yet the hurry and multiplicity of cases which the rapid increase of the Pestilence occasioned, prevented the establishing of any more.

The apprehensions of the people during the early stages of the calamity were highly excited by the predictions of 'sooth-sayers and astrologers,' and, for a time, they furnished a rich harvest to the multitude of fortune-tellers, cunning-men, and cheating quacks, that infested the town. Their voice was, however, silenced by the progress of the Pestilence; and the expounders of oracles, and the possessors of infallible recipes, were alike swept away with the mass of those upon whom they had imposed. With the ignorant every unusual occurrence in the Heavens was tortured into a prodigy, and the appearance of a comet was regarded as a dire portent. This state of the public feeling was much aggravated by different publications affecting to disclose future events; and by the conduct of several visionary enthusiasts, who, with frantic gestures, and at different times, ran wildly through the streets, denouncing destruction to the whole City.† So strongly were the populace impressed with the belief of a continual occurrence of wonders, that mobs were often formed in different

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* Jour. p. 118.

† One of these unhappy maniacs is described, by De Foe, as going about naked, excepting a pair of drawers, crying day and night—*O! the great and the dreadful God!*—He "repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance; at least, that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoken to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, nor any one else, but held on his dismal cries continually." *Jour.* p. 26.

quarters, to listen to the wild ravings of some lunatic, who, in describing the morbid hallucinations of his own brain, pretended to be descanting on the prodigies which were then apparent to vision in the air.*

During the heat of the infection, many Presbyterians and other Dissenting Ministers, officiated in the regular Churches, either in the absence, or on the death, of the proper incumbents; yet their zeal was not requited by any remission of the penal clauses in the Act of Uniformity, and when the Pestilence was over they were again forced into retirement. Indeed, a still more severe Act was passed against them by the Parliament, which assembled at Oxford in October, by which "all Dissenting Ministers were required to take oath, that it was not lawful, *on any pretence whatsoever*, to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him; and that they would not, at any time, attempt an alteration in the government either of the Church or State: such as refused this were not to come within five miles of any

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* In Lilly's 'Astrologicall Prediction,' published in 1648, is *an astrologicall Judgement of the conjunction of Saturn and Mars*, wherein occurs the following remarkable passage, the full value of which the believers in Astrology will doubtless appreciate. "In the year 1656," says our author, "the *Aphelium* of Mars, who is the generall significator of England, will be in *Virgo*, which is assuredly the ascendant of the English *Monarchy*, but *Aries* of the Kingdom: When this *Absis* therefore of Mars, shall appear in Virgo, who shall expect less than a strange *Catastrophe* of human affairs in this Commonwealth, Monarchy, and Kingdom of England?—There will then, either in or about those times, or neer that year, or within *ten years* more or lesse of that time, or within a little time after, appear in this Kingdom so strange a Revolution of fate, so grand a Catastrophe, and great mutation unto this Monarchy and Government, as never yet appeared; of which, as the times now stand, I have no liberty or encouragement to deliver any opinion: Only it will be *ominous* to *London*, *unto her merchants at sea, to her traffique at land, to her poor, to her rich, to all sorts of people inhabiting in her, or her Liberties, by reason of sundry Fires and a consuming Plague*," &c. Astro. Predic. p. 41. The notable indecision with which Lilly has marked the *time* for the occurrence of these events, will not escape the attention of the intelligent reader.

City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had served."*

Since this dreadful period, the Plague has entirely ceased in London; a circumstance that must be regarded as the more remarkable, when reference is made to the yearly Bills of Mortality for nearly all the preceding part of the century. It will be seen from them, that scarcely a year passed without some persons or other falling victims to the infection; and that, in 1609, and 1747, the numbers were respectively as high as 4240, and 3597; without distinguishing those years when the Pestilence raged with great violence.†

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* Bur. Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 224.

† The returns of the numbers that fell by the Plague, as given in the Bills of Mortality, from the year 1603 to 1665, are as follow:—

Years.	*Died of the Plague.*	*Years.*	*Died of the Plague.*	*Years.*	*Died of the Plague.*
1603	30,561	1624	0	1645	1871
1604	896	1625	35,417	1646	2365
1605	444	1626	134	1647	3597
1606	1224	1627	4	1648	611
1607	2352	1628	3	1649	67
1608	2262	1629	0	1650	15
1609	4240	1630	1317	1651	23
1610	1803	1631	274	1652	16
1611	627	1632	8	1653	6
1612	64	1633	0	1654	16
1613	16	1634	1	1655	9
1614	22	1635	0	1656	6
1615	37	1636	10,400	1657	4
1616	9	1637	3082	1658	14
1617	6	1638	363	1659	36
1618	18	1639	314	1660	13
1619	9	1640	1450	1661	20
1620	2	1641	1375	1662	0
1621	11	1642	1274	1663	0
1622	16	1643	996	1664	2
1623	17	1644	1492	1665	68,590

The improved healthfulness of the Metropolis must be ascribed principally to the alterations that were made in the widths of the streets, lanes, and other passages, in consequence of the great Fire of 1666; to the improved and more open modes of building, by which a free circulation of air was secured; and to the greater cleanliness resulting from the constant supplies of water for domestic purposes, by means of the New River.

In April, 1666, John Rathbone, an old army-colonel, with seven others, "formerly officers or soldiers in the late Rebellion," were convicted and executed for High Treason, in forming a plan for surprizing the Tower and the King's Guard, killing the Lord-General and other persons, and setting fire to the City, "the better to effect their hellish designs."* The third of September "was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lillie's Almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfal of Monarchy."†

The most important event, perhaps, that ever happened in this Metropolis, whether it be considered in reference to its immediate effects, or to its remote consequences, was the GREAT FIRE of 1666; which broke out on the morning of Sunday, September the second, and, being impelled by strong winds, raged with irresistible fury nearly four days and nights, nor was it entirely mastered till the fifth morning after it began.‡

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* Lond. Gaz. 30th April. † Ibid.

‡ The following is the official account, as given in the London Gazette of September the tenth:—

"*Whitehall*, September 8.

"On the second instant, at one o'clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable FIRE in *Pudding Lane*, near New Fish Street; which, falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitch'd houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such destruction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, This most destructive conflagration commenced at the house of one Farryner, a Baker, in Pudding Lane, near New Fish Street Hill, and within ten houses of Thames Street, into which it spread within a few hours; nearly all the contiguous buildings being

it, by pulling down houses, as it ought to have been; so that this lamentable Fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following; [the Fire] spreading itself up to *Grace-Church Street*, and downwards from Cannon Street to the waterside, as far as the *Three Cranes* in the Vintry.

" The people in all parts about it, [were] distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods: many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals; but all in vain, the Fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday; notwithstanding his Majesty's own, and his Royal Highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein; for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

" By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with the brick buildings at the *Temple*, by little and little, it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his Royal Highness, never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the Lords of the Council, before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the *Temple Church*, near *Holborn Bridge*, *Pye Corner*, *Aldersgate*, *Cripplegate*, near the lower end of *Coleman Street*, at the end of *Basinghall Street*, by the postern at the upper end of *Bishopsgate Street* and *Leadenhall Street*, at the Standard in *Cornhill*, at the Church in *Fenchurch Street*, near *Clothworker's Hall*, in *Mincing Lane*, at the middle of *Mark Lane*, and at the *Tower Dock*.

" On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished, but so as that evening, it unhappily burst out again at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks, as is supposed, upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his Royal Highness, who watched there that whole

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being of timber, lath and plaister, and the whole neighbourhood presenting little else than closely confined passages and narrow alleys. "It began," says a contemporary writer, "in a heap of bavins, and had gotten some strength ere discovered, yet [that discovery was made] seasonably enough to allow a merchant, who dwelt next door, to remove all his goods; but as soon as it felt the violent impressions of a strong east-north-east wind, leaving a small force to finish the conquest of the house where it received its birth, it immediately directed its greatest strength against the adjacent ones. It quickly grew powerful enough to despise the use of buckets, and was too advantageously seated among narrow streets to be assaulted by engines: it was therefore proposed to the Lord Mayor, [Sir Thomas Bludworth,] who came before three o'clock, to pull down some houses to prevent its spreading; but he, with a pish, answering, that 'a woman might

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night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

"Divers strangers, *French* and *Dutch*, were, during the Fire, apprehended upon suspicion that they contributed mischievously to it, who were all imprisoned, and informations prepared to make a severe inquisition thereupon by my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, assisted by some of the Lords of the Privy Council, and some of the principal Members of the City; notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forward in all its way by strong winds, make us conclude the whole was the effect of an unhappy chance, or, to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, shewing us the terror of his judgments, in thus raising the Fire; and, immediately after, his miraculous and never-enough to be acknowledged mercy in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the preventing it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient.

"His Majesty then sat hourly in Council; and, ever since, hath continued making rounds about the City, in all parts of it, where the danger and mischief was greatest, till this morning, when he hath sent his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance."

might piss it out,' neglected that prudent advice, and was not long ere undeceived of the foolish confidence: for, before eight o'clock, it had gotten to the Bridge, and there dividing, left enough to burn down all that had been erected on it since the last great fire in 1633, and, with the main body, pressed forward into Thames Street."*

Lord Clarendon, whose narrative account of the Fire has been published in his own History of his Life, says, that "on finding such store of combustible materials as Thames Street is always furnished with in timber houses, the Fire prevailed so powerfully that few persons had time to save any of their goods, but were a heap of people almost as dead with the sudden destruction as the ruins were which they sustained; and though it raged furiously that day, to that degree that all men stood amazed as spectators only, no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the Magistrates what orders to give, yet it kept within some compass, burned what was next, and laid hold only on both sides."†

At this time the greatest apprehensions were entertained that the Tower would fall a prey to the flames, and every attention was paid to secure its safety, by pulling down houses within its walls, and other measures: "But in the night the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence; yet with so great and irresistible violence, that it scattered the Fire from pursuing the line it was in with all its force, and spread it over the City; so that they who went late to bed, at a great distance from any place where the Fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame; and whilst endeavours were used to quench that, other houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the

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* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 74; from Manuscript Letters written by a resident in the Middle Temple, and lent to the author by the late Rich. Gough, Esq.

† Clar. Life, p. 348.

Fire could come, all which kindled another fire in the breasts of men, almost as dangerous as that within their houses.—

"The Fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the Fire supplying that of the sun. And, indeed, whoever was an eye-witness of that terrible prospect, can never have so lively an image of the Last Conflagration till he behold it; the faces of all people in a wonderful dejection and discomposure, not knowing where they could repose themselves for one hour's sleep, and no distance thought secure from the Fire, which suddenly started up, before it was suspected; so that people left their houses, and carried away their goods from many places which received no hurt, and whither they returned again; all the fields full of women and children, who had made a shift to bring thither some goods and conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any houses, where yet they felt such intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the middle of the Fire. The King and the Duke, who rode from one place to another, and put themselves into great dangers amongst the burning and falling houses, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meanest, and had as little sleep or rest; and the face of all men appeared ghastly, and in the highest confusion. The country sent in carts to help those miserable people who had saved any goods: and by this means, and the help of coaches, all the neighbouring villages were filled with more people than they could contain, and more goods than they could find room for; so that those fields became likewise as full as the others about London and Westminster.

"It was observed, that where the Fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings, if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted, that it made a much slower progress; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell down to the bottom within the house, and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making a farther progress in many of those places; and then the vacancy so interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houses stood without much damage. Besides the spreading, insomuch as all London seemed but one Fire in the breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full fury a direct line to the Thames side, all Cheapside, from beyond the Exchange, through Fleet-street; insomuch as for that breadth, taking in both sides as far as the Thames, there was scarce a house or church standing from the Bridge to Dorset House, which was burned on Tuesday night, after Baynard's Castle.

"On Wednesday morning, when the King saw that neither the Fire decreased nor the wind lessened, he even despaired of preserving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Westminster Abbey. But having observed, by his having visited all places, that where there were any vacant places between the houses, where the progress of the Fire was menacing, they changed its course, and went to the other side; he gave order for pulling down many houses about Whitehall, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice goods by water to Hampton Court; as most of the persons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river, got barges and other vessels, and sent their furniture for their houses to some houses some miles out of the town. And very many on both sides of the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houses into the streets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houses.

"But it pleased God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wednesday, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, the wind fell; and, as in an instant, the Fire decreased, having burnt all on the Thames side of the new buildings of the Inner Temple next to White Friars, and having consumed them, was stopped by that vacancy from proceeding farther into that house; but laid hold on some old buildings that joined to Ram Alley, and swept all those into Fleet Street. And the other side being likewise destroyed to Fetter Lane, it advanced no farther; but left the other part of Fleet Street to the Temple Bar, and all the Strand, unhurt, but what damage the owners of the houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other parts of the town near the same time. The greatest care then was, to keep good guards to watch the Fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again; and this was the better performed, because they who had yet their houses standing had not the courage to sleep, though they watched with much less distraction.—

"When the night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the consternation, the first care the King took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all places, that they who had saved themselves from burning, might not be in danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary care and diligence used, many would have perished that way. The vast destruction of corn, and other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the Fire prevailed, had not only left all those people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the bakers and brewers which inhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their houses, and carried away all that was portable: insomuch, as many days passed before they were enough in their wits and in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts of the town which God had spared and preserved, were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields; yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four-and-twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four days, in all the fields about the town, which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were burned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: all found shelter in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the City and in the suburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone: and very many, with more expedition than can be conceived; set up little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in those new buildings.—

"The Lord Mayor, though a very honest man, was much blamed for want of sagacity in the first night of the Fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object, pressed him very earnestly, 'that he would give order for the present pulling down those houses which were nearest, and by which the Fire climbed to go farther,' (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer than, 'that he durst not do it without the consent of the owners.' His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple, would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, 'because,' they said, 'it was against the law to break up any man's chamber!'*

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* Clar. Life, p. 355. The following equally interesting particulars of the progress of the Fire are extracted from the Rev. T. Vincent's "*God's Terrible Voice in the City.*"

"It was in the depth and dead of the night, when most doors and senses were locked up in the City, that the Fire doth break forth and appear abroad; and like a mighty gyant refresht with wine, doth awake and arm itself; quickly gathers strength, when it had made havock of some houses, rushed down the hill towards the Bridge, crosseth Thames Street, invadeth Magnus-church at the Bridge-foot, and though that Church was so great, yet it was not a sufficient barricado against this conqueror; but having scaled and taken this fort, it shooteth flames with so much greater advantage into all places round about, and a great building of houses upon the Bridge

The destructive fury of this conflagration was never, perhaps, exceeded in any part of the world, by any Fire originating in accident. Within the walls, it consumed almost five-sixths of the whole City; and without the walls, it cleared a space nearly as extensive

Bridge is quickly thrown to the ground. Then the conqueror being stayed in his course at the Bridge, marcheth backwards to the City again, and runs along with great noise and violence through Thames Street westward, where having such combustible matter in its teeth, and such a fierce wind upon its back, it prevails with little resistance, unto the astonishment of the beholders.

"That which made the ruin the more dismal was, that it was begun on the Lord's-day morning: never was there the like Sabbath in London; some Churches were in flames that day,—in others, Ministers were preaching their farewel sermons, and people were hearing with quaking and astonishment. Instead of a holy rest which Christians have taken on this day, there is a tumultuous hurrying about the streets towards the place that burned, and more tumultuous hurrying upon the spirits of those that sat still, and had only the notice of the ear of the quick and strange spreading of the Fire. Now the Train-bands are up in arms, watching at every quarter for outlandish men, because of the general fears and jealousies, and rumours that fire-balls were thrown into houses by several of them, to help on and provoke the too furious flames. Yet some hopes were entertained on the Lord's-day, that the Fire would be extinguished, especially by them who live in the remote parts; they could scarcely imagine that the Fire a mile off should be able to reach their houses.

"But the evening draws on, and now the Fire is more visible and dreadful: instead of the black curtains of the night which used to be spread over the City, now the curtains are yellow; the smoak that arose from the burning parts seemed like so much flame in the night, which being blown upon the other parts by the wind, the whole City at some distance seemed to be on fire. Now hopes begin to sink, and a general consternation seizeth upon the spirits of people: little sleep is taken in London this night; the amazement which the eye and ear doth affect upon the spirit, doth either dry up or drive away the vapour which used to bind up the senses. Some are at work to quench the Fire with water; others endeavour to stop its course by pulling down of houses: but all to no purpose; if it be a little allayed or beaten down, or put to a stand in some places, it is but a very little while; it quickly recruits, and recovers its force; it leaps extensive as the one-sixth part left unburnt within. Scarcely a single building that came within the range of the flames was left standing. Public buildings, churches, and dwelling houses were alike involved in one common fate; and, making a proper allowance

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leaps and mounts, and makes more furious onset, drives back its opposers, snatcheth their weapons out of their hands, seizeth upon the water, houses, and engines, burns them, spoils them, and makes them unfit for service.

"On the Lord's-day night the Fire had run as far as Garlick-hythe in Thames Street, and had crept up into Cannon Street, and levelled it with the ground, and still is making forward by the water-side, and upward to the brow of the hill on which the City was built.

"On Monday, Gracechurch Street is all in flames, with Lombard Street on the left-hand, and part of Fenchurch Street on the right, the Fire working, though not so fast, against the wind that way: before it were pleasant and stately houses, behind it ruinous and desolate heaps. The burning then was in fashion of a bow; a dreadful bow it was, such as mine eyes never before had seen: a bow which had God's arrow in it with a flaming point: it was a shining bow, not like that in the cloud, which brings water with it, and withal signifies God's covenant not to destroy the world any more with water; but it was a bow which had fire in it, which signified God's anger, and his intention to destroy London with fire.

"Now the flames break in upon Cornhill, that large and spacious street, and quickly cross the way by the train of wood that lay in the streets untaken away, which had been pulled down from the houses to prevent its spreading, and so they lick the whole street as they go; they mount up to the top of the highest houses; they descend down to the bottom of the lowest vaults and cellars; and march along on both sides of the way, with such a roaring noise as never was heard in the City of London. No stately building so great as to resist their fury: the Royal Exchange itself, the glory of the merchants, is now invaded with much violence. When the Fire was entered, how quickly did it run round the galleries, filling them with flames: then descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filling the court with sheets of fire; by and by the kings fell all down upon their faces, and the greatest part of the stone building after them (the founder's statue only remaining), with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing.

"Then, then the City did shake indeed; and the inhabitants did tremble, and flew away in great amazement from their houses, lest the flames should devour ance for irregularities, it may be fairly stated, that the Fire extended its ravages over a space of ground equal to an oblong square, measuring upwards of a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth.

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devour them: rattle, rattle, rattle, was the noise which the Fire struck upon the ear round about, as if there had been a thousand iron chariots beating upon the stones; and if you opened your eye to the opening of the streets where the Fire was come, you might see, in some places, whole streets at once in flames, that issued forth, as if they had been so many great forges, from the opposite windows, which folding together, united into one great flame throughout the whole street; and then you might see the houses tumble, tumble, tumble, from one end of the street to the other, with a great crash, leaving the foundations open to the view of the Heavens.

"Now fearfulness and terror doth surprize the Citizens of London; confusion and astonishment doth fall upon them at this unheard-of, unthought-of judgment. It would have grieved the heart of an unconcerned person, to see the rueful looks, the pale cheeks; the tears trickling down from the eyes (where the greatness of sorrow and amazement could give leave for such a vent,) the smiting of the breast, the wringing of the hands; to hear the sighs and groans, the doleful weeping speeches of the distressed Citizens, when they were bringing forth their wives, (some from their child-bed,) and their little ones, (some from their sick-bed,) out of their houses, and sending them into the country, or somewhere into the fields, with their goods. Now the hopes of London are gone, their hearts are sunk: Now there is a general remove in the City, and that in a greater hurry than before the Plague; their goods being in greater danger by the Fire, than their persons were by the sickness. Scarcely are some returned but they must remove again, and not as before; now, without any more hopes of ever returning and living in those houses any more.

"Now carts, and drays, and coaches, and horses, as many as could have entrance into the City, were loaden; and any money is given for help. 5l. 10l. 20l. 30l. for a cart, to bear forth into the fields some choice things which were ready to be consumed. Now casks of wine and oil, and other commodities, are tumbled along, and the owners shove as much of their goods as they can towards the gates: every one now becomes a porter to himself; and scarcely a back, either of man or woman, that hath strength, but had a burden on it in the street. It was very sad to see

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In the summary account of this vast devastation given in one of the inscriptions on the Monument, and which was drawn up from the reports of the surveyors appointed after the Fire, it is stated, that 'The ruins of the City were 436 acres; [viz. 373

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acres

such throngs of poor Citizens coming in and going forth from the unburnt parts, heavy loaden with some pieces of their goods, but more heavy loaden with weighty grief and sorrow at heart, so that it is wonderful they did not quite sink under these burdens.

"Monday night was a dreadful night;—for the Fire now shines round about with a fearful blaze, which yielded such light in the streets, as it had been the sun at noon-day. Now the Fire having wrought backward strangely against the wind to Billingsgate, &c. along Thames Street eastward, runs up the hill to Tower Street, and having marched on from Gracechurch Street, making further progress in Fenchurch Street, and having spread its wing beyond Queenhithe, in Thames Street westward, mounts up from the water-side through Dowgate and Old Fish Street into Watling Street. But the great fury of the Fire was in the broader streets: in the midst of the night it was come down Cornhill, and laid it in the dust, and runs along by the Stocks, and there meets with another Fire, which came down Threadneedle Street; a little further with another, which came up from Walbrook; a little further with another, which comes up from Bucklersbury; and all these four joining together, break into one great flame at the corner of Cheapside, with such a dazzling light and burning heat, and roaring noise by the fall of so many houses together, that was very amazing: and though it was something stopt in its swift course at Mercer's Chapel, yet, with great force, in a while it conquers the place, and burns through it, and then with great rage proceedeth forward in Cheapside.

"On Tuesday was the Fire burning up the very bowels of London. Cheapside is all in a light fire in a few hours' time, many fires meeting there as in the centre. From Soper Lane, Bow Lane, Bread Street, Friday Street, and Old Change, the Fire comes up almost together, and breaks furiously into the broad street; and most of that side of the way was together in flames, a dreadful spectacle! And then, partly by the Fire which came down by Mercer's Chapel, partly by the fall of the houses cross the way, the other side is quickly kindled, and doth not long stand after it. Now the Fire gets into Blackfryers, and so continues its course by the water, and makes up towards Paul's Church on that side, and

Cheapside

acres within the walls, and sixty-three in the Liberties of the City;] that, of the six and twenty Wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt; and that it consumed 400 Streets, 13,200 Dwelling-houses, eighty-nine Churches,

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Cheapside Fire besets the great building on this side; and the Church, though all of stone outward, though naked of houses about it, and though so high above all buildings in the City, yet, within a while, doth yield to the violent assaults of the conquering flames, and strangely takes fire at the top: now the lead melts and runs down, as if it had been snow before the sun; and the great beams and massy stones, with a great noise, fall on the pavement, and break through into Faith Church underneath, and great flakes of stone scale and peel off strangely from the side of the walls. The conqueror having got this high fort, darts its flames round about; now Pater-noster Row, Newgate Market, the Old Bailey, and Ludgate Hill, have submitted themselves to the devouring Fire, which, with wonderful speed, rusheth down the hill into Fleet Street. Now Cheapside fire marcheth along Ironmonger Lane, Old Jewry, Lawrence Lane, Milk Street, Wood Street, Gutter Lane, Foster Lane; and now it runs along Lothbury, Cateaton Street, &c. From Newgate Market, it assaults Christ Church, and conquers that great building, and burns through Martin's Lane towards Aldersgate, and all about, so furiously as if it would not leave a house standing upon the ground.

" Now horrible flakes of fire mount up to the sky, and the yellow smoke of London ascendeth up towards Heaven, like the smoke of a great furnace, a smoke so great, as darkened the sun at noon-day; if at any time the sun peeped forth, it looked red like blood. The cloud of smoke was so great, that travellers did ride at noon-day some miles together in the shadow thereof, though there were no other cloud beside to be seen in the sky.

" And if Monday night was dreadful, Tuesday night was more dreadful, when far the greatest part of the City was consumed: many thousands who, on Saturday, had houses convenient in the City, both for themselves, and to entertain others, now have not where to lay their heads, and the fields are the only receptacle which they can find for themselves and their goods: Most of the late inhabitants of London lie all night in the open air, with no other canopy over them but that of the Heavens. The Fire is still making towards them, and threateneth the Suburbs; it was amazing to see how it had spread itself several miles in compass: and amongst other things that night, the sight of Guildhall was a fearful spectacle, Churches, [besides Chapels; four of] the City-gates, Guildhall, many Public-structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, and a vast number of Stately Edifices.'

The immense property destroyed in this dreadful time could

tacle, which stood the whole body of it together in view, for several hours together, after the Fire had taken it, without flames, (I suppose, because the timber was such solid oak) in a bright shining coal, as if it had been a palace of gold, or a great building of burnished brass.

"On Wednesday morning, when people expected that the Suburbs would be burnt as well as the City, and with speed were preparing their flight as fast as they could, with their luggage, into the countries and neighbouring villages; then the Lord hath pity on poor London, and he 'stays his rough wind in the day of the East-wind;' his fury begins to be allayed, he hath a remnant of people in London, and there shall a remnant of houses escape. The wind now is husht, the commission of the Fire is withdrawing, and it burns so gently, even where it meets with no opposition, that it was not hard to be quenched, in many places with a few hands: now the Citizens begin to gather a little heart, and encouragement in their endeavours to quench the Fire. A check it had at Leadenhall, by that great building; a stop it had in Bishopsgate Street, Fenchurch Street, Lime Street, Mark Lane, and towards the Tower: one means, under God, was the blowing up of houses with gunpowder. Now it is stayed in Lothbury, Bread Street, Coleman Street; towards the Gates it burnt, but not with any great violence: at the Temple, also, it is stayed, and in Holborn, where it had got no great footing; and when once the Fire was got under it was kept under; and, on Thursday, the flames were extinguished.

"But, on Wednesday night, when the people, late of London, now in the fields, hoped to get a little rest upon the ground, where they had spread their beds, a more dreadful fear falls upon them than they had before; through a rumour that the French were coming armed against them to cut their throats, and spoil them of what they had saved out of the Fire. They were now naked and weak, and in ill condition to defend themselves, and the hearts, especially of the females, do quake and tremble, and are ready to die within them; yet many Citizens, having lost their houses, and almost all they had, are fired with rage and fury, and they begin to stir up themselves like lions, or like bears bereaved of their whelps, and now arm, arm, arm, doth resound the fields and Suburbs with a great noise. We may guess at the distress and perplexity of the people this night, which was somewhat alleviated when the falseness of the alarm was perceived."

never be properly calculated. Lord Clarendon says, "The value or estimate of what that devouring Fire consumed, could never be computed in any degree: for besides that on the first night, which swept away the vast wealth of Thames Street, there was not any thing that could be preserved in respect to the suddenness and amazement, all people being in their beds till the Fire was in their houses, and so could save nothing but themselves; the next day, with the violence of the wind, the destruction increased; nor did many believe that the Fire was near them, or that they had reason to remove their goods, till it was upon them and rendered it impossible."*

In a curious Pamphlet, concerning the Fire, which has been reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany,† is the following estimation of the value of the property destroyed. "The City, within the walls, being seated on about 460 acres, wherein were built about 15,000 Houses, besides Churches, Chapels, Schools, Halls, &c. 12,000 Houses were thought to be burnt, which is four parts in five, each house being valued, one with another, at 25l. per ann. rent, this, at twelve years purchase, makes 300l. the whole amounting to 3,600,000l. Eighty-seven Parochial Churches, besides St. Paul's Cathedral, the Exchange, Guildhall, the Custom House, Companies Halls, and other Public Buildings, amounting to half as much, that is, 1,800,000l. The goods that every private man lost, one with another, valued at half the value of the houses, 1,800,000l. About twenty wharfs of coal and wood, valued at 1000l. a-piece, 20,000l. About 100,000 boats and barges; and 1000 cart loads, with porters, to remove the goods to and fro, as well for the houses that were burning as for those that stood in fear of it, at 20s. per load, 150,000l. In all, 7,370,000l." This calculation, in all probability, does not by any means approach to the extent of the loss. The City, properly so called, was, at that period, even more than at present, the very centre of trade, manufactures, and commerce, and in the confusion which was excited by the rapid progress of the flames, but comparatively few goods were preserved. The avenues of escape were, at times, completely choaked up, through the eagerness of the people to save every one their own; and "one while the gates were shut, that no hopes of saving any thing being left, [the people] might more desperately endeavour the quenching the Fire, but that was presently found in vain, and occasioned the loss of much goods."* The loss of merchandize was immense; and the houses of "very many of the substantial Citizens and other wealthy men, who were in the country," were

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* Clar. Life, p. 355.

† Vol. III. p. 282.

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* Mal. Lond. Red. Vol. IV. p. 79. The writer continues, "Should I undertake a description of the general confusion and astonishment, I cannot promise myself any probability of perfecting it. One may easily imagine every one running up and down, some removing their goods ready to be devoured; others more wise, or fearful, removed two days before they were in danger: Some removed four or five times; others carried their goods into the fields, where they lay by them many nights. Divers at Westminster had removed; and some of the best moveables at Whitehall were carried away. Carts came in from the country: coaches were employed. Carmen got excessively; receiving usually for small turns between the rates of 10s. and 5l.; nay, some were offered 40l. and 50l. for a turn. Some pressed carts; others, for want of them, lost all; and, sometimes, their numerousness would hinder one the other. All was in a hurry: and that which heightened it was, a confidence among the most that it was a design of our enemies. We had a hundred stories of people taken with fire-balls, and others endeavouring with matches to fire other places; so that none knew where to be secure. The belief of this had kindled such a rage in the multitude, that they killed one poor woman who had something in her apron they imagined to be fire-balls; and sadly wounded and maimed divers others, especially French and Dutch, whose very birth was enough to condemn them: and an honest Dutch baker, at Westminster, had a good part of his house pulled down, upon a surmise that he had endeavoured to set it on fire. It was nothing but the effects of a good government in this City that preserved all of those nations from a massacre. The prisoners for debt, in the Fleet, Ludgate, and Counter, were permitted to go out, but those in the gaol at Newgate were sent with a guard to that in Southwark, but not strong enough to hinder the most notorious from escaping by the way." *Ibid.*

were wholly destroyed, with all that they contained. "And of this class of absent men, when the Fire came where the Lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Serjeants Inn, in Fleet Street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White Friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained who was in town: so that whatsoever was there, their money, books, and papers, besides the evidences of many mens' estates, deposited in their hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great value."*

Lord Clarendon says, that the loss sustained by the Stationers' Company "in books, paper, and other lesser commodities which are vendible in that corporation, was, and might rationally be, computed at no less than 200,000l."†—"and if," he afterwards proceeds, "so vast a damage befel that little Company in books and paper, and the like, what shall we conceive we lost in cloth, (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell Hall, against Michaelmas, which was also burned with that fair structure,) in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures. Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels." When all the circumstances are considered, it can hardly be doubted but that the value of the property destroyed amounted to the vast sum of 10,000,000l. sterling.

The great loss sustained by the Stationers and Booksellers was attended by some remarkable circumstances. The immediate vicinity of St. Paul's, was then, more particularly than at this time, the chief seat of the trade, and when the Fire was making its approaches, "all those who dwelt near," says Clarendon, "carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's Church, before the Fire came thither:

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* Clar. Life, p. 355.

† Ibid. Another writer has stated that the loss in books in St. Paul's, Stationers Hall, the Public Libraries and Private Houses, in the opinion of "judicious men of the trade," did not amount to less than 150,000l. In this latter statement, the loss is certainly greatly under-rated.

which vaults, though all the Church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them;* until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else, in the Fire, made them very desirous to see what they had saved, upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the rest.

"It was the fourth day after the Fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the Booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe: but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the dryest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from the greater, had better fortune; and having learned from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the Fire in all places, and cooled the air: and then they securely opened the doors, and received from thence what they had there."

Whether the *Fire of London*, as this tremendous conflagration has been emphatically denominated, were the effect of design, or of accident, is a question that has been productive of much controversy;

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* This is stated somewhat differently in the 'Observations, Historical and Moral,' reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. III.; though the general fact is the same. The last writer says, "The Booksellers who dwelled for the most part round about the Cathedral, had sheltered their books in a subterraneous Church under it, called St. Faith, which was propt up with so strong an arch and massy pillars, that it seemed impossible the Fire could do any harm to it; but having crept into it through the windows, it seized on the pews, and did so try and examine the arch and pillars, by sucking the moisture of the mortar that bound the stones together, that it was calcined into sand, so when the top of the Cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and set all things into an irremediable flame."

troversy; and, though of late years, it has become a sort of fashion, to quote the lines of Pope, when speaking of the Monument,

> "Where London's Column, pointing to the skies,
> "Like a tall bully lifts its head, and *lies*;"

yet there are many circumstances on record which strongly combine in establishing a belief that this destruction of the City was preconcerted by the Papists. To go into the full evidence of this fact, and to consider the various objections that have been advanced against it, would occupy too great a proportion of these sheets, yet a few of the leading particulars it may not be impertinent to detail.

The general belief of the people that the burning of the City was a concerted scheme, is strongly expressed by Lord Clarendon, who, although he himself supports the negative side, will be seen to furnish much testimony towards a contrary inference: his words are as follow—

"Monday morning produced first a jealousy, and then an universal conclusion, that this Fire came not by chance, nor did they care where it began; but the breaking out in several places at so great distance from each other made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination: And this determination could not hold long without discovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, though they had inhabited the same places above twenty years. All of that kind, or, if they were strangers, of what nation soever, were laid hold of; and after all the ill usage that can consist in words, and some blows and kicks, they were thrown into prison. And shortly after, the same conclusion comprehended all the Roman Catholics, who were in the same predicament of guilt and danger, and quickly found that their only safety consisted in keeping within doors; and yet some of them, and of quality, were taken by force out of their houses, and carried to prison.

"When this rage spread as far as the Fire, and every hour brought reports of some bloody effects of it, worse than in truth they were, the King distributed many of the Privy Council into several quarters of the City, to prevent, by their authorities, those inhumanities which he heard were committed. In the mean time, even they, or any other person, thought it not safe to declare, 'that they believed that the Fire came by accident, or that it was not a plot of the Dutch and the French and Papists, to burn the City;' which was so generally believed, and in the best company, that he who said the contrary was suspected for a conspirator, or at best a favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a house that was distant a mile from any part of the Fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice; and this case fell out every hour. When a man at the farthest end of Bread Street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the Fire had approached near them, he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and none else near it, in a sudden flame: nor did there want, in this woeful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villainy committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fire-balls into houses, which were presently burning." —*

"There was a very odd accident that confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe, and startled others who thought the conspiracy impossible, since no combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that mischief, in which the immediate hand of God was so visible. Amongst many Frenchmen who had been sent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or six-and-twenty years of age, the son of a famous watch-maker in the city of Rouen; and this fellow had wrought in the same profession with several men in London, and had for many years, both in Rouen and in London, been looked upon as distracted. This man confessed, 'that he had set the first house on fire, and that he had been hired in Paris a year before

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* Clar. Life, p. 349.

fore to do it: that there were three more combined with him to do the same thing, and that they came over together into England to put it in execution in the time of the Plague; but when they were in London, he and two of his companions went into Sweden, and returned from thence in the latter end of August, and he resolved to undertake it; and that the two others went away into France.'

"The whole examination was so senseless, that the Chief Justice [Keeling], who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he said. He was asked, 'who it was in Paris that suborned him to this action?' to which he answered, 'that he did not know, having never seen him before;' and in enlarging upon that point, he contradicted himself in many particulars. Being asked, 'what money he had received to perform a service of so much hazard,' he said, 'he had received but a pistole, but was promised five pistoles more when he should have done his work;' and many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However, they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before, that they were all surprized with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, 'if he knew the place where he first put fire;' he answered, 'that he knew it very well, and would shew it to any body.' Upon this the Chief Justice, and many Aldermen who sate with him, sent a guard of substantial Citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him, 'if that were it;' to which he answered presently, 'no, it was lower, nearer to the Thames.' The house and all which were near it, were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where their own houses had stood: but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put the fire; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars.

"This silenced all further doubts. And though the Chief Justice told the King, 'that all his discourse was so disjointed that he did not believe him guilty;' nor was there one man who prosecuted or accused him: yet upon his own confession, and so sensible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with so many circumstances, (though without the least shew of compunction or sorrow for what he said he had done, nor yet seeming to justify or take delight in it; but being asked whether he was not sorry for the wickedness, and whether he intended to do so much, he gave no answer at all, or made reply to what was said; and with the same temper died,) the jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly. And though no man could imagine any reason why a man should so desperately throw away his life, which he might have saved, though he had been guilty, since he was only accused upon his own confession; yet neither the judges, nor any present at the trial, did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest examination that could be afterwards made by the King's command, and then by the diligence of Parliament, that upon the jealousy and rumour made a Committee, who were very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence, (that poor creature's only excepted,) that there was any other cause of that woeful Fire, than the displeasure of God Almighty: the first accident of the beginning in a Baker's house, where there was so great a stock of faggots, and the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, of pitch and rosin, and the like, led it in an instant from house to house through Thames Street, with the agitation of so terrible a wind to scatter and disperse it."*

Such are the principal particulars of the account given by Lord Clarendon, yet the noble historian is, at least, deficient in candour,

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* Clar. Life, p. 350.

dour, when he affirms that, with the exception of Hubert's, 'there was never any probable evidence that there was any other cause of that woeful Fire than the displeasure of God Almighty.' In the Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to "enquire into the *Firing of the City*," made on the twenty-second of January, 1666-7, many circumstances are stated which strongly support the opinion of the Fire having been caused by incendiaries. Several persons gave evidence of different conversations with Papists, in which the destruction of the City by Fire was pointedly alluded to, at various times *previous* to the conflagration; and others testified that fire-balls, and combustible materials, were found on different Foreigners, who were apprehended, during the raging of the flames, under very suspicious circumstances. One house, near St. Antholin's Church, is expressly stated, by three witnesses, to have been set on fire by a person throwing *something into it;* and when "there was no fire near the place."*

In regard to Hubert, who, as Lord Clarendon admits, was perfectly consistent in all that respected the Fire, the Committee subjected him to a similar experiment to that he had made with 'a guard of substantial Citizens,' and "Hubert, with more readiness than those that were well acquainted with the place, went to Pudding Lane, unto the very place were the house that was first fired, stood, saying, 'Here stood the house.'"† He also confessed, that "there were three-and-twenty complices, whereof Peidlow was the chief."‡ Peidlow was a fellow-countryman, who had come to England in a Swedish vessel with Hubert, and landing with him on" that Saturday night in which the Fire broke out,"[*] they both proceeded to Pudding Lane, where "Peidlow did fix two fire-balls to a long pole, and put them into a window, and then he, the said Robert Hubert did fire one in the same manner, and put it in at the same window."[†]

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* See 'A True and Faithful Account of the several Informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late Dreadful Burning of the City of London,' &c. p. 9. The Committee at first consisted of forty-five persons; twenty three were afterwards added, 'and all the Members that serve for the City.' Sir Robert Brook was appointed Chairman.

† Ibid, p. 8. ‡ Ibid,

Hubert's confession was, to a certain extent, corroborated by the evidence of Farryner, the Baker, who stated to the Committee that "it was impossible it should happen in his house by accident; for he had, after twelve of the clock that night, gone through every room thereof, and found no fire but in one chimney, where the room was paved with bricks, which fire he diligently raked up in embers. He was then asked whether 'no window or door might let in wind to disturb those coals?' He affirmed there was no possibility for any wind to disturb them; and that it was absolutely *set on fire on purpose.*"[‡]

In addition to the presumed insanity of Hubert, another ground has been taken to destroy the effect of his confession; and which, indeed, were it properly substantiated, would be most decisive. This will be found in Echard, who states, that "Laurence Peterson, the Master of the Ship that brought Hubert over [from Stockholm], upon his examination some time after, declared, that the said Hubert did not land till two days *after* the Fire."[§] Now, if Lord Clarendon is at all to be depended on, his statement must be admitted as utterly contradictory of this latter assertion. His language is full and precise. "The houses, and all which were near it, were so covered and buried in the ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where their own houses had stood: but this man led them *directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows,* and where he first put the fire: *and all this with such exactness,* that they who had dwelt long near it *could not so perfectly have described all particulars.*"[*] The inference is most obvious. If Hubert had not landed till *two days after the Fire,* he never could have described the building where it commenced so minutely.[†]

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[*] Ibid. p. 7. [†] Ibid. p. 11. [‡] Ibid. p. 9.

[§] Hist. of Eng.

Bishop Burnet has some singular passages relating to the City having been intentionally burnt, though he concludes with saying, 'that the diversity of opinions was so great that he must leave the matter under the same uncertainty in which he found it.' He states, that after the English had burnt the Isle of Vly, " some came to De Witt," whom Mr. Fox has characterized as ' the wisest, best, and most truly patriotic Minister that ever appeared upon the public stage:'[‡] and " offered a revenge, that if they were assisted, 'they would set London on Fire:' but he rejected the proposition, and said that he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcileable.—He made no farther reflections on the matter till the City was burnt; then he began to suspect there had been a design, and that they had intended to draw him into it, and to lay the odium of it upon the Dutch; but he could hear no news of those who had sent that proposition to him."[§]

Burnet says of Hubert, that "he was a French Papist, seized on in Essex, as he was getting out of the way in great confusion. He confessed he had begun the Fire, and persisted in his confession to his death; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confession. It is true, he gave so broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad; yet he was blindfolded, and carried to several places of the City, and then his eyes being opened, he was asked if that was the place: and he being carried to wrong places, after he had looked round about for some time, he said that was not the place; but when he was brought to the place where it first broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And Tillotson told me, that Howell, then the Recorder of London, was with him, and had much discourse with him; and that he concluded it was impossible that it could be a melancholy dream. The horror of the fact, and the terror of death, and perhaps some engagements in confession, might put him in such disorder, that it was not possible to draw a clear account of any thing from him but of what related to himself. Tillotson believed that the City was burnt on design."*

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[*] See before, p. 426, 427.

[†] The highly respectable Editor of the new quarto edition of the Harleian Miscellany, who has repeated the old tale of Hubert not being in London ' till two days after the Fire,' was probably not aware of the contradiction here noticed.

[‡] Life of James II. p. 27.

[§] Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 230.

The Report made to the House of Commons, concludes with the following very singular sentence. "I [the Chairman] had order from the Committee to acquaint you, that we traced several persons apprehended upon strong suspicion (during the Fire) to the Guards, but could not make further discovery of them."*

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. 229, 230. Among the collateral circumstances related by our historian, are some particulars of the suspicious conduct of "one Grant, a Papist," the real or reputed author of "Moral and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality." Burnet states his authority to have been Dr. Lloyd, [afterwards Bishop of Worcester] and the Countess of Clarendon; according to whom, Grant procured a seat in the Board of Management of the New River Company, as trustee for the Countess, and having in that capacity a right of admission to their works at Islington, he went thither "on the *Saturday* before the fire broke out, and called for the Key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and stopt the water and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the Fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none; and some hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned: and it was long before the water got to London." Other corroborating particulars are given by the Bishop, yet the whole story has been circumstantially contradicted by Maitland, who professes to have examined the Minute Books of the New River Company, by which, he says, it appeared that Grant was not admitted a member till the *twenty-fifth* of September, nearly three weeks after the Fire, and that it was not till the twelfth of November, 1669, that Grant became a trustee for the shares held by Dame Flower Backhouse, who, in 1670, married, Henry Lord Cornbury, afterwards Earl of Clarendon. *Vide Bur. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 231, *and Mait. Lon.* p. 291. *Edit.* 1739.

Amidst all the confusion and multiplied dangers that arose from the Fire, it does not appear that more than six persons lost their lives; and of these, two or three met their deaths through being too venturesome in going over the ruins, and thus 'sinking into vaults beneath their feet,' perished horribly.

Whilst the City lay in ruins, various temporary edifices were raised for the public accommodation; both in respect to Divine Worship, and to general business. Gresham College, which had escaped the flames, was converted into an Exchange and Guildhall; and the Royal Society removed its sittings to Arundel House. The affairs of the Custom House were transacted in Mark Lane; the business of the Excise Office was carried on in Southampton Fields, near Bedford House; the General Post-Office was removed to Brydges Street, Covent Garden; the offices of Doctors' Commons were held at Exeter House, in the Strand; and the King's Wardrobe was consigned from Puddle Wharf to York Buildings. The inhábitants, for a time, were mostly lodged in small huts, built in Finsbury and Moor Fields; in Smithfield, and on all the open spaces in the vicinity of the Capital.

As soon as the general consternation had subsided, the rebuilding of the City became the first object of consideration. On the thirteenth of September, the King held a Court of Privy Council at Whitehall, in which many judicious regulations were determined on, for "the immediate re-edification of the City, both for use and beauty;" so "that it should rather appear to the world as purged with the Fire, (in how lamentable a manner soever) to a wonderful beauty and comeliness, than consumed by it." The Proclamation that was issued in consequence, provides for an increased breadth in the streets, for the erection of all new buildings either with brick or stone, for an open wharf by the river-side, for the removal of noisome trades, and for various other circumstances that the nature of the business required.* On the eighth of September, the Parliament was assembled, to give effect to the proposed alterations, and to deliberate on the measures necessary to be adopted in this emergency. One of the

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* True and Faith. Acc. p. 10.

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* The Proclamation contains some good rules for improving the City; and which, even at the present period, if observed, would be attended with great advantage. After some general particulars, it proceeds thus:

"In the first place, the woeful experience in this late heavy visitation hath sufficiently convinced all men of the pernicious consequences which have attended the building with timber, and even with stone itself, and the notable benefit of brick, which in so many places hath resisted, and even extinguished the fire; and we do therefore hereby declare our express will and pleasure, that no man whatsoever shall presume to erect any house or building, great or small, but of brick or stone; and if any man shall do the contrary, the next magistrate shall forthwith cause it to be pulled down, and such further course shall be taken for his punishment as he deserves; and we suppose the notable benefit many men have received from those cellars which have been well and strongly arched, will persuade most men who build good houses to practise that good husbandry, by arching all convenient places.

"We do declare that Fleet Street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and all other eminent and notorious streets, shall be of such a breadth, as may, with God's blessing, prevent the mischief that one side may suffer if the other be on fire, which was the case lately in Cheapside: the precise breadth of which several streets shall be, upon advice with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, shortly published, with many other particular orders and rules which cannot yet be adjusted: in the mean time we resolve, though all the streets cannot be of equal breadth, yet none shall be so narrow as to make the passage uneasy or inconvenient, especially towards the water-side: nor will we suffer any lanes or alleys to be erected but where, upon mature deliberation, the same shall be found absolutely necessary; except such places shall be set aside which shall be designed only for building of that kind, and from whence no public mischief may probably arise.

"The irreparable damage and loss by the late Fire, being next to the hand of God in the terrible wind, to be imputed to the place in which it first broke out, amongst small timber houses, standing so close together, that as no remedy could be applied from the river for the quenching thereof, to the contiguousness of the building, hindering and keeping all possible relief from the land side; we do resolve and declare, that there shall be a

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first acts that was passed was for erecting a *Court of Judicature*, consisting of "the Justices of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Barons of Exchequer," for settling all differences that might arise between Landlords and Tenants in respect to any of the destroyed premises.

Shortly

fair key or wharf on all the river side; that no house shall be erected within so many feet of the river, as shall be within a few days declared in the rules formerly mentioned; nor shall there be in those buildings, which shall be erected next the river, which we desire may be fair structures for the ornament of the city, any houses to be inhabited by the brewers or dyers, or sugar-bakers, which trades, by their continual smoke, contribute much to the unhealthfulness of the adjacent places; but we require the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, upon a full consideration, and weighing all conveniences and inconveniences that can be foreseen, to propose such a place as may be fit for all those trades, which are carried on by smoke, to inhabit together; or at least several places for the several quarters of the town for those occupations, and in which they shall find their account in convenience and profit, as well as other places shall receive the benefit in the distance of the neighbourhood; it being our purpose that they who exercise those necessary professions shall be in all respects as well provided for and encouraged as ever they have been, and undergo as little prejudice as may be by being less inconvenient to their neighbours.

"These grounds and foundations being laid, from the substance whereof we shall not depart, and which being published, are sufficient advertisements to prevent any man's running into, or bringing any inconvenience upon himself, by a precipitate engagement in any act which may cross these foundations, we have, in order to the reducing this great and gracious design into practice, directed, and we do hereby direct, that the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen do, with all possible expedition, cause an exact survey to be made and taken of the whole ruins occasioned by the late lamentable Fire; to the end that it may appear to whom all the houses and ground did in truth belong, what terms the several occupiers are possessed of, and at what rents, and to whom either corporations, companies, or single persons, the reversion and inheritance appertained; that some provision may be made, that though every man must not be suffered to erect what buildings and where he pleases, he shall not in any degree be debarred from receiving the reasonable benefit of what ought to accrue to him from such houses or lands; there being nothing less in our thoughts

Shortly afterwards the Parliament passed an Act for the expeditious rebuilding of the City: the principal clauses enacted that there should be four kinds of houses raised, of dimensions corresponding with an annexed table; that all the new buildings should be of stone or brick, with party walls, and erected within three years; that the prices of materials and labour should be

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thoughts than that any particular person's right and interest should be sacrificed to the public benefit or convenience, without any such recompence, as in justice he ought to receive for the same. And when all things of this kind shall be prepared and adjusted by such commissioners, and otherwise which shall be found expedient, we make no doubt but that such an act of parliament will pass as shall secure all men in what they shall and ought to possess.

"By the time that this survey shall be taken, we shall cause a plot or model to be made for the whole building through those ruined places; which being well examined by all those persons who have most concernment as well as experience, we make no question but all men will be pleased with it, and very willingly conform to those orders and rules, which shall be agreed for the pursuing thereof.

"In the mean time, we do heartily recommend it to the charity and magnanimity of all well-disposed persons, and we do heartily pray unto Almighty God, that he will infuse it into the hearts of men speedily to endeavour, by degrees, to re-edify some of those many churches which in this lamentable fire have been burnt down and defaced, that so men may have those public places of God's worship to resort to, to humble themselves together before him upon this heavy displeasure, and join in their devotion for his future mercy and blessing upon us; and as soon as we shall be informed of any readiness to begin such a good work, we shall not only give our assistance and direction for the model of it, and freeing it from buildings at too near a distance, but shall encourage it by our own bounty, and all other ways we shall be desired.

"Lastly, that we may encourage men by our example, we will use all the expedition we can to rebuild our Custom House in the place where it formerly stood, and enlarge it with the most conveniences for the merchants that can be devised; and upon all other lands which belong unto us, we shall depart with any thing of our own right and benefit for the advancement of the public service and beauty of the city; and shall further remit to all those who shall erect any building according to this declaration, all duties arising to us upon Hearth Money for the space of seven years."

regulated by the Justices of the King's Bench, in case of attempted imposition; that all workmen employed should be free of the City for seven years, and provided they wrought in the rebuilding during that entire period, should afterwards have the freedom for life; that the Corporation have full power to widen streets, passages, &c. and make new ones; that an anniversary Fast should be kept in perpetual memorial of the conflagration, which should also be commemorated by a column of brass or stone; that a spacious wharf, forty feet in breadth, should extend by the river side from the Tower Wharf to the Temple Stairs; and that, to enable the City to accomplish the work mentioned in the act, one shilling should be paid on every chaldron or ton of coals brought into the Port of London. Various orders and regulations were afterwards made both by the Common Council and the Privy Council for making improvements in the City, in widening and levelling the streets and ways according to specified admeasurements; removing nuisances and obstructions; erecting party-walls; and, generally, for insuring the safety and greater symmetry of all new buildings.

Among the several Plans that were proposed, at this time, for improving the Capital, were two that acquired much celebrity: the first was designed by Dr. afterwards Sir Christopher Wren, who had been appointed Surveyor-General and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole City; and the other, by Sir John Evelyn, whose 'London Restored' may be regarded as an improvement on Sir Christopher's plan. Neither of them, however, could be adopted, as the jealousies of the Citizens, lest they should be too far removed from the sites of their old residences were found to be insurmountable. Though all were convinced of the advantages that would result from the proposed Plans, few would recede from their claims to particular spots, through which cause the opportunity was lost of rendering this Metropolis the most magnificent of any in the universe.* Still, however, much was effected; and though all was not done that might have been, the City was principally rebuilt within little more than four years, and that in a style of far greater expense and regularity, and infinitely more commodious and healthful, than the ancient Capital.*

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* The insertion of a general descriptive outline of the two Plans mentioned may gratify curiosity: it will be seen, that in the improvements that have

have since been projected, and are occasionally carried into effect, that frequent reference has been made to them, though the vast extension of London, since the period of the Fire, never could have been conceived either by Wren or Evelyn.

Sir Christopher's plan for the new City was formed from an accurate survey of the ruined spot, made by order of the King immediately after the Fire. In this plan all the deformities and inconveniencies of the old Capital were to be remedied, by enlarging the Streets and Lanes, and rendering them as nearly parallel to each other as possible; by seating all the parish Churches in a conspicuous and regular manner; by forming the most public places into large Piazzas, the centres of eight ways; by uniting the Halls of the twelve principal Companies into one regular square annexed to Guildhall, and by making a commodious Quay along the whole bank of the river from Blackfriars to the Tower, with large docks for deep laden barges.

The Streets were to be of three magnitudes; the three principal ones to run straight through the City, and one or two cross streets to be at least ninety feet wide; others sixty feet, and the Lanes about thirty feet, excluding all narrow dark alleys, thoroughfares, and courts.

The Exchange to stand free in the middle of a Piazza, and to form the centre of the City, whence the sixty-feet streets should diverge; and the building itself to be formed like a Roman Forum, with double porticoes. Many streets were also to radiate upon the Bridge: those of the two first magnitudes to be carried on as straight as possible, and to centre in four or five areas surrounded with Piazzas.

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* "To the amazement of all Europe," says Burnet, "London was, in four years time, rebuilt, with so much beauty and magnificence, that we who saw it in both states, before and after the Fire, cannot reflect on it without wondering where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the Fire, and so prodigious an expense as was laid out in rebuilding the City. This did demonstrate that the intrinsic wealth of the nation was very high when it could answer such a dead charge." *Bur. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 272. It should be remarked, that what is here said of the rebuilding of the City in such a short period, chiefly refers to the erection of the dwelling houses.

In 1667, an Act of Common Council was passed for better securing the City against the spreading of fires; and in November, 1680, the Lord Mayor, Sir William Peake, issued a Precept for the suppression of immoralities, drunkenness, and gaming, for

The Fleet river to be formed into a canal, one hundred and twenty feet in width, as far up as Bridewell, with sasses at Holborn Bridge, and at the mouth at Blackfriars, to cleanse it from all filth; and to have depositories for coals on each side.

The Churches were to be designed according to the best forms for capacity and hearing; and those of the larger parishes adorned with porticoes and lofty ornamented towers and steeples; but all Church-yards, Gardens, and unnecessary vacuities, and all Trades that used great fires, or produced noisome smells, were to be placed without the City.

In the middle of Fleet Street was to be a circular area surrounded with a Piazza, the centre of eight ways, where, at one station, were to meet the following streets. The first, straight forward, quite through the City: the second, obliquely towards the right hand, to the beginning of the quay that was to run from Bridewell Dock to the Tower: the third, obliquely on the left, to Smithfield: the fourth, straight forward on the right, to the Thames: the fifth, straight on the left, to Hatton Garden and Clerkenwell: the sixth, straight backwards to Temple Bar: the seventh, obliquely on the right, to the walks of the Temple: and the eighth, obliquely on the left to Cursitor's Alley.

On Ludgate Hill a Triumphal Arch was to be formed, instead of the old gate, in honour of King Charles the Second, as founder of the new City. The Cathedral of St. Paul was to be situated where it now stands, and surrounded by a triangular Piazza; the street to the right, leading to the Exchange, and that to the left, to the Tower, and to be ornamented, at proper distances, with parochial Churches.

This excellent scheme was demonstrated to be practicable, without the least infringement on any person's property; for, by leaving out the church-yards, &c. which were to be removed to a considerable distance from the town, there would have been sufficient room both for the augmentation of the streets, the disposition of the churches, halls, and all public buildings, and to have given every proprietor full satisfaction: for though few of them would have been seated exactly upon the very same ground they possessed before the Fire, yet none would have been thrown at any considerable distance from it; yet this was defeated, as mentioned above, for ensuring cleanliness in the streets, &c. In the year following, the Common Council ordered the Markets, which had been kept in Aldersgate Street since the time of the late Fire, to be abolished, when the new ones, at Newgate, Honey Lane, and

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above, by the tenacity of the Citizens, in the retention of the site of their old abodes.

In the plan of Sir John Evelyn, it was proposed that some of the deepest vallies should be filled up, or at least made with less sudden declivities. That a new and spacious Quay should run from the Tower to the Temple and extend itself as far as low-water mark; by which means the channel of the river would be kept constantly full; and the irregularity and deformity of the stairs, and the dirt and filth at every ebb, would also be prevented.

He also proposed, in order to create variety in the Streets, that there should be breaks and enlargements, by spacious openings at proper distances, surrounded with Piazzas, and uniformly built with beautiful fronts; and that some of these openings should be square, some circular, and others oval. The principal streets were to be an hundred feet in breadth, and the narrowest not less than thirty. Three or four large streets were to be formed between the Thames and London Wall, reckoning that of Cheapside for the chief, which might be extended from Temple Bar to the upper part of Tower Hill, or to Crutched Friars, bearing the Cathedral of St. Paul, on its present site, upon a noble eminence. Amidst these streets were to stand the Parochial Churches, so interspersed as to adorn the profile of the City at all its avenues. Most of them were to be in the centre of spacious areas, adorned with Piazzas, &c. so as to be seen from several streets, and others were to be at the abutments and extremities.

Round the Piazzas of the Churches, the Stationers and Booksellers were to have their shops, and the Ministers their houses. Round St. Paul's was to be the Episcopal Palace, the Dean and Prebends' houses, St. Paul's School, a public Library, the Prerogative and First-fruits' Office, &c. all which were to be built at an ample distance from the Cathedral, and with very stately fronts, in honour of that venerable pile. In some of these openings, surrounded by Piazzas, were to be the several Markets, and in others, open and public Fountains constantly playing.

The College of Physicians was to be situated in a principal part of the town, encircled with a handsome Piazza, for the dwellings of those learned persons; with the Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Druggists in the streets about

Wool-church, should be opened on the ensuing twenty-fifth of March.

Whilst the rebuilding of the City was going on, some public events occurred which caused great commotion among the people. The

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about them. In this, as in other parts, "all of a mystery" were to be destined to the same quarters. Those of the better sort of the Shopkeepers were to be in the most eminent streets and Piazzas; and the Artificers in the more ordinary houses, in the intermediate and narrow passages. The Taverns and Victualling houses were to be placed amongst them, but so constructed as to preserve the most perfect uniformity.

The Halls for the City Companies were to be placed between the Piazzas, market-places, and churches, and to be fronted with stone; among these was to be the Guildhall, distinguished from the rest by its being more pompous and magnificent; and, adjoining to this edifice, a magnificent house for the Lord Mayor, and two others for the Sheriffs.

The Royal Exchange to front the Thames about the Steel Yard, in an area bounded on three sides with Piazzas, with vaults for warehouses beneath: and for such merchandize as could not be here preserved, might be erected buildings fronting the Thames on the other side the river, with wharfs before, and yards behind, for the placing of cranes, the laying of timber, coals, &c. and other gross commodities, while the quay, over against it, should be built for the owners, and the dwellings of the principal merchants; but if the warehouses must be on this side, they were to front Thames Street rather than the river, because of the dull and heavy appearance of those buildings. The little bay at Queenhithe was to have the Quay continued round it, and cloistered about for market-people and fruiterers; and where the wharf then was, a stately avenue was to extend to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Four great Streets were to extend along the City: the first, from Fleet Ditch to the Tower: the second from the Strand to the most eastern part of the City, where was to be a noble Triumphal Arch, in honour of the King: the third, from Newgate to Aldgate: and the fourth and shortest, from Aldersgate to Bishopsgate. Besides these, five principal cross streets were to extend from Blackfriars into West Smithfield; from the Thames east of St. Paul's, to Aldersgate; from Queenhithe to Cripplegate; and from the Royal Exchange to Moorgate. The Street from the Bridge was to extend to Bishopsgate, and another from the Custom House to Aldgate. Instead of houses on the Bridge, the sides were to be adorned with a substantial

The shameful neglect of the King, in not providing a naval force whilst engaged in a war with Holland, led to a bold enterprise on the part of De Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, who, in June 1667, entering the river Thames with a powerful fleet, detached Van Ghent, with seventeen light ships, besides fire-ships, and he sailed up the Medway nearly as high as Rochester, and destroyed and carried off several men of war.* The consternation which this news excited was very great, for it was known that the Dutch fleet might then have reached London without opposition. Burnet says, that the King "was intending to retire to Windsor; but that looked so like a flying from danger that he was prevailed on to stay:" and though, "a day or two after that he rode through London, accompanied with the most populous men of his court, and assured the Citizens he would live and die with his people, the matter went heavily. The City was yet in ashes, and the jealousy of burning it on design had got so among them, that the King himself was not free from suspicion."† The Dutch, however,

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stantial iron balustrade, ornamented, at convenient distances, with statues on their pedestals, and a footway on each side for the convenience of passengers.

The Hospitals, Workhouses, and Prisons, were to be situated in convenient quarters of the City: the Hospitals to form one of the principal streets; but the Prisons, and Court for the trial of criminals, to be built near the entrance. The Gates of the City were to be in the form of Triumphal Arches, adorned with statues, relievos, and apposite inscriptions, neither to be obstructed by sheds, nor to have mean houses joined to them.

Along the wall between Cripplegate and Aldgate, were to be the Churchyards of the several parishes: the houses opposite to them were to form a large street for the common Inns, with stations for the Carriers, &c. which being on the north of the City, and nearest the confines of the fields and roads, would least encumber the town, and have a far more commodious and free access by reason of their immediate approaches through the traverse streets, than if they were scattered up and down without distinction. All noisome trades to be removed out of the City to convenient distances.

* See Beauties of Eng. Vol. VIII, under Upnor Castle.

† Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 250.

ever, did not advance, and time was obtained to construct temporary batteries along the banks of the Thames, and to execute other necessary measures.

Another considerable ferment was excited in the Metropolis, by the Proclamation for suppressing Conventicles, issued in July, 1669; and confirmed by Act of Parliament in April, 1670. At this time, "Conventicles abounded in all parts of the City; it having been thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God any where, as they could, when there were no Churches nor Ministers to look after them."[*] The new Act was principally a revival of a former one, but with additional and more severe clauses, which were executed so strictly during the Mayoralty of Sir Samuel Starling, "and put things in such disorder, that many of the trading men of the City began to talk of removing, with their stocks, over to Holland; but the King ordered a stop to be put to further severities."[†] The Quakers were more particularly tenacious of the public right of toleration than most other sects; and after their Meeting-houses had been shut up by order, they held their assemblies in the streets before the closed doors.

Another Act was passed by the same Parliament, for empowering the Citizens to widen various other streets and places than had before been agreed to; and for granting an additional sum of two shillings per chaldron on coals, for the term of seventeen years and five months, "to rebuild the Churches and other Public Works within the City and its Liberties," &c. By the same authority, the sole power of regulating, cleansing, pitching, and paving the streets of the City, and making and cleaning all drains and sewers, was vested in the Corporation.[‡] In the following year, a very judicious Act, partly founded on the above statute, and partly on the ancient regulations, was made by the Common Council, for the local purposes just mentioned.[§]

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[*] Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 270. [†] Ibid.

[‡] Stat. at Large, 22 and 23 Cha. II. c. 17.

[§] See this in Mait. Lond. Vol. I. p. 452—457. Edit. 1756.

The profligate course which Charles and his Court were now pursuing, raised the indignation of all the independent Members of the House of Commons; and one of them, Sir John Coventry, K. B. in a debate on the propriety of a tax on Play-houses, which, to use the strong expression of Burnet, had then become "nests of prostitution," sarcastically enquired, in answer to an assertion that 'the Players were the King's Servants, and a part of his pleasure;' "Whether did the King's pleasure lie among the men or the women actors."* This having been reported in the Court, the King ordered some of the guards to way-lay the indiscreet orator, and "leave a mark upon him;" and the Duke of Monmouth, Charles's son by Lucy Walters, was commanded to see the order obeyed. On the twenty-fifth of December, 1670, therefore, as Coventry was going to his lodgings, he was beset in the streets by Sir Thomas Sandys, and others, who, after a sharp conflict, succeeded in disarming him, and "then they cut his nose to the bone, to teach him to remember what respect he owed to the King."† This outrage was highly resented by the Parliament, which assembled in the January following, and passed, what has since been called the *Coventry Act*, by which the punishment of death was awarded against all who should, in future, 'maliciously maim or dismember another;' and the perpetrators of the late crime, who had fled from justice, were adjudged to banishment for life; a clause was also inserted in the act, that it "should not be in the King's power to pardon them."‡ On this occasion, "the names of the Court and Country party, which till now had seemed forgotten, were again revived."§

The commencement of the year 1672, was distinguished by the infamous measure of shutting up the Exchequer,‖ from which the bankruptcy and ruin of many of the principal Bankers, Merchants, and Traders of London, almost immediately ensued. Long before this period, indeed, Charles, upon whose *good faith* the Bankers had depended, had "entered into that career of misgovernment," to use the appropriate language of Fox, "which that he was able to pursue it to its end, is a disgrace to the history of our country."* His councils were now directed by those shameless instruments of arbitrary power, whom history has denominated the CABAL,† who, equally with their Royal, yet ignoble Master, were the secret pensioners of France. Yet, through the want of a sufficiently 'genuine and reciprocal confidence' between the Sovereign and his Ministers, the nation was at this time saved from the degrading tyranny which was subsequently established.

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 269. † Ibid. p. 270. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

‖ Echard relates a singular tale respecting the origin of the scheme of shutting up the Exchequer, from a manuscript of Sir John Tyler's; the substance

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stance of which is as follows:—The King promised the white staff to any one of his Ministers who would devise a means of raising 1,500,000l. without applying to Parliament. The next day, Lord Ashley told Sir Thomas Clifford that there was a way to do this; but that it was dangerous, and in its consequences might inflame both Parliament and People. Clifford, impatient to know the secret, contrived to allure the Lord Ashley into a conversation on the King's indigence, after he had flushed him with drink, in which he obtained the information he wished. Sir Thomas, on the same night, went to Whitehall, to the King, and having obtained a renewal of the promise provided the money could be found, disclosed the important secret. The project was soon put into execution; Clifford was advanced to the Treasurership, and created a Peer. Ashley feeling indignant, said that *Clifford had ploughed with his heifer;* so to satisfy him, he was first made Earl of Shaftesbury, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. *Ech. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 288.

* Life of Jam. II. p. 23.

† The word *Cabal* was formed from the Initials of the five persons who composed this Cabinet Council of Political Infamy: viz. Sir Thomas Clifford, the Popish Lord Treasurer, who, with Sir Anthony *A*shley, (Cowper) Earl of Shaftesbury, devised the scheme of shutting up the Exchequer; the profligate Duke of *B*uckingham; the unprincipled Earl of *A*rlington, and the haughty and tyrannical Duke of *L*auderdale.

In the year, 1675, on the accession of Sir Robert Vyner to the Mayoralty, the King was magnificently entertained at Guildhall, where he accepted of the Freedom of the City; the copy and seal of which were, in December, presented to him at Whitehall, in two large boxes of massive gold.

On Lord Mayor's Day, 1677, the Sovereign, with his Queen, the Duke of York, and his two daughters, Mary and Anne, the Prince of Orange, and most of the nobility were again sumptuously feasted by the Citizens in Guildhall, in testimony of the general satisfaction of the nation at the recent marriage (on November the fourth) of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary.

That the Court had a latent design to introduce Popery again into England, was much suspected by many, and more particularly so, after it was known that the Duke of York was a declared Catholic. This feeling raised a far stronger spirit of resistance in the Parliament, than could have been thought probable in a body of men of whom so many were in the practice of receiving annual bribes from the King. The supplies, therefore, were generally withheld till other Acts had been passed, more congenial to the sentiments of the People than to the intentions of the Sovereign, who, by this means was continually retarded in his endeavours to assume despotic power. The Test Act, at that period, a measure of sound policy, however it may now disgrace the Statute Book, was passed in March, 1673; in October, 1675, the Commons drew up a Test to be taken by their own Members, disclaiming the receiving of any bribe or pension from the Court: in April, 1677, the writ *de Hæretico Comburendo* was repealed: in November, 1679, Papists were disabled from sitting in either House of Parliament; and, in December several Popish Lords were impeached by the Commons; in this extremity, Charles ordered the Parliament to be dissolved by Proclamation on the twenty-fifth of January, 1679.

About this period, the Metropolis was strongly agitated by the inquiry that had been made into the reality of the *Popish Plot*, which had been first broached by the infamous Titus Oates and Dr. Tongue, in September, 1678; and had received an apparent confirmation through the mysterious murder of the Protestant Justice Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the following month. Mr. Fox says, that "It is wholly inconceivable how such a plot as that brought forward by Tongue and Oates could obtain any general belief; nor can any stretch of candour make us admit it to be probable, that all who pretended a belief of it did seriously entertain it."* This distinguished statesman was fully satisfied that the Plot "was a forgery;" yet, perhaps, Dryden's representation is nearer to the fact, where in his Absalom and Achitophel, he says,

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* Life of Jam. II. p. 30. "The proceedings on the Popish Plot must always be considered as an indelible disgrace upon the English nation, in which the King, Parliament, Judges, Juries, Witnesses, Prosecutors, have all their respective, though certainly not equal shares. Witnesses of such a character, as not to deserve credit in the most trifling cause, upon the most immaterial facts, gave evidence so incredible, or to speak more properly, so impossible to be true, that it ought not to have been believed if it had come from the mouth of Cato; and upon such evidence from such witnesses, were innocent men condemned to death, and executed. Prosecutors, whether Attornies and Solicitors General, or Managers of Impeachments, acted with the fury, which, in such circumstances, might be expected. Juries partook naturally enough of the national ferment; and Judges, whose duty it was to guard them against such impressions, were scandalously active in confirming them in their prejudices, and inflaming their passions. The King, who is supposed to have disbelieved the whole of the Plot, never once exercised his prerogative of mercy. It is said he dared not. His throne, perhaps his life, was at stake.—In the prosecution of the aged, the innocent Lord Stafford, he was so far from interfering in behalf of that nobleman, that many of those most in his confidence, and, as it is affirmed, the Duchess of Portsmouth herself, openly favoured the prosecution. But this is not to be wondered at, since in all the transactions relating to the Popish Plot, minds of a very different cast from Charles's, became, as by some fatality, divested of all their wonted sentiments of justice and humanity. Who can read, without horror, the account of that savage murmur of applause, which broke out upon one of the villains at the bar swearing positively to Stafford's having proposed the murder of the King? And how is this horror deepened when we reflect that in that odious cry were probably mingled the voices of men to whose memory every lover of the English Constitution is bound to pay the tribute of gratitude and respect." *Ibid.* p. 33, 34,—40, 41.

> "*Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies.*"

So little attention was at first given by Charles and his Council to Oates's discoveries, that nearly six weeks were suffered to elapse before any serious or strict examination was made into the truth or falsehood of the Plot, even though the basis of it was said to be the assassination of the King. At length, Oates and his accomplice, Tongue, resolved in some way to make the matter public; and, as a preparatory step, Oates drew up a Narrative of particulars, to the truth of which he solemnly deposed before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who was an eminent Justice of Peace that resided near Whitehall. This, says Burnet, "seemed to be done in distrust of the Privy Council, as if they might stifle his evidence; which to prevent, he put in safe hands. Upon that Godfrey was chid for his presuming to meddle in so tender a matter;"* and, as appeared from subsequent events, a plan was immediately laid to murder him; and this, within a few weeks, was but too fatally executed.

In the mean time the Council, which had now taken up the business with warmth, ordered various arrests to be made; and among the number of those committed to prison, were Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's Physician, Edward Coleman, Secretary to the Duke of York, Richard Langhorn, a Lawyer of eminence, Thomas Whitebread, Provincial of the Jesuits, and several other Jesuits and Papists. Coleman was at first committed to the charge of a messenger, whilst in whose custody, it was generally believed, that he had a long private conversation with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who, "it is certain," says Burnet, "grew apprehensive and reserved; for meeting me in the street, after some discourse on the present state of affairs, he said, he believed he himself should be knocked on the head."* About a fortnight afterwards, (on Saturday, October the twelfth,) Godfrey was missing; nor could the most sedulous endeavours obtain any other tidings of him for some time, but that he was seen near St. Clement's Church, in the Strand, about one o'clock on the day mentioned. On the Thursday evening following, his body was found in a ditch near Chalk Farm, then called the White House, Primrose Hill. "His sword was thrust through him, but no blood was on his clothes, or about him: his shoes were clean: his money was in his pocket, but nothing was about his neck, [although when he went from home he had a large laced band on,] and a mark was all round it, an inch broad, which shewed he was strangled. His breast was likewise all over marked with bruises, and his neck was broken:—and it was visible he was first strangled, and then carried to that place, where his sword was run through his dead body."† This full confirmation of the suspicions of the public, for that Sir Edmundbury was murdered, had been the general discourse long before any proof appeared, was regarded as a direct testimony of the existence of the Popish Plot; and though the King, in his opening Speech to the Parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth of the month, took but a very slight notice of the rumoured conspiracy, both Houses entered into the examination with great ardour, and the Commons ordered warrants to be signed for the apprehension of twenty-six persons who had been implicated by Oates, and among whom were the Lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis, and Sir Henry Tichbourn, Bart.; these noblemen surrendered themselves, and were committed to the Tower. Shortly afterwards, all Popish recusants were commanded, by Proclamation, to depart from the Cities of London and Westminster, and all places within ten miles. The Papists, says Rapin, "accordingly departed out of London; though for so short a space, that in less than a fortnight, they returned again, whether they had leave from their leaders to take the oaths, or knew that such Proclamations were never strictly enforced."*

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 428. Burnet says further of Sir Edmundbury, that "He was esteemed the best Justice of Peace in England:—and he had the courage to stay in London, and keep things in order during the Plague, which gained him much reputation, and upon which he was knighted." *Ibid.*

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 429. Godfrey's suspicion of his own danger was also confirmed by evidence before the House of Commons.

† Ibid.

On the last day of October, the remains of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which had been embalmed, were carried with great solemnity from Bridewell Hospital to St. Martin's Church, to be interred. The pall was supported by eight Knights, all Justices of the Peace, and the Procession was attended by all the City Aldermen, together with seventy-two London Ministers, who walked in couples before the body; and great multitudes followed after, in the same order. As yet, however, the perpetrators of his murder had not been discovered, though a reward of 500l. and the King's protection had been offered to any person making the disclosure; but within a few days afterwards, one William Bedloe,† who had once been servant to the Lord Bellasis, and, afterwards, an ensign in the Low Countries, was brought to London from Bristol, where he had been arrested by his own desire, on affirming that he was acquainted with some circumstances relating to Godfrey's death. On his different examinations, he stated that he had seen the murdered body in Somerset House, (then the Queen's residence,) and had been offered a large sum of money to assist in removing it.‡ He also corroborated Oates's

testimony

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* Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 692.

† "Bedloe had led a very vicious life; he had gone by many false names, by which he had cheated many persons. He had gone over many parts of France and Spain as a man of quality, and he had made a shift to live by his wits, or rather by his cheats." *Bur. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 432.

‡ "Besides Bedloe's oath," says Burnet, "that he saw Godfrey's body in Somerset House, it was remembered that, at that time, the Queen was

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testimony in many particulars respecting the Popish Plot, and on their joint evidence, Coleman was soon afterwards convicted of High Treason, in carrying on a traiterous correspondence with Father de la Chaise, Confessor to Lewis the Fourteenth, "in order to subvert the established religion and government." He suffered at Tyburn on the third of December; but died protesting his innocence of any other design than to make 'the King and the Duke as high as he could.' It was given out, says Burnet, "to make the Duke more odious," that he was kept up from making a confession by the hopes the Duke sent of a pardon at Tyburn," and this was subsequently corroborated by a man named Stephen Dugdale, who had been Lord Aston's Bailiff, and came forward as a third evidence in support of the reality of the Popish Plot. He stated that he had learned from one Evers, a Jesuit, that 'the Duke had sent to Coleman, when he was in Newgate, to persuade him not to make any discovery;' and, also, that he had enquired "whether he had ever discovered their designs to any other person; and that Coleman sent back answer that he had spoke of them to Godfrey; upon which the Duke gave orders to kill him."*

Soon afterwards, Oates and Bedloe implicated the Queen as having

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for some days in so close a confinement that no person was admitted. Prince Rupert came there to wait on her, but was denied access. This raised a stronger suspicion of her; but the King would not suffer that matter to go any farther." *Ibid.* p. 435.

* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 437 and 444. A few days before Coleman's execution, that is, on November the twenty-sixth, William Staley, a goldsmith, "the Popish Banker, who had been in great credit, but was then under great difficulties," was also hanged for High Treason at Tyburn, on the evidence of an infamous wretch, named Carstairs, who swore that he had overheard him say, in an eating-house, in Covent Garden, "over against Staley's shop," that he 'would himself stab the King, if no one else could be found.' Before Carstairs laid his information, he tried to extort a sum of money from Staley, as a bribe for secrecy. "Not long after, Carstairs died under great horror; and ordered himself to be cast into some ditch as a dog, for he said he was no better." *Ibid.* p. 432 and 439.

having been concerned in the Plot, but the King refused to listen to it, and told Burnet, that though "she was a weak woman, and had some disagreeable humours, she was not capable of a wicked thing." Soon afterwards, on December the sixth, the Commons impeached the imprisoned Lords; and, on the twenty-first, they also impeached the Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer; but before the Lords had resolved on his committal to the Tower, the King, who saw himself and his brother aimed at in the person of his Minister, prorogued the Parliament, which, in the following month was dissolved by Proclamation, as mentioned before.

On the same day that the Commons had impeached the Lord Treasurer, Miles Prance, a goldsmith, who had sometime wrought in the Queen's Chapel, was taken up on suspicion of having been concerned in the death of Godfrey; and, on his subsequent confession and testimony, confirmed by Bedloe, and others, Green, Hill, and Berry, all of them in subordinate situations at Somerset House, were convicted of the murder, which they had effected in conjunction with two Irish Jesuits who had absconded. It appeared that the unfortunate Magistrate had been inveigled in at the water-gate to Somerset House, under the pretence of his assistance being wanted to allay a quarrel, and that he was immediately strangled with a twisted handkerchief, after which, Green, 'with all his force, wrung his neck almost round.' On the fourth night after, the assassins conveyed his body to the place where it was discovered near Primrose Hill, and there one of the Jesuits run his sword through the corps, in the manner it was found. Green and Hill were executed on the twenty-first of February; but Berry was reprieved till the twenty-eighth of May. All of them affirmed their innocence to the very last; and Berry declared himself a Protestant.

In the ensuing elections for a new Parliament, which had been summoned to meet on the sixth of March, (anno 1679,) such a preponderating majority of the Country party was returned, that Charles thought it expedient to command his brother to go "beyond the seas," a few days previous to the commencement of the

Session.

Session. When the Commons had assembled, after a six days contest respecting their right of choosing a Speaker without the King's interference, they proceeded to make further inquiries into the Popish Plot, and addressed the King that the 500l. promised by the Proclamation for the discovery of Godfrey's murder, should be paid to Bedloe, which was accordingly done. Shortly afterwards, a Bill of Attainder was brought in against the Earl of Danby, who, to prevent its effect, surrendered himself in April, and was committed to the Tower. In May, the *Habeas Corpus Act*, which Mr. Fox has characterized as "the most important barrier against tyranny, and best-framed protection for the liberty of individuals, that has ever existed in any ancient or modern Commonwealth,"* was passed; and a Bill for excluding the Duke of York from the Succession to the Throne, was also brought in, but the King prevented its passing at that time, by proroguing the Parliament.

Shortly before this, the Metropolis was much agitated by a new design of the Papists to destroy London, which was attempted to be carried into effect by a maid-servant, who set fire to her master's house in Fetter Lane, by the instigation of one Stubbs; by whom it was declared, that he had persuaded her to the attempt, on the assurance of Father Gifford, his Confessor, that "it was no sin to burn all the houses of the Heretics." Four Jesuits, who were implicated in this design, were executed, but the Commons obtained pardons for Stubbs and the servant, on account of their ready confession.† To quiet the alarm, a new Proclamation was issued for expelling all Papists to the distance of twenty miles from the City.

On the twenty-first of June, Whitebread, the Provincial, and John Fenwick, the Procurator, of the Jesuits, were executed, with three other Priests, as Traitors, at Tyburn, for their concern in the Popish Plot; and, on the fourteenth of July, Counsellor Langhorn was also executed as a conspirator. The Queen's

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* Life of Jam. II. p. 35.

† Ech. Hist. Vol. III. p. 540.

Physician, Sir George Wakeman,* and some others who had been tried with him, on the eighteenth of June, were acquitted; and from this time, the credit both of Oates and Bedloe rapidly declined. "It was easy to see," says Rapin, "that the witnesses were capable of swearing to things of which they had no perfect knowledge."

The presumed reality of the Popish Plot may be contravened from the fact of the discoveries of Oates and Bedloe not having been all unfolded at the same time. Both of them were, at different periods, asked, whether they had stated all they knew? and both of them protested that they had, though they afterwards made many new and important disclosures. It was, probably, from this circumstance, connected with the despicable character of the witnesses, and the many improbabilities, and some known falsehoods in their evidence, that impressed the mind of Mr. Fox with the belief that the whole Plot was a fiction; yet, however intricate the circumstances, and difficult of developement as they must be regarded, there still appears sufficient proof of a design having been then actually on foot to subvert the established religion. The hypothesis of a double Plot, perhaps; of one of which, the most active, the Duke o York was leader; and, of the other, the more latent, the King himself, would seem to unravel many of the difficulties that perplex this Gordian knot of British History.

In the month of October, the rumour of a new Plot became prevalent in London; and one Dangerfield, whom Burnet describes as "a subtle and dextrous man who had gone through all the shapes and practices of roguery," gave information of a design to seize the Royal Family, and change the form of the government. He accused the Dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Halifax, and several eminent Citizens, of being parties in this scheme; but a nefarious

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* Burnet says, "this was looked on as the Queen's trial, as well as Wakeman's." *Hist.* Vol. I. p. 468.

attempt which he made to introduce forged papers into the lodgings of Colonel Mansel,[*] led to the disclosure of his villany, and he was committed to Newgate. Two days afterwards, "the scheme of the whole fiction" was found fairly written, hidden in a Meal-tub, whence this acquired the appellation of the *Meal-tub Plot,* in the house of a Popish Midwife with whom Dangerfield had an intrigue: the latter finding himself thus detected, sent for the Lord Mayor and made a full disclosure of all the circumstances of the pretended Plot, which had been chiefly contrived by the Countess of Powis, for the purpose of stigmatizing the Protestants, and furthering the Popish cause. The Countess, and Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain, were shortly afterwards sent to the Tower; and Gadbery, the Astrologer, Mrs. Cellier, the Midwife, and some others were also committed to prison; all of them being implicated by Dangerfield's evidence, yet eventually they were all cleared, the different juries not crediting his testimony.[†]

The people were rendered so indignant by the detection of the Meal-tub Plot, that they determined to express their feelings against the Papists in a marked way. Accordingly, on the seventeenth of November, the Anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's Accession, which, at that time, was a popular holyday, the annual solemnity of *Burning the Pope,* was performed with additional ceremonies of mock grandeur. Priests in copes, Carmelites, Grey-friars, Jesuits, Bishops, and Cardinals, all marched *in pontificalibus,* in the Procession, which was headed by a man on horseback, personating the dead body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, with a bell-man to remind the people of his murder: the Cardinals were followed by the Pope, who was inthroned in state, attended by boys scattering incense, and 'the Devil, as his Prime-minister, whispering him in the ear.' The Procession commenced at Bishopsgate, and after his Holiness had been paraded through the principal streets of the City, he was conducted, in the evening, to Fleet Street, and there committed to the flames amidst the huzzas of a vast multitude of spectators.

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[*] In Ax Yard, King Street, Westminster; Dang. Nar. p. 48.

[†] Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 475-6; and Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 711. Mrs. Cellier afterwards published an account of her trial mingled with 'libellous remarks,' for which she was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, and fined 1000l.

The proceedings of the King, during the whole course of this year, had betrayed a decided intention of governing without a Parliament; though, as if in deference to the public voice, he had, in April, chosen a new Council, into which many of the Whigs, as the Country party were now denominated, had been admitted.* Without the concurrence of this body, however, he in July, dissolved one Parliament; and, in October, forbade any of its members to say a word against his resolution of proroguing another, though the latter had not yet assembled; but the King having 'watched the elections,' justly apprehended that it would prove inimical to his designs. On this, the principal members in the Whig interest resigned their places at the Council-board, which gave the Duke's party a decided influence. The Metropolis, as well as the whole Country, was now in great ferment. Petitions for the meeting of Parliament flowed in from every part, and many of them were conceived in such strong language that the King prohibited them by Proclamation. Still they had the effect of occasioning him to summon the Parliament to meet in

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* The appellations of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have been continued through all the subsequent reigns, originated in the feuds of that of Charles the Second; the respective parties distinguishing each other by these terms in derision. The Courtiers reproached their antagonists with their resemblance to the rigid Covenanters in Scotland, who were said to live upon sour-milk, called Whig, whence they were denominated Whigs. The Country party discovered a similitude between their opponents and the Irish robbers and cut-throats, called Tories; and however inappropriate the terms themselves, they are still regarded as characteristic of those parties, which are supposed to represent either the independent and popular interests of the country; or the more immediate friends of the crown as opposed to the rights of the people.

January, 1680, instead of in the November following, as he had intended; yet the Session was of very short continuance, for after Charles, in a brief speech, had said that 'the unsettled state of the nation rendered a long interval of the Parliament absolutely necessary,' a prorogation was commanded till the fifteenth of April. Two days afterwards, the King declared in Council that he had recalled his brother, from "not having found such an effect from his absence as should incline him to keep him longer from him;" and on the twenty-fourth of February, the Duke arrived in London. On the eighth of March, Charles and his brother were sumptuously entertained by Sir Robert Clayton, the Lord Mayor, at his house in the Old Jewry.

After several prorogations the Parliament at length met on October the twenty-first, on the day before which, the Duke had departed London for Scotland. This was, apparently, in consequence of a bold step which the Earls of Shaftesbury and Huntingdon had recently taken, in conjunction with twelve Lords and eminent Gentlemen, in presenting the Duke as a Popish recusant before the Grand Jury, at Westminster, but the Jury were discharged before they could enter into the inquiry. On the fifteenth of November, the Commons passed the Exclusion Bill, and it was carried up to the Lords, who decided for the first reading, by a majority of two voices. On the second reading, the Court and Church party having united, and all the influence of the King, who himself sat in the House during the whole of the debate, being exerted against the Bill, it was rejected by thirty-three voices, among whom were nearly all the Bishops.

On the thirtieth of November, the trial of Lord Stafford commenced in Westminster Hall; and, on the seventh of December, he was convicted of High Treason, for his concern in the Popish Plot. The King commuted his sentence into that of beheading, and he suffered on the twenty-ninth, on Tower Hill, firmly protesting his innocence of all that had been sworn against him. Slingsby Bethel, and Henry Cornish, the Sheriffs of London, who had been elected in opposition to the Court party, contested the King's right to mitigate his sentence till they had appealed to the Commons, who decided that "they were content," that the Viscount should be "beheaded."

On the fifth of January, 1681, the Commons drew up articles of impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for dismissing the Grand Jury before they had determined on the presentment of recusancy made against the Duke of York; and on the seventh they resolved that no more supplies could be granted to the King till a Bill of Exclusion was passed. Three days afterwards, the Parliament was prorogued, notwithstanding some strong resolutions against such a procedure were passed in the House of Commons on the same morning. On the thirteenth, a strong Petition was presented to the King, by the Lord Mayor and Common Council, for re-assembling the Parliament on the twentieth, (the day to which it had been prorogued,) yet, on the eighteenth, as if in contempt of the City, the Parliament was dissolved by Proclamation, and a new one was summoned to meet at *Oxford*, on the twenty-first of March. The most strenuous exertions were now made by both parties to secure a preponderance. Several of the more patriotic Members of the Privy Council were struck off the list by the King's own hand, and other changes were made favourable to his purposes. The Country party mostly re-chose their old Members; and, in particular, the City of London, for which Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Thomas Player, Thomas Pilkington, and William Love, Esquires, were a third time returned. As soon as the election was over, the Citizens assembled in Common Hall, and after their "most hearty thanks" to their Representatives for their past conduct, they "resolved, by God's assistance, to stand by them with their lives and fortunes; being confidently assured that the said Members for the City will never consent to the granting any money or supply till they have effectually secured them against Popery and arbitrary Power." This meeting furnished an example for similar resolutions in most parts of the country; and was, doubtless, a principal cause of the rigour with which the City was treated during the subsequent years of the King's life, and the reign of his successor.

The divisions between Charles and the Commons appeared strongly to indicate a renewal of Civil War, and the ordering the Parliament to assemble at Oxford was by no means calculated to allay this suspicion. Many of the Members, apprehending violence, attended in that City on the day appointed, with armed retinues; and, in particular, the London representatives, who came with "a numerous body of well-armed horse," having ribbands in their hats, with the words—*No Popery! No Slavery!* woven in them.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the King, who proposed greatly to restrict his brother's authority in the event of his accession to the Throne, the Commons were not to be diverted from their favourite measure of excluding the Duke entirely from the Succession. On the seventh day, therefore, after they had met, the Commons were suddenly commanded to attend in the House of Lords, where the King dissolved the Parliament, and then immediately taking coach departed for Windsor, and the next day returned to Whitehall. His resolution never to call another Parliament was now fixed: it had been made, indeed, one of the stipulations to which he was bound by the French King, and on which he was to receive his stipend.

"The whole history of the remaining part of his reign exhibits an uninterrupted series of attacks upon the liberty, property, and lives of his subjects. The City of London seemed to hold out for a certain time, like a strong fortress in a conquered country; and by means of this citadel, Shaftesbury, and others, were saved from the vengeance of the Court. But this resistance, however honourable to the Corporation who made it, could not be of long duration. The weapons of law and justice were found feeble when opposed to the power of a Monarch who was at the head of a numerous and bigotted party of the nation, and who, which was most material of all, had enabled himself to govern without a Parliament. The Court having wrested from the Livery of London, partly by corruption, and partly by violence, the free election of their Mayor and Sheriffs, did not wait the accomplishment of their plan for the destruction of the whole Corporation, which, from their first success they justly deemed certain; but immediately proceeded to put in execution their system of oppression. Pilkington, Colt, and Oates, were fined 100,000l. each, for having spoken disrespectfully of the Duke of York; and Barnardiston 10,000l. for having, in a private letter, expressed sentiments deemed improper; and Sidney, Russel, and Armstrong, found that the just and mild principles which characterise the criminal law of England could no longer protect their lives, when the sacrifice was called for by the policy or vengeance of the King."*

One of the first victims to arbitrary power and packed juries, after Charles had determined to govern without a Parliament, was a Citizen of London, named Stephen Colledge, who was called the 'Protestant Joiner.' He was an active partizan, and had accompanied the City Members to Oxford, on horseback, armed, and was accused of uttering treasonable words, demonstrative of a design to seize the King; but the falsehood of the witnesses was so notorious, that the London Grand-Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the Bill. The Court, however, was determined not to be defeated in the work of blood; Colledge was sent to Oxford, and there condemned and executed on suborned testimony, for High Treason. Shortly before this, Oliver Plunket, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, who had also been alike condemned on false evidence in the Court of King's Bench, was executed as a Traitor, at Tyburn; where, also, on the same day, but with more justice, suffered Edward Fitz-Harris, Esq. who had been convicted for writing a treasonable libel.

Every possible endeavour was henceforth made to discredit the reality of the Popish Plot, and various trials were instituted to overawe the supporters of Parliament. As yet, however, the measures of the King were thwarted by the firmness of the Citizens, but on the election of the Lord Mayor, at Michaelmas, the Court party prevailed, and Sir John Moore was chosen into that office, through whose agency, in the following year, the rights of the City were but too successfully invaded. The new Mayor invited the King to dine at Guildhall, on the day of his feast; and this invitation was accepted, "notwithstanding," as Charles said in his reply, it was "brought by Messengers so unwelcome as those two Sheriffs are." The persons so contemptuously alluded to, were Pilkington and Shute, who had been appointed, for their integrity and independence, in opposition to the King's interest. On the twenty-fourth of November, the Grand Jury returned an *Ignoramus* on the charges against the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had been imprisoned in the Tower since the second of July.

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* Life of Jam. II. p. 43—45.

In April, 1682, the Duke of York came back from Scotland, and was publicly complimented by the Lord Mayor and his City friends, on 'his happy return.' Shortly afterwards, he dined with the Artillery Company, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, attended by many of the nobility: a sort of counter meeting and dinner, that had been proposed on the same day by the popular party, was forbidden by an order of Council. At Midsummer, the election of new Sheriffs was attended with many circumstances in direct violation of the rights of the City, but the Court party being determined to effect their object in despite of the privileges of the Livery, Dudley North, Esq. brother to the Chief Justice North, and Mr. Peter Rich, two persons entirely devoted to the King's pleasure, were finally appointed, though their opponents, Papillon and Dubois had a most decided majority on the poll. The Crown was also successful in the fall of the year, in procuring a Lord Mayor suitable to its purposes, and every machination that could be devised against public and private liberty was now put into practice.

One of the first sufferers was Alderman Pilkington, who, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen proceeded to meet the Duke on his return from Scotland, had refused to accompany them, saying, that 'the Duke of York who has fired the City, is now come to cut our throats.' For this, on the twenty-fourth of November, he was fined 100,000l.; and Sir Patience Ward, the Lord Mayor, in 1681, who was present when the alledged words were sworn to be spoken, was convicted of perjury, because he had testified that 'he had not heard them.' In the May following, Pilkington and Shute, the late Sheriffs, together with twelve Aldermen and principal Citizens of the Whig party, were condemned in large fines for continuing the poll for Sheriffs in the preceding year, after the Lord Mayor had ordered it to be adjourned.

Among the attempts to enslave the people was the invasion of the chartered rights of the whole Kingdom, by writs of *Quo Warranto;** and many towns and boroughs had already surrendered their dearest privileges, rather than enter into a contest with despotic power. The right of having those persons nominated for Sheriffs of London who were most at the will of the Crown, was liable to be annually contested, a more decisive blow was therefore meditated against the City, and Sir Robert Sawyer, the Attorney-General, by the advice and authority of Sir Edmund Sanders, undertook to procure the forfeiture of the City charters, on the most unjustifiable pretexts.†

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* For particulars, see the Histories of Burnet, Echard, Kennet, and Rapin.

† The substance of these were, First, That the court of Common Council having presented a petition to the King on his proroguing the Parliament, when they were about to try several noble persons on the Popish Plot; and by their printing and publishing the said petition, which was deemed seditious, had possessed the people with an ill opinion of the King and government:—Secondly, That on rebuilding the markets after the Great Fire, certain tolls had been established by the Corporation on goods brought to market, towards defraying the expenses; which, to suit the present intention of the court, were said to be illegal:—Thirdly, That all the crown gave was forfeitable to the crown again upon a malversation of

"To make the iniquity against the City more palpable, it is observable, that when the demurrer in this cause was joined, Sir Francis Pemberton sat as Chief Justice of the King's Bench; but before the ensuing term, when it was to be argued, he was removed to the Court of Common Pleas, merely to provide for Sir Edward Sanders, who, for drawing out and advising these pleadings, was promoted to be Chief Justice of England.

"But in the hands of a besotted and dishonourable King, and labouring under the irritated malevolence of his bigotted brother, the Duke of York; tried by corrupt judges, who were only appointed to condemn; and opposed to all the strength which such united power had usurped, the City Magistracy, too feeble to make any stand for their privileges, were compelled to bow to lawless decisions, till they might be relieved in happier and better times.

"The endeavours of the Citizens to support their conduct, and repel these infringements on their dear-bought liberties, were strenuously resisted by the ministry, which was determined, at all events to crush them. Accordingly, in Trinity term, on the twelfth of June, 1683, the *Quo Warranto* being argued and determined, Justice Jones, Sanders having died during the interim, pronounced, by order of the court, the following sentence on the City:—'That a City might forfeit its Charter; that the malversations of the Common Council were acts of the whole City; and that the two points set forth in the pleadings, were just grounds for

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of the body:—Fourthly, That, as the Common Council was the body of the City, chosen by all the Citizens, so they were all involved in what the Common Council did:—and, Fifthly, Since they had both scandalized the King's government, and oppressed their fellow subjects, they had, in consequence, forfeited their liberties.

To this the Corporation pleaded, First, That upon the warrant of many charters they claimed to be, and were a body politic, which traversed their usurping upon the King:—Secondly, That by the same warrant, and the liberty and franchise thus granted, they claimed to make and constitute Sheriffs:—Thirdly, That by several patents of Charles I. they claimed to be justices and to hold sessions.

for the forfeiting of a charter. Upon which premises the conclusion seemed to be, that, therefore, the City of London had forfeited its Charter.'

"But what is singular, although it was determined that the King *might* seize the liberties of the City, yet, *contrary to what is usual in such cases*, the Attorney-General was ordered to move, *that the Judgment might not be recorded.*

"The alarmed Citizens immediately summoned a court of Common Council to deliberate on what measures were most proper to pursue in such an exigency. The Country party moved to have the Judgment entered; but this was overruled by the Court party, who basely insisted upon an absolute submission to the King, before Judgment was entered: and though this was, in effect, a voluntary surrender of the City liberties, and depriving themselves of the means of obtaining the Judgment to be reversed, the act of submission was carried by a great majority. The consequence was, that a Petition was drawn up, and carried to the King at Windsor, on the eighteenth of June, by the Lord Mayor, at the head of a deputation from the Council; in which Petition they acknowledged their own misgovernment, and his Majesty's lenity; solicited his pardon, and promised constant loyalty and obedience; and humbly begged his Majesty's commands and direction.

"When the King had read the Petition, the Lord Keeper North, by his Majesty's order, after reproaching the Citizens for not having been more early in their application, told them, that the King would not reject their suit on the following conditions:— First, That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town Clerk, or Coroner of the City of London, or Steward of the Borough of Southwark, should be capable of, or admitted to, the exercise of their respective offices, before his Majesty had approved them under his sign manual.—Secondly, That, if his Majesty should disapprove the choice of any Person to be Lord Mayor, and signified the same under his sign manual, the Citizens within one week were to proceed to a new choice: and, if his Majesty, in like manner, disapproved of the second choice, he might, if he pleased, nominate a person to be Lord Mayor for the ensuing year:—Thirdly, That the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen might also, *with the leave of his Majesty*, displace an Alderman, Recorder, or other officer:—Fourthly, Upon the election of an Alderman, if the Court of Aldermen should judge and declare the person presented to be unfit, the ward to choose again; and, upon a disapproval of a second choice, the Court to appoint another:—Fifthly, The Justices of the Peace to be by the King's commission; and the settling of these matters to be left to his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Council learned in the law.—The Lord Keeper added, "That these regulations being made, his Majesty would not only stop this prosecution, but would also confirm their Charter;" and he concluded thus: 'My Lord Mayor, the term draws towards an end, and Midsummer is at hand, when some of the officers used to be chosen; whereof his Majesty will reserve the approbation. Therefore, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you return to the City, and consult the Common Council, that he may speedily know your resolutions thereupon, and accordingly give his directions. That you may see the King is in earnest, and the matter is not capable of delay, I am commanded to let you know, he hath given orders to his Attorney-General to enter upon Judgment on Saturday next, unless you prevent it by your compliance in all these particulars.'

"On the return of the Lord Mayor to the City, a Court of Common Council was immediately summoned to determine whether or not these stipulations should be accepted; and violent debates ensued on the question: the friends of liberty declared they would sacrifice all that was dear to them, rather than yield to such slavish conditions; nevertheless, their opposition was at length rendered nugatory by a majority of eighteen."[*]

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[*] For more extended particulars, see Mait. Lond. Vol. I. p. 477—483; and Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p, 533—535.

Though the submission of the City had been sufficiently degrading, the King appears to have thought otherwise, and he therefore commanded the Judgment that had been given upon the *Quo Warranto* to be entered up; and this was no sooner done, than, by a Commission under the Great Seal, he appointed the Lord Mayor, Sir William Pritchard, and the Sheriffs, Peter Daniel and Samuel Dashwood, Esquires, to hold their respective offices, *during pleasure;* at the same time he displaced the Recorder, Sir George Treby, and preferred Mr. Thomas Jenner to the vacant place. Charles was now seated on the pinnacle of despotism: the example of the City had spread a general alarm, and most of the other Corporations 'tamely resigned their Charters,' nor could they obtain new ones till they had paid considerable sums; and, even then, all places of power and profit, like those of the Capital, were left at the disposal of the Crown, in which state they remained till the Revolution.

In the course of this year, the *Rye-House Plot* was made the pretext for effecting the destruction of those eminent patriots, Russel and Sydney, "two names," says Mr. Fox, "that will, it is hoped, be for ever dear to every English heart: when their memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell that English liberty will be fast approaching to its final consummation."* William, Lord Russel, was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the twenty-first of July; and Algernon Sidney, on Tower Hill, on the seventh of December. They both died with exemplary firmness; "their deportment was such as might be expected from men who knew themselves to be suffering, not for their crimes, but their virtues."† Several other persons, who were implicated in the Plot, whether by truth or falsehood, were also executed at different times; and the Earl of Essex, as there is strong reason to believe, was basely murdered in the Tower on the thirteenth of July, (the day on which Lord Russel was tried) by the Duke's

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* Life of Jam. II. p. 60. † Ib.

connivance, though it was given out that he had committed suicide to avoid his impending fate for High Treason.

The year 1684 was as distinguished by similar violations of law and justice as the preceding one. In February, John Hampden, Esq. grandson to the patriot Hampden, was tried for a treasonable misdemeanor, and the Jury declaring him guilty, agreeably to the express charge of the infamous Jefferies, (who, for his services to the Court, had been made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench,) who told them, that unless they condemned him, "they would discredit all that had been done before;"* he was fined 10,000l. A few days afterwards, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Bart. was convicted for 'defaming and scandalizing the government,' by *writing* four letters reflecting on the deaths of Russel and Sydney, &c. For this he was sentenced to a fine of 10,000l. and, on default of payment, was committed to the King's Bench, where he continued till the Revolution. In June, Sir Thomas Armstrong, who had been implicated in the Rye-House Plot, and outlawed, was betrayed in Holland, and cruelly put to death at Tyburn; notwithstanding the Statute declaring that an outlawed person coming in within the year should have a trial, if required. When Armstrong was brought before the Court, after some argument, he said, he 'asked nothing but the law.' The brutal Jefferies replied, "that you shall have by the Grace of God; you shall have it to the full: and he then ordered him to be executed within six days."† He was drawn on a sledge to Tyburn; and having been dismembered as a traitor, his quarters were fixed upon the City gates, and his head upon Westminster Hall, between Cromwell's and Bradshaw's.‡

In furtherance of the design of the court to overawe, or ruin, all the leaders of the popular party, Thomas Papillon, Esq. was, in November, brought to trial before Jefferies, in the Court of King's Bench, for causing, though in due course of law, a writ to be executed on the person of Sir William Pritchard, when Lord Mayor in 1682, for not having returned him Sheriff, after he had been duly elected by his fellow citizens. Not a shadow of proof was offered that Papillon had acted illegally, yet he was condemned to pay a fine of 10,000l.; a sentence that obliged him to quit the country till the period of the Revolution.

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 576. † Ibid. p. 579.

‡ "When Jefferies came to the King at Windsor, soon after this trial, the King took a ring of good value from his finger, and gave it him for these services: the ring thereupon was called his *blood-stone*. Ibid. p. 580.

On the sixth of February, 1685, the King died at Whitehall, having previously received the sacrament of the mass, and extreme unction. It was vehemently suspected that his death was occasioned by poison, and many circumstances are recorded in history that corroborate this opinion.

On the day of Charles's decease, his brother was proclaimed King in London, with the accustomed ceremonies, by the title of James the Second; and, on the twenty-third of April, he was crowned, with his Queen, at Westminster, the usual cavalcade from the Tower being dispensed with to avoid the charges.

Within two days after his accession, James went openly to mass; and notwithstanding his public declaration that he would "make it his endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, as now by law established," he immediately begun to betray his determination to rule arbitrarily, by ordering the continuance of the levies of the customs and additional excise duties, though, according to the grant of Parliament, those duties had expired with his brother's life. The vigour of the nation was at that time depressed, and no Hampden could be then found dauntless enough to risk the hazard of opposing this assumption of illegal authority.

James's first object was unquestionably the establishment of an absolute monarchy, his second, the complete restoration of the Catholic hierarchy; and, to this latter design, the most obnoxious witnesses to the reality of the Popish Plot, by whose agency, at least, the attempt had been retarded in the late reign, were now to be traduced and punished. On the eighth

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and ninth of May, Titus Oates was tried by Judge Jefferies, in the Court of King's Bench, for perjury on two points of his evidence: his conviction had been predetermined, and he was sentenced to be stript of his canonical habits; to be fined two thousand marks; to stand five times a year in the pillory, in different parts of London and Westminster; to be closely imprisoned for life; and as a prelude to the whole, to stand in the pillory at Westminster Hall and at the Royal Exchange, on successive days; on the third day to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate; and on the fifth, to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn. The scourging was executed with merciless severity; Rapin says, 'with such cruelty as was unknown to the English nation,' and Oates swooned several times with the excess of the pain, whilst tied to the cart. Dangerfield was twice pilloried and whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn, for his concern in the discovery of the Meal-Tub Plot; and this led to his death, for, when on his return, in a coach, after the second whipping, he was insulted near Hatton Garden, by a Barrister of Gray's Inn, who being irritated at some reproachful words used in reply, violently thrust the end of a small cane into Dangerfield's eye, which, in two hours, put a period to his life. The Barrister was condemned to be hanged; and James, who, on this occasion, seems to have felt what was due to justice, refused to pardon him, though strongly solicited for that purpose; he was therefore executed according to his sentence. The aged and respectable Presbyterian minister, Richard Baxter, was soon after condemned to fine and imprisonment, for his writings against the Catholic bishops.

The first attempt to overthrow the despotic authority which James had now assumed, was made by the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth; the former of whom landed in Scotland on the twentieth of May, and the latter, at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the eleventh of June. Fatally, however, for themselves and their adherents, they were both unsuccessful: the Earl, after having been treated with extreme indignity, was beheaded at Edinburgh; and the Duke, who had been attainted by Parliament, suffered the like fate on Tower Hill, on the fifteenth of July. He fell, highly regretted by the people, with whom he had ever been a great favourite. Many of the Duke's partisans were almost immediately proscribed and put to death in various parts of the kingdom, and, particularly in the western counties, under circumstances of extreme cruelty. London was the scene of several executions; and, among others, of Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt, a benevolent woman, who had given shelter to a person that had been concerned in the late insurrection: and who, with a peculiar degree of base ingratitude, secured his own pardon by betraying his humane benefactress. She suffered with great magnanimity; though, according to the then existing laws of treason, as applicable to women, it was her horrid fate to be burnt alive. "She died," says Burnet, "rejoicing that God honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign, and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love."*

The next distinguished sufferer in London was Alderman Cornish, who was unjustly accused of having been concerned in the plot for which Russel bled on the scaffold; but whose principal crime was that of opposing the arbitrary measures of the Court. So fell a spirit of rancour marked the proceedings against this upright magistrate, that his committal, trial, and execution, were all comprized within the narrow compass of ten days; and to increase the terror resulting from the measures pursued by James and his merciless co-adjutor Jefferies, who had been recently appointed Lord High Chancellor, this ill-fated gentleman was ordered to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, before his own door, opposite the end of King Street, Cheapside. He suffered on the twenty-third of October; but the falsehood of the evidence alledged against him, "appeared so clearly soon after his death, that his estate was restored to his family, and the witnesses were lodged in remote prisons for their lives."†

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 649. † Ibid. p. 651.

The year 1686 became memorable from a measure that threatened destruction to the Church of England, this was, the proposed exemption from all penal laws in respect to religion, which James wished the Dissenters to believe was for their benefit, but which, in fact, was intended as the means of rendering Popery paramount to Protestantism. Such an innovation excited the strictures of the most eminent divines, who united their abilities in the endeavour to counteract it; of these none were more assiduous than Dr. John Sharp, rector of St. Giles' in the Fields, and afterwards Archbishop of York. This divine "had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal." Such a man, therefore, could not escape the notice and animadversion of James and his courtiers; and a particular sermon which he had preached at his parish church, upon some points of the controversy then existing, gave so much offence, that the King ordered a mandatory letter to be sent to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, "requiring him immediately to suspend Sharp, and then to examine the matter."* The Bishop declined proceeding in such a *summary* way; but requested Sharp to abstain from officiating till the charge was investigated. By this mild conduct, the prelate, who had already rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the court, gave such high offence, that he was now marked as an eminent example for severity; but as there was no law by which he could be punished, the King, by the advice of Jefferies, revived the High Commission Court, under the new name of a Court of Delegates for Ecclesiastical Affairs. Before this Court, which was empowered to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way, without any legal rule to govern its proceedings,† and constituted as it was, in defiance of the express words of the Act of Parliament by which the High Commission Court had been abolished in 1640, Bishop Compton was arraigned for contumacy, in not suspending Dr. Sharp agreeably to the tenor of the King's letter; and was himself suspended from exercising his episcopal functions. Dr. Sharp, who had expressed his sorrow for having excited his Sovereign's displeasure, was eventually dismissed with a gentle reprimand only, and suffered to return to the exercise of his clerical duties.

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 675. † Ibid.

The protection given to the Papists, at this period, was so undisguised and decided, that the host was carried in procession through the streets of London, and "monks," says Rapin, "appeared in the habits of their order at Whitehall and St. James's, and scrupled not to tell the Protestants, that 'they hoped, in a little time, to walk in procession through Cheapside.'"* A camp of 15,000 men was also formed upon Hounslow Heath, in which the King had a small chapel, wherein mass was daily celebrated.† All vacant preferments were likewise given to the Papists; and, in many instances, Protestant incumbents were deprived of their benefices to make room for Catholic priests. A premature embassy was also sent to the court of Rome, for the purpose of reconciling "the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Holy See," but the Pontiff, Innocent XI. having more discrimination than to be the dupe of such a visionary scheme, treated the English ambassador with so much incivility, bordering on rudeness, that the latter, considering himself insulted, returned to England without having accomplished any material object of his mission.‡

On the twenty-second of April, 1688, the King caused his second declaration of Liberty of Conscience to be promulgated; and an Order of Council was forthwith issued, "enjoining the

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* Rap. Hist. Vol. II. p. 755.

† Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 703.

‡ Whenever the Earl of Castlemain, James's ambassador, had an audience of the Pope, and had begun to enter upon his mission, the Holy Father was instantly seized with a fit of coughing, which always broke off the interview. At length, the Earl threatened to return home, unless he was permitted to proceed to the business of his embassy; and this being reported to the Pontiff, the latter coldly observed, "Well, let him go; and tell him that it were fit he rise early in the morning that he may rest himself at noon; for in this country it is dangerous to travel in the heat of the day."—*Welwood's Mem.* p. 186.

Bishops to cause it to be sent and distributed throughout their dioceses, to be read at the usual time of divine service, in all churches and chapels on certain days named in the order." This new attack upon the principles and doctrines of the established Church, was considered by some of its principal divines, as a direct violation of its fundamental interests, and several of the Bishops held a conference on the subject, at Lambeth Palace, the result of which was a resolution, "That it was better to obey God than man, and their case being such, that they could not obey the King without betraying their own consciences, they ought, without further consideration, to expose themselves to the approaching storm." Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely; Dr. Lake, Bishop of Chichester; Dr. White, Bishop of Peterborough; and Dr. Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, then drew up a Petition to the King, wherein, "after professing their tenderness to all Dissenters, they prayed to be relieved from the dispensing power which the Declaration professed, and that they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, make themselves so far parties to it, as to cause its distribution through the kingdom." This Petition was immediately presented by the Bishops to their bigotted Sovereign, who was so incensed at its unexpected boldness, that he answered with passion, "he would be obeyed, and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him."* All the reply made by the prelates was, "The will of God be done!" and they directly quitted the royal presence.

The King's Declaration was so little congenial with the popular feeling, that wherever it was read from the pulpit, the congregation almost immediately quitted the church; and in all London, only seven ministers were found sufficiently servile to obey the injunction.† So great, however, was James's infatuation, that he determined to accomplish his design by upraising the strong arm of power, and by way of setting an example which none could mistake, he resolved to proceed with the utmost rigour against the seven Bishops, who were ordered to appear before a Privy-Council devoted to his will, on the eighth of June. The proceedings were most remarkable. On their appearance, "the King, holding the Petition in his hand, asked them whether they had signed that paper? They made a low bow, and said nothing. 'What,' said the King, 'do you deny your own hands?' Upon which they silently bowed again. Then the King told them, if they would 'own it to be their hands, upon his royal word not a hair of their heads should be touched.' Whereupon the Archbishop said, 'Relying upon your Majesty's word, I confess it to be my hand:' and so said all the rest. Then being ordered to withdraw, when they were called in again, they found the King vanished, and Jefferies in the chair."* This stern judge immediately required them to give bond for their appearance in the Court of King's Bench, to answer for their "high misdemeanour." On their steady refusal to comply, they were all committed to the Tower, and the crown lawyers were directed to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 739. † Ibid. p. 740.

"These proceedings," says Burnet, "set all the whole City into the highest fermentation that was ever known in the memory of man;" and it not being accounted safe to send the Bishops to the Tower by land, they were conveyed thither by water, yet not so privately but that the people, flocking in multitudes to the river side, hailed them as they past with loud acclamations, and on their knees solicited their blessing.†

On the fifteenth of June, the Bishops were discharged from imprisonment on their own recognizance to appear on the twenty-ninth at Westminster Hall, to take their trial; which they accordingly did, amidst one of the most crowded courts that had ever assembled. On this occasion, the Judges were not unanimous in their charge to the Jury; and the latter deliberated on their verdict during the whole night, but, on the next morning, they pronounced the Prelates, 'Not Guilty!' The acclamations of the crowd, at this decision, were loud and incessant, and the whole Metropolis rung with the repeated shouts of joy; in the evening every house was illuminated, and numberless bonfires testified the general satisfaction, in proud defiance of the King's severe prohibitions against all riotous assemblies.

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* Tindal, from the information of the Bishop of Durham; Rap. Hist. Vol. II. page 763, note.

† Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 741; and Rap. Eng. Vol. II. p. 763.

James was exasperated by this defeat to measures of greater violence: his pertinacity increased with his disappointment, and he prepared to effect his purposes by open force. But the nation was now awakened to its danger, and both the Church and Dissenting interests united to preserve the state from utter ruin. The union of parties in opposition to the Court was, indeed, remarkable: Whigs and Tories had become alike emulous in concerting means for preserving their country from civil and religious thraldom, and all ranks of people heartily concurred in the same glorious purpose. The Prince of Orange, who was then at the head of the Protestant interest on the Continent, was privately invited to direct the measures that were deemed necessary at the present crisis; and secret meetings were held in various parts of the kingdom to pave the way for a revolution.

The decided tone of the public voice, at length, convinced James of his error; he discovered, when too late, that the small band of Papists which surrounded him, could oppose no effectual barrier against the tide of popular resentment. Alarmed at the dangers of his situation, in this dilemma he applied to the venerable prelates whom he had so lately persecuted; and, requested their advice conjointly with the other Bishops, as to the steps which he should pursue in the present emergency. At the same time, he restored the Bishop of London to his functions, and ordered the base Jefferies himself to carry back the Charter to the City of London, as though he had been willing to revert to true constitutional principles. By the advice of the Bishops also, he dissolved the new Ecclesiastical Court, and signified his intention to call a free Parliament; but it became evident, from his hypocritical conduct, that no terms could be kept with him; the adherents of the Prince of Orange therefore effected the Revolution, by which the Constitution of the Realm was restored to all its fundamental principles, whilst James pusillanimously abdicated the throne which he was unworthy to fill. He quitted Whitehall, in disguise, with Sir Edward Hales, on the night between the tenth and eleventh of December; and having thrown the Great Seal into the Thames, crossed the river, and proceeded to Faversham, near which, at Shellness, he embarked in a small vessel that had been hired by Sir Edward to convey him to France. The weather being tempestuous, they could not immediately sail, and the suspicions of the Faversham sailors having been excited by various circumstances, they boarded the vessel on the morning of the twelfth, when discovering three persons of quality in the cabin, they carried them on shore. At the Queen's Arms, in Faversham, the King was recognized, and from thence he wrote to the Lords of the Council, in London, who dispatched the Earls of Faversham, Hillsborough, Middleton, and Yarmouth, with a strong guard of horse, to escort him to Whitehall, if he could be prevailed on to return. On his arrival at his palace, he wrote to the Prince of Orange, at Windsor, inviting him to St. James's, that "they might amicably and personally confer together about the means of redressing the public grievances." To this the Prince of Orange replied not, but calling a Council of the English Lords, who were with him, they resolved that it was expedient that James should remove from his palace to Ham, in Surrey; and, on the same night, the Dutch guards took possession of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's. The King, seeing his power thus circumscribed, requested, and obtained, permission to retire to Rochester instead of Ham; and from Rochester, two days afterwards, December the twenty-third, he privately withdrew, and was conveyed in a small frigate to Ambleteuse, in France, never more to revisit the kingdom he had so arbitrarily governed.

When James first quitted the Metropolis, a meeting of thirty Spiritual and Temporal Lords assembled at Guildhall, where they sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to consult with them respecting the state of the Realm; and they resolved to depute some of their body to inform the Prince of Orange that they had determined to adhere to his protection, and to request him to honour the City with his presence. The possession of the Tower of London had been previously secured and placed in the custody of Lord Lucas.

After it became generally known that James had withdrawn, the lower class of the populace committed great disorders, in burning the mass-houses, searching the houses of ambassadors for concealed Papists, and insulting the owners, and destroying their property. One of the chief sacrifices to popular rage, was the atrocious Jefferies, who, on James's departure, had endeavoured to provide for his personal safety, by obscuring himself in Wapping, in the disguise of a sailor, till an opportunity might offer of retreating to Hamburgh; he was, however, discovered; and, after suffering the reproaches and bruises of the mob, was dragged before Sir John Chapman, the Lord Mayor, who is described, by Burnet, as being 'so highly affected by the rage of the populace, and the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits, and died soon afterwards.'* Jefferies was consigned to the Tower, where he died, in a few days, in consequence of the bruises he had received; or, as otherwise reported, of excessive drinking; by which he disappointed the public wish that he might atone for his manifold offences by an ignominious execution.

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* Bur. Hist. Vol. I. p. 797.

HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF LONDON FROM THE REVOLUTION IN 1688, TO THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY, GEORGE THE THIRD.

On the evening of the day that the King finally departed from Whitehall, the Prince of Orange arrived at St. James's, where he received the congratulations of the Nobility, and of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London. Soon afterwards he assembled the Spiritual and Temporal Lords that were in London, to the number of sixty, who all resolved to sanction his proceedings, and coincided in his declaration to call a free Parliament. They also addressed him to take upon himself the administration of Public Affairs till the meeting of a Convention; and, by a second address, they desired him to issue his letters missive "to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and to the several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, containing directions for the chusing, within ten days, such a number of persons to represent them, as are of right to be sent to Parliament."

The Convention Parliament assembled at Westminster on the 22d of January, 1689, when, after violent debates on successive days, it was resolved, that the abdication of James had rendered the throne vacant; and eventually it was determined, that the Prince and Princess of Orange "should be declared King and Queen of England." Accordingly on the 13th of February, they were proclaimed with the accustomed ceremonies, and on the 11th of April they were solemnly crowned in Westminster Abbey, under the title of William the Third and Mary the Second. On the Lord Mayor's Day following, their Majesties, accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Denmark, and both Houses of Parliament, were sumptuously entertained at Guildhall; and, early in the ensuing year, the King affixed his signature to an Act of Parliament, by which all the proceedings of former reigns against the City charters, under writs of *Quo Warranto,* were reversed and made void, and every right and privilege of the Citizens were fully re-established.

In the year 1692, on the eighth of September, the shock of an *Earthquake* was felt in the City and parts adjacent, but did no particular damage. In the same year, during the King's absence in Holland, the Queen borrowed 200,000l. of the City for the exigencies of Government.

The year 1694 disclosed an infamous system of bribery; which being investigated by the House of Commons, it was proved, that 1000 guineas had been demanded and taken from the Chamberlain of London by Sir John Trevor, the Speaker, for forwarding the Orphan bill; and in consequence of which he was expelled the House: other bribes had been also taken by different persons.

In the year 1697, a measure of great utility to the Metropolis was carried into execution. Various places, to which, before the Reformation, the privilege of sanctuary was attached, had by the lapse of time so far degenerated from their original destination, as to become receptacles for unprincipled and lawless persons, who fled to them as places of refuge from justice and legal authority. The evils thus produced had grown so enormous as to demand the interference of the Legislature, and an Act of Parliament was passed, by which all the following places of abused privilege were suppressed, viz. the Sanctuary in the Minories; those in the neighbourhood of Fleet Street, as Salisbury Court, White-friars, Ram Alley, and Mitre Court; Fulwood's Rents, in Holborn, and Baldwin's Gardens, in Gray's-Inn Lane; the Savoy in the Strand; and Montague Close, Deadman's Place, the Clink, and the Mint, in Southwark*.

On the disbanding of the army after the Peace of Ryswick in the same year, many Papists and other disaffected persons resorted to London, which occasioned a Proclamation to be issued, restricting them to a distance of not less than ten miles from the Metropolis, on penalty of being punished as recusants. Similar Proclamations were issued in 1699 and 1700, and the City Magistrates were strictly enjoined to prevent the opening of Mass-houses and Popish schools, and also empowered to seize all arms and ammunition that might be found in the possession of Papists or disaffected persons.

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* Through the supineness of the Magistracy, the Mint was afterwards suffered to re-assume its former character, and that with increased profligacy; nor was it finally suppressed till the reign of George the First.

After the death of King William, on the eighth of March, 1702, the Princess Anne, eldest surviving daughter of James the Second, who had married George, Prince of Denmark, acceded to the throne, and was crowned at Westminster on the thirteenth of April. On the ninth of November, the new Queen dined with the Corporation at Guildhall; and on the twelfth she went in great state to St. Paul's, accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, to attend a solemn thanksgiving for the success of the Earl of Marlborough in the Low Countries, and of Sir George Rooke at Vigo.

The year 1703 was remarkable for a dreadful *Storm of Wind*, which arose about ten o'clock during the night of the twenty-sixth of November, and continued to rage with extreme violence till seven the next morning, when it gradually moderated. The devastation was most extensive, and every part of the kingdom experienced its ravages. The damage sustained by the City of London alone was estimated at two millions sterling; and vast loss was also sustained in other parts of the Metropolis. Upwards of two thousand stacks of chimnies were blown down; and the streets were covered with broken tiles and slates from the roofs of houses. The lead on the tops of several churches was rolled up like skins of parchment; and at Westminster Abbey, Christ's Hospital, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and many other places, it was carried off from the buildings. The roof of the Guard-room at Whitehall was carried entirely away; two new-built turrets on the church of St. Mary, Aldermary, one of the spires of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and the four pinnacles on the tower of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, were wholly blown down; the vanes and spindles of the weathercocks were bent in many places; several houses near Moorfields were levelled with the ground, as were about twenty others in the out-parts, with a great number of brick walls, and gable ends of houses innumerable. Twenty-one persons were killed by the fall of the ruins, and about two hundred others were greatly maimed. All the ships in the river Thames, between London Bridge and Limehouse, except four, were broken from their moorings, and thrown on shore; upwards of four hundred wherries were entirely lost; more than sixty barges were driven foul of London Bridge, and as many more were either sunk or staved between the Bridge and Hammersmith: these events were attended with the loss of many lives. The destruction at sea far exceeded that on the land; and in this dismal night, twelve men of war, with upwards of eighteen hundred men on board, perished within sight of their own shore; great numbers of merchantmen were also lost, and the whole of the damage was so great, that its amount defied computation[*].

The years 1704 and 1706 were distinguished by the glorious battles of Blenheim and Ramilies, obtained over the French and Bavarians by the Duke of Marlborough, who on both occasions was splendidly entertained by the City, together with many of the principal nobility and general officers. The standards and colours taken at Blenheim were directed by the Queen to be put up in Westminster Hall; those captured at Ramilies were presented by her Majesty to the City, and placed in Guildhall. Another memorable event of the year 1706 was the Union with Scotland, the terms of which was finally settled between the English and Scotch Commissioners at the Cockpit, Whitehall; subject, however, to the revision of the Parliament, who confirmed the measure, and passed the Act of Union. On this occasion the Queen went in solemn procession to St. Paul's Cathedral.

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[*] Account of the Storm, 1703.

Many destructive fires having recently happened, chiefly through the inattention of servants, an Act of Parliament was passed, in 1708, by which it was enacted, "that every servant by whose negligence or carelessness a fire should be occasioned, should forfeit 100*l.* or in default, be imprisoned, and kept to hard labour during eighteen months. All Church-wardens within the Bills of Mortality were also empowered, at the charge of their respective parishes, to fix upon the several main water-pipes in the streets, stop-blocks or fire-cocks; and also to provide a large hand engine, with a leather pipe and socket to screw upon the fire-cock; and for the future, that all party-walls should be entirely of brick or stone."

The year 1709 was marked by a circumstance highly creditable to the humanity of the nation. The cruel depredations of the French in the Palatinate, at different periods, had reduced the inhabitants to such extreme distress, that they were at last compelled to desert their country; and as they did not think themselves so secure in any other place as in Great Britain, no less than twelve thousand arrived here, in the most forlorn condition, and sought refuge in the neighbourhood of London. The Queen, naturally humane, supported them out of her privy purse for some time; and she was afterwards assisted by the benevolent donations of her subjects, and no less than 22,038l. was paid into the Chamber of the City of London, for the relief of these distressed fugitives; who were at length finally disposed of by being sent as colonists to Ireland and North America.

The Metropolis was greatly convulsed at the commencement of the year 1710, from the effects produced by two sermons preached by Dr. Sacheverell, which were voted in the House of Commons to be "malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels," &c. and for which the Doctor was impeached, and brought to trial before the Peers in Westminster Hall, on the twenty-seventh of February. The attention of the whole Kingdom was excited to this extraordinary cause, and the public voice was almost entirely in favour of Sacheverell; it being generally believed, that the prosecution was the contrivance of the Presbyterians to undermine the authority of the Church. During the trial, which lasted till the twenty-third of March, the London populace committed many disorders: on the second day they broke all the windows of a Dissenting Meeting-house in New Court, Carey Street; and on the day following, after escorting Dr. Sacheverell in a kind of triumph to his lodgings in the Temple, they again vented their indignation on the object of their late attack, and tearing down all things that were combustible, made a bonfire of them in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, shouting "High Church and Sacheverell." They afterwards demolished several other Meeting-houses; and even threatened to pull down the houses of the Lord Chancellor, and of all the Managers of the prosecution. To prevent the commission of these enormities, the Guards were ordered out; and after a slight skirmish or two the rabble was every where dispersed, and the future peace of the City secured by strong patroles.

After much altercation, Sacheverell was at last declared guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but his sentence, which merely enjoined, 'that he should not preach for three years,' and that 'his two sermons should be burnt by the common hangman before the Royal Exchange;' was hailed by the people as a victory, and their exultation was manifested by bonfires, illuminations, and loud huzzas, not only in London, but also in every part of the Kingdom.

The increase in the population of the Metropolis having occasioned a great insufficiency in places for Divine Worship, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1711, for erecting "fifty new Churches in and about London;" to defray the expences of which a small duty per chaldron was laid upon all coals and culm brought into the port of London, for a period of somewhat more than eight years.

The year 1712 was remarkable for the enormities practised by a number of miscreants, denominated *Mohawks*, who paraded the streets at night, insulting and ill-treating all they met.

Many persons were wounded by their swords, and the most open violations of decency distinguished their excesses. Even the modesty of the female sex was no protection from the disgusting brutality of these wretches, who were at length suppressed by the interference of government.

On the demise of Queen Anne, August the first, 1714, George Lewis of Brunswick, great-grandson to James the First, succeeded to the Crown in pursuance of the Act of Settlement made in favor of his family. He made his public entry into London on the twentieth of September, accompanied by his son Prince George; and was crowned on the twentieth of October, at Westminster, when several persons lost their lives by the fall of some scaffolds in Palace-yard. On the ensuing Lord Mayor's Day, the Royal Family were sumptuously banquetted by the Citizens at Guildhall; on which occasion the King ordered Sir William Humphreys, the Mayor, to be created a baronet; and caused 1000l. to be paid to the Sheriffs for the relief of poor debtors.

On the fifteenth of January, 1715, a dreadful *Fire* in Thames Street destroyed upwards of one hundred and twenty houses, with an immense quantity of rich merchandize; and more than fifty persons perished in the flames, and by other accidents.

The Rebellion which had been excited in Scotland this year, in favor of the Pretender, caused a great sensation in the Metropolis, where many persons supposed to be implicated in the plot, were apprehended and committed to different prisons. The City, however, was stedfast in its allegiance; and in an address to the King, engaged to 'endeavour the suppression of all seditious rioters and tumultuous persons,' and promised a fixed 'adherence to the royal person and government.' In the House of Commons, several of the nobility and disaffected members of Parliament were impeached of High Treason; the Earl of Oxford, Lord Powis, the Earl of Scarsdale, and Sir William Wyndham, were sent to the Tower, and some other Members were committed to the custody of different messengers. In October, three persons were hanged at Tyburn for enlisting men for the Pretender's service; and three others were executed for High Treason, at the same place, in December.

After the Rebellion was suppressed by the victory obtained over the Scots near Preston, the seven Lords and principal prisoners who had been engaged in it, were brought to London, where, having previously been pinioned together at Barnet, they were led in that ignominious manner through the streets, when the Lords were committed to the Tower, and the others to the Fleet Prison, Newgate, and the Marshalsea. The Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure, who, with four other Peers, had pleaded guilty to the charges exhibited against them, were beheaded on Tower Hill, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1716; but the Earl of Nithisdale, who was to have suffered at the same time, made his escape in female apparel during the preceding night.* Many other persons were executed in the course of the year for High Treason; and much severity was exercised against those who by their writings or deeds, expressed any sentiment favorable to the Jacobite cause.

The Ministry, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country at this period, caused one of the strongest bulwarks of popular freedom which the wisdom of the nation had ever planned, to be removed; by abrogating the Act for Triennial Parliaments, and substituting that for Septennial ones. This measure received the Royal Assent on the seventh of May, 1716; and from this era may be dated the commencement of that system of corruption and undue influence, which, gathering increasing strength with every year of its progress, threatens, at no very distant date, to surrender up all the Liberties of the People at the footstool of the Throne.

During the course of this and of several preceding years, the virulence of political and religious contention, had led to the frequent commission of disorders in the public streets. Societies, or Clubs, had been formed by the different parties, but particularly by the Whigs, who held their meetings at the various Mug-houses about town, and often sallied forth and attacked their opponents with staves and cudgels in a very violent manner. One of these turbulent clubs was held at a Mug-house, in Salisbury Court, and was famous for its loyal toasts and celebrations. An attack, however, which had been made by some of its members upon the Tories, who frequented the Swan alehouse, nearly opposite, had inflamed the mob, and the Mug-house was regularly assaulted and partly demolished, on the twenty-third of July, 1716. The leader of the rioters, a Bridewell apprentice, named Vaughan, was shot by the master of the house: yet this only excited to fresh tumult; and had not the rabble been dispersed by the Guards, it is probable that the outrage would have been much more fatal. Five of the most active rioters were afterwards executed in Fleet Street, within sight of the place of their ill-directed efforts. The two succeeding years were distinguished by similar discord; and several sanguinary frays occurred in different parts of the Metropolis among the lower classes of the populace, who defended their respective opinions with determined zeal. This inflammatory spirit was kept up by anniversary processions; but was at length effectually suppressed by the long-required interference of the Civil Power.* Soon afterwards, the public peace was again disturbed by the Spitalfields Weavers, who finding their business affected by the preference given to the wear of foreign calicoes, tumultuously paraded the streets, and destroyed the obnoxious gown of every female they met, either by throwing over it corrosive liquids, or brutally tearing it from the back

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* The large estates of the Earl of Derwentwater were subsequently appropriated to the support of Greenwich Hospital.

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* One procession of obnoxious effigies from the Roebuck Tavern, Cheapside, was dragged through the streets by the light of a thousand links, and accompanied by a man in armour, to represent the King's Champion, Highland prisoners, jaded, &c. At Charing Cross the effigies were committed to the flames, amidst the shouts of the multitude, and under the protecting countenance of three files of soldiers. *Mal. Anec. of Lond.* p. 261, 2.

of the wearer. The attempts made to check these outrages by the Police were little regarded, till the more daring rioters were fired upon, and several of them killed and wounded: others were committed to prison, where the ravages of a jail fever visited their imprudence by death.

In June, 1717, the trial of the Earl of Oxford was commenced in Westminster Hall; but a dispute, on the very first day, between the Lords and the Commons, respecting the mode of procedure, led to the acquittal of the Earl on the first of July, the Commons declining to go on in the way prescribed by the Peers. Two days afterwards, the Earl re-assumed his place in the Upper House. In March, 1718, a youth, named James Shepherd, was executed at Tyburn, for conspiring to assassinate the King; an act which he persisted in considering as meritorious to the very last: he suffered with great resolution.

The year 1720 will be ever famous in the annals of London, from the destructive system of speculation and fraud, which history has denominated the *South-Sea Bubble;* and which so completely infatuated the people, that they became the dupes of the most barefaced impositions. The notorious Mississippi Scheme of a Scotsman, named John Law, by which the French nation was nearly ruined in the course of this and the preceding year, was the undoubted prototype of the many base projects that were now afloat to deceive the credulous multitude, and which eventually proved the bane of thousands.

The origin of the South-Sea Bubble may be traced to an exclusive trade which the Company possessed with the Spanish Colonies, and which trade had been rendered extremely lucrative by the arts of smuggling. This caused a considerable increase in the price of South-Sea Stock; and the Directors, encouraged by the prevalent spirit of avaricious enterprize, proposed to the Government to take into their fund all the debts of the Nation incurred before the year 1716, under the plausible pretexts of lowering the interest, and rendering the capital redeemable by Parliament in a shorter time than could be then anticipated.

The amount of the debts comprehended in this scheme was 31,664,551l. 1s. 1½d.; for the liberty of adding the whole of which to their capital stock, they offered to pay to the public use the immense sum of 7,723,809l. This bait was too tempting to be refused; the plan received the sanction of Parliament, and the Directors were empowered to raise the ready money necessary for so great an undertaking, 'by opening books of subscription, and granting annuities, to such public creditors as were willing to exchange the security of the Crown for that of the South-Sea Company, with the advantage of sharing in the emoluments that might arise from their commerce.'

Before the Bill had received the Royal Assent, which was given on the seventh of April, so much had the public mind been impressed with the idea of rapid gain, that the Company's stock rose to 319l. *per cent.*; during the same month it advanced to 400l. *per cent.* and by the twenty-fifth of May, it had increased to 550l. *per cent.* This amazing rise was partly in consequence of a report which had been industriously circulated by Sir John Blount, the chief projector of the scheme, that it was intended 'to exchange Minorca and Gibraltar for some places in Peru, by which the Company's trade to the South Seas would be vastly increased;' and partly, by the great advantages offered by the Directors to all persons subscribing to their stock.

No further inducements, however, were now requisite. The delusion was attaining its zenith, and people of every rank, age, and sex, were eagerly crowding to partake of what they fondly hoped would prove a golden banquet. Even the more considerate classes of the community, those who had laughed at the folly and weakness of the first adventurers, were no longer able to resist the dreams of such an easy acquisition of affluence as the Bubble afforded. By the second of June, the South-Sea Stock had advanced to 890l. *per cent.*; and on the eighteenth the Directors opened fresh books for a subscription of 4,000,000l. at 1000l. *per cent.*: and such was the popular phrenzy, that before the expiration of the month the subscription was at 200l. *per cent.* premium, and the price of stock at nearly 1100l.

About this time the Mississippi Scheme was entirely broken up, and Law, its infamous projector, execrated by all France, was forced to secure his safety by flight.* This seems to have made some little impression on the buyers of South-Sea Stock; and during the month of July, the price fluctuated from 1000l. *per cent.* to 900l. Yet, by the contrivance of the Directors in opening a fourth money subscription at 1000l. *per cent.* in August, the stock for a short time bore a premium on that price of 40l. *per cent.* The alarm had, however, been given: it had been whispered, that the Directors and their particular friends had disposed of their own stock while the price was at the highest, and all confidence in the stability of their credit was now destroyed. The confusion became general: every one was willing to sell, but no purchasers could be found, except at a vast reduction. Distraction and dismay spread through the whole City. In the second week of September the South-Sea Stock had fallen to 550l.; by the nineteenth it was reduced to 400l., and by the first of October to 370l. Within five days afterwards it was as low as 180l., and a short time after that was reduced to 86l. *per cent.*; a price, probably, which nearly approached to its true value.

The destruction to public and private credit thus produced was excessive. All trade was at a stand; and many of the most respectable merchants, goldsmiths, and bankers of London, who had unwisely lent large sums to the Company, were obliged to shut up their shops and abscond. Whole families were beggared together, and bankruptcies spread through every quarter. Numbers quitted the kingdom, never to return; and many, unable to bear the stings of remorse and poverty, which their own inconsiderateness had produced, terminated their woes by suicide.*

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* He was afterwards (in October, 1721,) brought to England by Admiral Sir John Norris; and having contrived to secure a full sufficiency of Mississippi plunder, and to obtain his pardon for the murder of Beau Wilson, about twenty-seven years before, when he made his escape from Newgate after conviction, he took a large house near Hanover Square, and to the surprize of the honest, was admitted to associate with persons of the first rank and presumed respectability.

The affairs of the South-Sea Company were soon afterwards investigated by Parliament; and the villanous knavery of the Directors was so apparent, that the greater part of their estates was confiscated for the benefit of those whom their chicanery had ruined. The sum thus obtained, amounted to 2,014,000l., though an allowance was made to each Director, in proportion to his greater or less concern in the iniquitous proceedings by which such numbers had suffered.†

During the inquiry before the House of Commons, it was ascertained, that several Members of the Government were implicated in the guilt of this transaction; and John Aislabie, Esq. who

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* In one of the periodical papers of the time, occurs this passage: "Exchange Alley sounds no longer of thousands got in an instant; but, on the contrary, all corners of the town are filled with the groans of the afflicted; and they who lately rode in great state to that famous mart of money, now condescend to walk the streets on foot, and instead of adding to their equipages, have at once lost their estates: and even those of the trading rank, who talked loudly of retiring into the country, purchasing estates, there building fine houses, and in every thing imitating their betters, are now become bankrupts, and have by necessity shut up their shops, because they could not keep them open any longer."

† How greatly the Directors had enriched themselves may be seen from the following extract taken from the total of the value of their estates, as given upon oath:—

Directors.	Value of Estates.			Allowed for Subsistence.	Amount of Fine.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	£.	s.	d.
Sir Theodore Janssen	243,244	3	11	50,000	193,244	3	11
Sir John Fellows	243,096	0	6	10,000	233,096	0	6
Sir John Blount	183,349	10	8¼	5,000	178,349	10	8¼
Mr. Chester	140,372	15	6	10,000	130,372	15	6
Mr. Read	117,297	16	0	10,000	107,297	16	0
Mr. Surman	112,321	10	0	5,000	107,321	10	0
Mr. Gibbon	106,543	5	6	10,000	96,543	5	6
Sir Lamb. Blackwell	83,529	17	11	15,000	68,529	17	11

who had recently resigned his situation as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was in March, 1721, expelled the House, and committed to the Tower, for having 'promoted the South-Sea Scheme with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the Directors in their pernicious practices to the ruin of trade and public credit.' The Earl of Sunderland, First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Stanhope, one of the Secretaries, who were also charged with participation, had the good fortune to obtain majorities of the House in their favor. James Craggs, Esq. Jun., Secretary of State, and his father, the Postmaster-General, both of whom had been accused, died within a month of each other, before their conduct could be investigated; but all the property of the latter, (acquired after a certain date,) who was voted a "notorious accomplice," was ordered to be sequestered for the relief of the sufferers: the chief part of Aislabie's fortune was also seized for the like purpose.

During the continuance of the infatuation which the splendid delusions of the South-Sea Bubble had inspired into all classes of society, many other visionary projects were set on float by speculators, gamblers, and sharpers; and even chartered Companies of established credit and good fame, induced by the flattering prospect of immense wealth which the intoxicated credulity of the multitude seemed to promise, lent their countenance to schemes of impossible accomplishment. The popular phrenzy was so great, that subscriptions were made to the most absurd plans, without any other consideration of eventual consequence than that of gain; and the humourist who advertized proposals for raising a subscription of 2,000,000l. for the purpose of "*melting* down *saw-dust* and *chips*, and *casting* them into *clean deal boards*, without *cracks* or *knots!*" can hardly be said to have caricatured the undisguised chicanery of many of the schemes by which the avaricious and inconsiderate were content to be gulled. Nearly two hundred subscription projects were on foot at the same time; and in the mania of the day, there was scarcely one of them but what bore a great premium even upon its lowest shares.* The intervention of Government, conjoined with the awakened reflections of the people, at length put a period to the whole system of fraudulent speculation; yet, notwithstanding the exertions of the Parliament, the shock had been so great, and the ruin so extensive, that it was a considerable time before public credit could be restored, or trade revived.

The Companies which had been most successful in practising the same delusive arts as the South-Sea projectors, were those called the 'York Buildings,' the 'Lustring,' the 'English Copper,' and the 'Welch Copper and Lead.' The shares of the first had advanced from 10l. to 305l.; of the second, from 5l. 2s. 6d. to 105l.; of the third, from 5l. to 105l.; and of the last, from 4l. 2s. 6d. to 95l. The Attorney-General was subsequently expressly ordered by the Lords Justices to bring writs of *Scire Facias* against the patents of all the above Companies.

When the public confidence in the South-Sea Scheme was on
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* Had the rage for Stock-jobbing been less powerful, the judgment of the public might possibly have been awakened by the odd coincidences which attended the proposals for establishing not a few of these bubbles. For instance, subscription-books were opened at the *Fleece*, for 'manufacturing Rape-seed Oil,' and for 'Bleaching coarse Sugars to a fine colour,' and for raising '1,200,000l. for the Undertaking business, for furnishing Funerals;' at the *Black Swan*, for raising '10,000,000l. for a Royal Fishery,' '4,000,000l. for manufacturing Iron and Steel,' and '2,000,000l. for supplying Deal with fresh Water; at *Skinners' Hall*, for another 'Royal Fishery;' at the *Rainbow*, for '1,200,000l. for settling a Trade with Germany,' and another '1,000,000l. for manufacturing China and Delf ware;' at the *Half-Moon*, for 'Purchasing Lead and Tin-mines in Cornwall and Derbyshire;' at the *Pope's Head*, for 'raising 4,000,000l. to improve the Waste Lands of Great Britain;' at the *Buffaloe's Head*, for '3,000,000l. for a grand Dispensary;' and at the *Devil*, for 'three thousand shares of 1000l. each, for insuring from Servants' Thefts.'

Among the schemes set forth in ridicule of the delusive projects of the day, were the following:—For 'making Butter from Beech Trees;' for 'an Insurance against Divorces;' for 'an Air-pump for the Brain;' for 'an Engine to remove the *South-Sea House* into Moorfields;' for 'Japanning Shoes;' for 'teaching Wise Men to cast Nativities;' for 'trading in Spanish Padlocks;' and for 'assuring the safety of *Maidenheads!*'

its decline, the superior stability of the Bank, the East India, and African Companies, was at once seen; and those who had wisely disposed of their South-Sea Stock in sufficient time, now purchased into the other funds; by which means Bank stock rose from 100l. to 260l.; East-India stock, from 100l. to 405l.; and African Stock, from 100l. to 200l. The shares in the London and in the Royal-Exchange Assurance Companies, also experienced a prodigious rise; the former advancing from 5l. to 175l.; and the latter from 5l. 5s. to 250l. The advance upon all the stocks, at the time when the rage for acquiring wealth by Stock-jobbing was at its height, was computed at the immense sum of seven millions sterling!

In February, 1722, the exertions of the Corporation of London were successful in obtaining the repeal of some severe restrictive clauses of an Act of Parliament passed in the preceding year, for providing for the general safety against the Plague, which it was apprehended might be introduced from France, where, in 1720, it had almost depopulated the town of Marseilles. The most obnoxious of these clauses, and that to which the City particularly objected, conferred a power of inclosing every infected place within a line or trench, by which every kind of communication should be cut off with the surrounding country.

On the tenth of March, 1722, the Parliament, which had betrayed the Liberties of Britain, by passing the Septennial Act, in treacherous violation of the trust reposed in it by the people, was dissolved by Proclamation. This event excited the most lively joy throughout the Metropolis; and the ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations, expressed the general prevalence of the popular feeling.

In the course of this and the following year, the Metropolis was considerably agitated by the proceedings of Government against the persons who were alledged to be implicated in a conspiracy for exciting a rebellion in favor of the Pretender. On the ninth of May, a Proclamation was issued for enforcing the laws against Papists and Nonjurors, and for expelling all Papists, or reputed Papists, to the distance of ten miles from the Cities of London and Westminster. In July, Captain Dennis Kelly was committed to the Tower on a charge of High Treason; and in August, Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, Christopher Layer, Esq. Charles, Earl of Orrery, and William, Lord North and Grey, were also imprisoned in the same fortress for the like crime. In October, the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, and the Duke of Norfolk and George Kelly were sent to the Tower on suspicion of their having been concerned in the conspiracy. Christopher Layer, the only person whom the Ministry thought expedient to subject to any thing like a regular trial, was arraigned in the Court of King's Bench, for exciting his Majesty's subjects to take up arms, and drawing up a plan for surprising the Tower and Bank, and seizing the King, Prince of Wales, Lord Cadogan, and others of the nobility. On these charges, though by no means well substantiated, he was condemned to die, and six months after conviction, he was executed at Tyburn. The Bishop of Rochester, George Kelly, and John Plunket, the latter of whom had been accused as a principal agent in the conspiracy, and committed to the Tower in 1723, were proceeded against by Bills of pains and penalties: the Bishop was adjudged to be deprived of all his offices and ecclesiastical dignities, and to be banished for life; Kelly and Plunket were sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure. The other persons who had been sent to the Tower, were subsequently admitted to bail under an Order of Council.

A controverted election for the office of Lord Mayor, in October, 1724, in which the voices of the Commonalty proved successful, contrary to the desire of Administration, led to the passing of an Act in the ensuing year for "regulating Elections in the City of London," &c. This Act excited a strong opposition from the Citizens, as it gave illegal powers to the Mayor and Aldermen, violated a particular custom of the City in respect to the distribution of the personal estates of freemen, and deprived all freemen of the right of voting at Wardmote elections, unless they occupied a house of the annual value of ten pounds; and a Petition, signed by many thousand persons, was presented against it during its progress through Parliament. In the House of Lords, an attempt was made to obtain the opinion of the Judges on the question, whether 'any of the prescriptions, privileges, customs, and liberties of the City were affected by the Bill?' but the motion was overruled, and the Bill received the Royal Assent on the 20th of April, 1725. The fifteenth clause, by which a negative was given to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in passing Acts of Common Council, was afterwards repealed.

From the sixth to the twenty-sixth of May, the Parliament was occupied by the trial of Thomas, Earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the House of Lords, on charges exhibited against him by the Commons for repeated acts of Bribery, Extortion, Perjury, and Oppression, committed under colour of his office of Lord High Chancellor. The charges having been fully proved, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000l., and on the next day was committed to the Tower, where he continued till the 31st of July; when, having discharged the fine, he was liberated. The 30,000l. was afterwards paid into the Court of Chancery, in aid of the losses sustained by the suitors.

On the 11th of June, 1727, the King died at Osnabrug, in Germany, while on a journey to Hanover, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Augustus, who was proclaimed at the usual places in London on the fifteenth, by the title of George the Second. The coronation was solemnized, as customary, in Westminster Abbey; and on Lord Mayor's Day, the Royal Family, with all the great Officers of State, and a numerous train of Nobility and Foreign Ministers, were entertained by the Citizens at Guildhall; on which occasion his Majesty ordered 1000l. to be paid to the Sheriffs for the relief of insolvent debtors. The whole expence of the feast amounted to about 4,890l.

In the year 1728, the Metropolis was so greatly infested by *Street-Robbers*, that 100l. above all other rewards whatever, was offered by Proclamation for the apprehension of any one of them 'within London or Westminster, or the distance of four miles from those Cities. These Robbers paraded the streets in bands, and the papers of the time abound with dismal relations of the murders, and other atrocities which they committed. So extremely daring had they become, that they formed a design to way-lay and rob the Queen, in St. Paul's Church Yard, on a particular evening when she was returning privately from the City; and this intention seems, to have been frustrated only by their own heedlessness in suffering her coach to pass them whilst they were engaged in plundering Sir Gilbert Heathcote, when on his return, in his chariot, from the House of Commons.*

On the ninth of January, 1729, a Presentment was made by the Grand Jury of Westminster, against the notorious Orator Henley, who, in his ranting effusions in a room over Newport-Market, found means to attract a very considerable share of public attention, by mingling Religion with Profaneness, Theology with the Drama, and Impudence with Scurrility. The Orator, however, having prudently obtained a Licence under the Act of Toleration, boldly maintained his post, and continued his accustomed mode of lecturing in open defiance of his enemies.† In the month following, the Grand Jury of Middlesex, made Presentments, expressed in the strong language of reprobation, against ' the Geneva shops in and about the City,' by frequenting which " her Majesty's subjects sustain incredible prejudice, since the constitutions of the labouring people are not only thereby weakened, but utterly destroyed;" against 'the unusual swarms of sturdy and clamorous Beggars' which infest "the streets, and other places, making them terrible as well as uneasy," and against 'the contriver and carrier-on of Masquerades at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket,' "where, under various disguises, crimes equal to bare-faced impieties are practised, and great sums of money illegally lost, which, if not seasonably prevented, will, as it has already very much debauched, in a short time, absolutely ruin his Majesty's best subjects." What effect was produced by these representations does not appear.

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* Mait. Lon. p. 544, edit. 1739.

† The spirit and insolence of Henley may be appreciated from an extract from his next advertisement after the Presentment of the Grand Jury had been published in the Gazette, " At the Oratory in Newport-Market, this evening, will be an oration on *Elisha's Bears*, and the whole criticism and nature of *Bear Hunting*, and of *Bear Gardens*, to explain the text, and avoid *Bears*, whether the *Bears* in the text were *One-and-Twenty*; (the number of the Jury,) and who was to speak for them? and all the *Bear-play*, rough and smooth."

The close of the year 1729, was attended by a great *Mortality* in London, arising, most probably, from the continual rains, and frequent stormy weather, through which colds and fevers became general: the number of persons that died within the Bills of Mortality, in the course of the year, amounted to almost 30,000. During the winter, Street-robberies were again remarkably prevalent; people became fearful of stirring from their houses after dark, it being a practice of the robbers to knock down, and wound, before they proceeded to rifle their prey.

On the evening of New Year's Day, 1730, many lives were lost in London, through a very dense *Fog*, which rendered it so obscure, that several persons fell into Fleet-ditch, and others into the Canal, in St. James's Park, by mistaking their way: much damage was also done on the river Thames.

The month of January, 1733, was a very sickly time in London, almost every person being afflicted with head-ach and fever; the number of deaths in the week ending on the thirtieth, was upwards of 1500.

This year was famous for the attempt made by the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, to extend the Excise, a measure which strongly militated against the popular feeling, and was at length relinquished through the strenuous opposition made by the City. In the debates in the House of Commons, where the scheme was pressed forward by repeated majorities, the London Representatives were particularly animated, and their language bold and constitutional. The closing debate was brought on by a Petition against the Bill from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, which was presented by the Sheriffs, who went to the House attended by the chief Citizens in two hundred coaches, on the tenth of April; and it being immediately read at the table by the Clerk of the House, agreeably to the privileges of the City, without asking leave for that purpose, Sir John Barnard moved, 'that the Petitioners should be heard by Council.' This was negatived by a majority of votes, the numbers being 214 against 197; yet other Petitions coming up from different counties the next day, the Ministry thought it expedient to abandon their enterprize, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer postponed the second reading of the Bill till the twelfth of June, which evinced the design to be relinquished. On the same night great rejoicings were made throughout the Metropolis at the success of the popular cause; and similar expressions of triumph were repeated on the following day and night, with the additional spectacle of burning the Minister in effigy in different parts of the town. On the night of the last debate, the House of Commons was surrounded by an immense multitude of people, and Sir Robert Walpole and several of the Members in the interest of Government were much insulted in making way through the crowd. This occasioned the passing of several resolutions, *nemine contradicente*, in maintenance of the privileges of the House against the interference of tumultuous and riotous assemblies.

On the thirtieth of January, 1734, a considerable *Tumult* arose in Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, through the thoughtless conduct of some of the youthful nobility and commoners, who at a Tavern there, and under the denomination of the Calves-head Club, had ordered an entertainment of Calves-heads; some of which, enwrapped in bloody cloths, they exhibited from the first-floor windows to the populace, who had assembled round a large bonfire made in front of the house, into which one of the heads dressed in a napkin cap was at last thrown, with loud huzzas.

The mob, notwithstanding many of them had been plentifully regaled with beer and strong liquors, felt the indecency of the frolic so strongly, that they commenced an impetuous attack upon the house, broke all the windows, and destroyed every thing in the interior that came in their way. The imprudent members of the club were all forced to a precipitate flight to save their lives; and the entire building would have been demolished, but for the Guards, whose arrival put an end to the disturbance.

During the last week of July, 1736, considerable *Riots* were excited in the outskirts of the Metropolis, as Spital-Fields, Shoreditch, Hackney, &c. between numerous bodies of English and Irish labourers, and some severe frays took place, in which many on both sides were much wounded and bruised. The dispute originated in the Irish taking lower wages in harvest-work than the English, and was ended by the dispersion of both parties by the military.

The pernicious habit of *Dram-drinking* had become so general among the lower classes, within the last eight or ten years, and so many disorders and even gross crimes had been committed in consequence, that the Legislature found it necessary to interfere, and an Act was passed to restrain the selling of Geneva, except under certain restrictions. Previous to this, the Magistrates had ascertained, that the number of Gin-houses and shops, within the limits of Westminster and the divisions of Finsbury and the Tower, was 7,044, besides garrets, cellars, and back-rooms, where the baneful liquor was sold privately. So determined were the retailers to carry on their trade, that it required the greatest exertions of the Police to enforce the Act; and it was computed in July, 1738, which was somewhat less than two years after the day appointed for carrying it into effect, that 12,000 persons had been convicted under its provisions, of whom nearly 5000 had been fined 100l. each, and 3000 others had paid 10l. each, to avoid being committed to Bridewell. These convictions were all within the parishes included by the Bills of Mortality.

The night of the tenth of September, 1739, was remarkable for a tremendous *Storm* of Lightning and Rain with some Thunder, by which much damage was done in several parts of the town. The violence of the wind on the succeding day, did considerable injury to the shipping and small craft in the river Thames.

The winter of 1739-40, became memorable from its uncommon severity, and the occurrence of one of the most intense Frosts that had ever been known in this country, and which from its piercing cold and long continuance, has been recorded in our annals by the appellation of the *Great Frost*. It commenced on Christmas Day, and lasted till the seventeenth of the following February, when it begun to break up, but was not wholly dissipated till near the end of the month. The distress which it occasioned among the poor and labouring classes of London was extreme: coals could hardly be obtained for money, and water was equally scarce. The watermen and fishermen, with a peter-boat in mourning, and the carpenters, bricklayers, &c. with their tools and utensils in mourning, walked through the streets in large bodies, imploring relief for their own and families' necessities; and, to the honour of the British character, this was liberally bestowed. Subscriptions were also made in the different parishes, and great benefactions bestowed by the opulent, through which the calamities of the season were much mitigated. A few days after the Frost had set in, great damage was done among the shipping in the river Thames by a high wind, which broke many vessels from their moorings, and drove them foul of each other, whilst the large flakes of ice that floated on the stream, overwhelmed various boats and lighters, and sunk several corn and coal vessels. By these accidents many lives were lost; and many others were also destroyed by the intenseness of the cold both on land and water. Above Bridge, the Thames was completely frozen over, and tents and numerous booths were erected on it for selling liquors, &c. to the multitudes that daily flocked thither for curiosity or diversion. The scene here displayed was very singular, and had more the appearance of a fair on land, than of a frail exhibition, the only basis of which was congealed water. Various shops were opened for the sale of toys, cutlery, and other light articles; even a printing-press was established, and all the common sports of the populace in a wintry season, were carried on with augmented spirit, in despite or forgetfulness of the distress which reigned on shore. Many of the houses which at time stood upon London Bridge, as well as the Bridge itself, received considerable damage when the thaw commenced, by the driving of the ice.

On the first of November, 1740, great devastation was made in and near London by a dreadful *Hurricane*, which commenced between five and six in the evening, and raged about five hours, during which time a considerable part of Hyde-Park wall was blown down, as well as one of the pinnacles of Westminster Abbey, and many stacks of chimnies in different parts. Several persons were killed by the falling ruins, and the roofs of many houses were stripped of their tiling, &c.

The great augmentation in the population of the Metropolis, rendering an increase in the Magistracy necessary, the King, by his Letters Patent, bearing date on the fifteenth of August, 1741, empowered *all* the Aldermen of London to act in future as Justices of the Peace within the City and its Liberties. Before this, the privilege of acting as Magistrates was possessed only by the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the Aldermen who had passed the chair, and the nine senior Aldermen.

In the autumn of the same year, many inhabitants of London and the adjacent places, were carried off by an epidemic *Fever*, which continued to rage for several months, and was thought to have originated in the heat and dryness of the preceding summer.

In February, 1744, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, in answer to a letter from the King, acquainting them with his having 'received undoubted information of the Pretender's designs to invade the Kingdom with the assistance of France,' presented an Address to his Majesty, expressive of their 'firm attachment to his person and government,' and full determination to support both, at 'the hazard of their lives and fortunes.' Similar Addresses were presented by the principal Merchants of London; by the Clergy, the Quakers, and the Protestant Dissenters. All Papists were also ordered to depart to the distance of ten miles; and the horses and arms of those who refused to take the oaths, &c. were directed to be seized. On the last day of March, war was declared against France with great solemnity at the usual places in the Cities of Westminster and London, viz. at the Palace Gate, St. James's; at Charing Cross; in Fleet Street, opposite to the end of Chancery Lane; in Cheapside, near Wood Street, where the Cross formerly stood; and at the Royal Exchange.

In the autumn of this year, the City was again greatly infested by Street-robbers, who patrolled the streets in gangs with cutlasses and fire-arms, and openly bid defiance to the civil officers, several of whom they assaulted, and wounded, in the most daring manner. These enormities were eventually restrained by a more vigorous and combined exertion of the civil powers of the City and County, aided by the reward of 100l. from the Government on the conviction of every person 'guilty of murder, robbery, or assault, with intent to rob, with any offensive weapon or instrument.'

The Chevalier de St. George, eldest son to the Pretender, landed in Scotland in August, 1745, at which time his Majesty was on a visit to his German dominions. Through the indiscreet security of the Regency, in refusing due credit to the intelligence at first received, the young adventurer was enabled to make considerable progress, and after some skirmishes, to take possession of the cities of Edinburgh and Carlisle, and even to advance as far as Derby, on his route to the Metropolis. Meanwhile, a courier had been dispatched for the King, who arrived in London about the beginning of September; when a Letter was sent in his Majesty's name to the Lord Mayor, informing him of the commencement of the Rebellion in Scotland, and recommending his Lordship to employ his utmost 'care and vigilance in maintaining the peace of the City.' This was answered by an Address, in which the Citizens engaged to sacrifice all that was 'dear and valuable in support of the Royal Family and Constitution.' Similar Addresses were carried up by the Lieutenancy, Merchants, &c. of London; and soon afterwards, an agreement was entered into by upwards of 1100 of the most eminent Merchants, Traders, and Stock-holders, to take Bank-notes as cash, that public credit might be preserved, the run upon the Bank having been uncommonly great, in consequence, as was said, of a design to furnish the Rebels with gold; but which, either from finesse or necessity, had already been partially frustrated by an order of the Directors, that all payments should be made in silver.

As the Scottish army advanced southward, the necessary precautions were taken for the security of London. The Trained-bands were kept in readiness, and the City-gates strongly guarded. Military associations were formed among the more substantial Citizens, and other bodies, among whom were the Gentlemen of the Law; and a very considerable Subscription was raised at Guildhall, towards which 1000l. was paid by the City, for the purchase of comfortable clothing, &c. for the troops who should be engaged during the winter season in the suppression of the Rebellion. A severe Proclamation was also issued by the Government against Jesuits and Popish Priests.

When it was known that the Rebels had advanced by forced marches to Derby, considerable alarm prevailed, and the disaffected employed the opportunity in dispersing treasonable papers, called, the 'Pretender's Declaration:' some of them were dropped upon the Parade in St. James's Park. At this crisis, it was determined that a Camp should be formed on Finchley Common, and a large train of artillery was sent thither from the Tower. The City Trained-bands and the County Militia were kept in readiness to march; double watches were stationed in different parts of the Metropolis; and the King, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, prepared to take the field in person.

Whilst things were in this state, intelligence arrived, that the Chevalier, finding himself completely disappointed in his expectations of being joined by the English, had commenced his retreat towards Edinburgh; but his hopes were doomed to a still more fatal reverse, and on the sixteenth of April, 1746, his forces were entirely defeated and dispersed by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden. The young Prince, after several hair-breadth escapes, got back in safety to France, though 30,000l. had been offered for his apprehension; but his principal adherents were either slain or made prisoners: among the latter were the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, the Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Charles Ratcliffe, Esq. younger brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, who had suffered in 1716. The two Earls and Lord Balmerino having been adjudged guilty of High Treason in Westminster Hall, were condemned to be beheaded; a fate from which Cromartie was spared, but which was inflicted on the others upon the same scaffold on Tower Hill, August the eighteenth. In the December following, Charles Ratcliffe was beheaded on Little Tower Hill, for being concerned in the Rebellion of 1715, at which time he had preserved his life by escaping from Newgate after conviction. Lord Lovat was decapitated on the seventh of April, 1747: he died with a dignified jocoseness, as the others had done with manly fortitude and resolution, excepting perhaps the Earl of Kilmarnock, whose sensibility had been somewhat too highly excited by the solemnity of the preparations. These executions* were attended by an immense concourse of spectators, who crowded every part of, and avenue to Tower Hill, as well as the adjacent houses. For the convenience also of those that chose to pay for the accommodation, scaffolds were erected; one of the largest of which, containing above 400 persons, fell with a sudden crash on the heads of those beneath, on the morning of Lord Lovat's execution.

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* The remains of the Earl of Kilmarnock, and of the Lords Balmerino and Lovat, were interred within the Tower; those of Charles Ratcliff were buried in the Church-yard of St. Giles's in the Fields.

This accident proved the deaths of about twenty persons, and many more had their limbs broken, or were sorely bruised.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth of March, 1748, a most destructive *Fire* commenced at a Peruke-maker's, named Eldridge, in Exchange Alley, Cornhill; and within twelve hours totally destroyed between ninety and a hundred houses, besides damaging many others. The flames spread in three directions at once, and extending into Cornhill, consumed above twenty houses there, including the London Assurance Office, the Fleece, and the Three-Tuns Taverns, and Tom's and the Rainbow Coffee-houses. In Exchange Alley, the Swan Tavern, with Garraway's, Jonathan's, and the Jerusalem Coffee-houses, were burnt down; and in the contiguous avenues and Birchin Lane, the George and Vulture Tavern, with several other Coffee-houses, met a like fate. Mr. Eldridge, with his wife, children, and servants, all perished in the flames; and Mr. Cooke, a merchant, who lodged in the house, broke his leg in leaping from a window, and died soon after: various other persons were killed by different accidents. All the goods of the sufferers that could be removed were preserved, as well from theft, as from the flames, by the judicious exertions of the City Magistrates, and the assistance of parties of soldiers sent from the Tower and St. James's; notwithstanding which, the value of the effects and merchandize destroyed, was computed at 200,000l. exclusive of that of the buildings. Upwards of 5,700l. was afterwards subscribed for the relief of the poorer sufferers, whose claims altogether amounted to about 8000l.

On the twenty-seventh of April, 1749, a most splendid exhibition of Fireworks, Transparencies, &c. was made, at the expence of Government, in the Green Park, on account of the Treaty of Peace which had been concluded with France and Spain a few months before, and proclaimed in London on the second of March. This gorgeous spectacle was displayed on a Machine, or building of wood, representing a magnificent Doric Temple, with wings terminating in pavillions, one hundred and fourteen feet high, and four hundred and ten feet in length. This was superbly ornamented with fret-work, gilding, lustres, festoons of artificial flowers, statues, and allegorical paintings, with appropriate inscriptions. With these, fireworks of every description were intermixed; the central part exhibiting a grand sun, having three circles of rays of different coloured fire, extending to a diameter of seventy feet, and in its orb the words VIVAT REX, in bright fire. The playing off of the fireworks was preceded by a grand overture composed by Handel, and a royal salute of one hundred and one pieces of ordnance. His Majesty, with his Court, having previously inspected the Machine, retired to the Library at Buckingham House, to see the discharge of fireworks, which lasted about three hours. During this exhibition, one of the pavillions caught fire, and was entirely consumed; but the flames were prevented from spreading to the rest of the Machine. The Park was thronged with an immense multitude, and some few lives were lost by different accidents.

In the beginning of 1761, great alarm was excited throughout the Metropolis, and its neighbourhood, by two shocks of *Earthquakes;* the one occurring on the eighth of February, and the other on the eighth of March. The first shock was most sensibly felt along the banks of the Thames from Greenwich to near Richmond; at Limehouse and Poplar, several chimnies were thrown down by it, and in several parts of London the furniture was shaken, and the pewter fell to the ground: at Hampstead and Highgate it was also very perceptible. The second and more violent shock occurred between five and six o'clock in the morning, the air being very warm, and the atmosphere, at the moment, clear and serene; though, till within a few minutes preceding, there had been a strong but confused lightning darting its flashes in quick succession. The violence of the motion caused many people to start from their beds and fly precipitately to the street, under the impression that their houses were falling. In St. James's Park, and the squares and open spaces about the west end of the town, where the shock is thought to have been most powerful, the tremulous vibration of the earth was clearly distinguishable; it seemed to move in a south and north direction, with a quick return towards the centre, and was accompanied with a loud noise as of rushing wind. The damage was not great, and was chiefly confined to the shaking down of chimnies and old houses.*

The many robberies, and other irregularities which, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Magistracy, were still continued to be committed in the Metropolis, and its vicinity, led to the passing of an Act of Parliament in the year 1752, for the regulation of places of Public Entertainment in the cities of London and Westminster, or within the distance of twenty miles from the same. Before this, the houses for public resort were very numerous, and company was attracted by a variety of exhibitions, as well gladiatorial, as theatric and musical; and the disorders which these kind of assemblies produced were supposed to operate

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* The credulous apprehensions of the people were so awakened by these Earthquakes, that the ridiculous prediction of a crazy Life-guard's man, named Bell, who prophesied that "as the second Earthquake had happened exactly four weeks after the first, so there would be a third exactly four weeks after the second, which would lay the entire cities of London and Westminster in ruins," spread the greatest dismay and consternation over the whole Metropolis. So strong was the panic, that within a few days of the expected time, vast numbers of persons quitted London, and all the principal places within the distance of twenty miles were crowded with alarmed fugitives. To those whom necessity obliged to remain in the devoted City, the predicted night was a scene of the most dreadful disquietude; some sought refuge in boats upon the river, and the adjacent fields were crowded by multitudes who left their houses lest they should be buried in the ruins, and in the most fearful suspense passed away the hours till the dawn of morning restored them to hope and confidence: the alarm, however, did not entirely subside for some time. Bell, the author of the confusion, was subsequently confined in a mad-house. He afterwards kept a hosier's shop on Holborn Hill, during many years, and having acquired a competency retired to the neighbourhood of Edgware, where he died recently.

rate very forcibly towards the prevalent laxity of manners and habitual profligacy.*

The public attention in London was highly occupied in the course of the year 1753, and part of 1754, by the extraordinary case of *Elizabeth Canning*, the true particulars of whose story have never, perhaps, to the present hour, been fully ascertained. She was a girl of low birth, about eighteen years of age, and in the service of a Mr. Lyon, of Aldermanbury, to whose house she was returning on the evening of New Year's Day, (from a visit to her uncle at Salt-Petre Bank, near Rosemary Lane,) when according to her own testimony, she was seized in Moorfields by two men, who, after robbing her of her money, gown, and apron, dragged her as far as Enfield Wash, to the house of an old woman, called Mother Wells. Here, on her refusal to submit to prostitution, she was partly stript, and confined alone for twenty-eight days in a kind of hay-loft, without fire, or of any kind of sustenance, except some stale pieces of bread, amounting to about a quartern loaf, and a gallon jug full of water. At last, when nearly starved to death, she effected her escape by breaking through a window, and shivering with hunger and nakedness, found her way back to her mother's house, near Moorfields.

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* The principal clauses of the Act are as follows. "It is enacted, that from the first of December, 1752, any House, Room, Garden, &c. kept for Public Dancing, Music, or other Public entertainment, in London or Westminster, or within twenty miles of the same, without a Licence from the last preceding Michaelmas quarter-sessions, under the hands and seals of four or more of the Justices, who are hereby impowered to grant Licences; shall be deemed a disorderly house or place; and every such Licence, to be signed and sealed in open court, and not at any adjourned sessions, and publicly read by the clerks, together with the Justices names subscribing the same, without any fee or reward for such Licence: and any constable, or other person thereto authorised, by warrant from one or more of the Justices of peace, may enter such house or place, and seize every person found there, to be dealt with according to law: and every person who keeps such house, &c. without licence, shall forfeit 100l. to such as will sue for it, and be otherwise punishable as in cases of disorderly houses. And over the door, or entrance of such house, &c. so licenced, shall be the following inscription in capital letters:—'*Licenced pursuant to Act of Parliament of the twenty-fifth of George the Second.*'—And no such house, &c. shall be opened before five o'clock in the afternoon. The inscription, and restriction as to the time, shall be made conditions of every such Licence: and in case of breach of either, such Licence shall be forfeited and revoked at the next general quarter-sessions, and shall not be renewed to the same person; always excepting the Theatres of Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket, or any other licenced by the Crown or Lord Chamberlain."

Such was the substance of her relation, which, notwithstanding its improbability, being seemingly corroborated by the weak and miserable condition in which she returned home, had a surprising effect on the popular feeling, and subscriptions were raised for the purpose of discovering and bringing to exemplary punishment, the guilty wretches who had thus used her.

At this time, she knew not where the house stood in which she had been immured, nor could she describe its situation any otherwise than by saying that through the chinks or crevices of the loft she had seen the Hertford stage-coach pass along the adjacent road. When sufficiently recovered, therefore, she was taken in a chaise to the house of Mother Wells, which, by a singular chance, had been mentioned as the probable place of her confinement, by a person who became one of the witnesses on the subsequent trial; Wells being known as a woman of ill-fame, and the harbourer of gypsies and prostitutes. The upper room, or loft, in this house, varied considerably from that which had been described by Elizabeth Canning, yet this she declared was the place where she had been kept: she then fixed upon an old gypsy-woman, named Mary Squires, as the person who had cut her stays off her back, and charged a young woman, called Virtue Hall, with being present at the time: both these females had very remarkable countenances, and were then inmates at Mother Wells's house.

At the ensuing Sessions in the Old Bailey, Mary Squires and Mother Wells were indicted for felony; and, though various contradictions appeared in the evidence, the former was sentenced to die, and the latter to be branded, and imprisoned in Newgate for six months. This judgment was perfectly congenial with the ferment in the public mind, but was by no means satisfactory to the more discerning faculties of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, the Lord Mayor, who, in an address to the Liverymen, stated his conviction that further inquiry was necessary, the "outrages of the mob," and "the antecedent prejudices in mens' minds," having destroyed that "solemn and sacred freedom which should attend upon all trials," and prevented the requisite considerations from being given to the "contradictory evidence adduced upon this." That Sir Crisp's address may be better understood, it should be remarked here, that, during the trial, the witnesses for Squires were either so overawed by the rabble that they durst not appear in court, or otherwise so insulted for giving testimony in her favor as sometimes to endanger their lives.

Uncommon pains were now taken by Sir Crisp Gascoyne, assisted by Judge Gundry, who had presided upon the trial, and, like that gentleman, been dissatisfied with the verdict, to ascertain the real facts; and it clearly appeared that Mary Squires was at Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire, from the first to the ninth of January; that she was at various places in Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, &c. from that time till the eighteenth, and that she did not arrive at the house of Mother Wells till the twenty-third. The evidence of Virtue Hall, also, which had been given in corroboration of Canning's, was overthrown by her subsequent recantation, from which it appeared that she "had been threatened and frightened into what she had sworn, in order to save herself from being prosecuted as an accessary to the felony.

The particulars of what is here briefly stated, with an accompanying memorial, were laid, by Sir Crisp Gascoyne, before the King, and some fresh evidence having been likewise offered by the friends of Elizabeth Canning, his Majesty directed the whole to be referred to his Attorney and Solicitor Generals; on whose representation that the weight of testimony was in favor of Mary Squires, the latter received a free pardon.

At the next Sessions, the Lord Mayor preferred a Bill of Indictment against Elizabeth Canning, for Perjury; and her supporters did the like against the witnesses from Abbotsbury, &c. in behalf of Squires. The Abbotsbury people appeared to answer the charge, yet no evidence being offered against them, they were honorably acquitted. Canning, who had been admitted to bail, at first absconded, but afterwards she surrendered to her trial, which continued, by adjournment, five days. Numerous witnesses were examined on both sides, and the contradictions were remarkable; yet the falsehood of many parts of Canning's evidence was rendered apparent, and she was adjudged guilty, and committed to Newgate. During this trial, Sir Crisp Gascoyne was highly insulted by the mobs that assembled near the Sessions House, and the disorders were so great that the Court of Aldermen offered a reward for the discovery of any of the rioters.

When the prisoner was brought up to receive sentence, a new trial was moved for by her Council, on the ground, that two of the Jurymen had made affidavit, that they had 'acted contrary to their consciences in finding her guilty of *wilful and corrupt* perjury; for although they believed her to have sworn falsely, they did not believe it to have been wilfully done.' The arguing of this point was postponed, and Canning remanded to Newgate till the following Sessions; when, on the thirtieth of May, 1764, after hearing the evidence of nine of the Jurymen, who affirmed their decision to be just, and a similar affirmation from the tenth, who was absent, as well as the opinion of the Judges who sat on the trial, the Court adjudged the verdict to be good, and agreeable to evidence. Sentence was then given, that the Prisoner should suffer one month's imprisonment, and afterwards be transported for seven years.

This cause had divided the inhabitants of London into parties, and Canning could yet number among her supporters, many persons

sons of rank and respectability; by them great exertions were made to obtain her pardon; yet all their interest could only procure her a permission to transport herself for the term of her sentence. She accordingly went to America in a private ship, with every accommodation that money could ensure, and much property, which she had received in presents, &c. Measures were also taken to secure her a favorable reception at her arrival in that country.

On the other hand, Sir Crisp Gascoyne obtained the full approbation of the more discriminating part of the whole City; and at the expiration of his Mayoralty, an unanimous vote of thanks was voted to him by the Court of Common Council, for "his steady perseverance in the cause of justice, his generous protection of the distressed, and his remarkable humanity."

In the year 1757, an Act of Parliament was passed for empowering the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to make proper ordinances for the regulation of the Fishery, throughout the whole extent of the jurisdiction of the City over the river Thames and waters of Medway.

In August, 1759, in pursuance of an Act of Common Council, a subscription was opened at Guildhall, for the purpose of distributing bounties of five guineas each to such persons as should enlist into his Majesty's service; and as a further inducement, it was resolved, that 'every person so entering, should be entitled to the freedom of the City at the expiration of three years, or sooner, if the war should end before that time.' The amount of the subscription raised was 7,039l. 7s., towards which 1000l. was paid out of the Chamber of London; and the number of recruits obtained by these means was 1235. Similar measures were pursued in the City of Westminster, and in the County of Middlesex.

During the ten or twelve years preceding this period, great improvements were made in different parts of the Metropolis; and convenience, and health, and safety, were more generally attended to than they had previously been. Westminster Bridge was finished, and opened for public use in the year 1750; the houses upon London Bridge were pulled down in 1756; and in a year or two afterwards the Bridge itself was put into a course of repair. In 1760, Blackfriars Bridge was commenced building; the City Gates were taken down; and an Act of Parliament was obtained for making alterations in the avenues of various parts of the City and its Liberties; some of which have been carried into effect at different periods, yet many others still remain to be executed.

On the fifth of May, 1760, an eminent example of the impartiality of the British criminal laws was displayed at Tyburn, in the execution of Earl Ferrers, who had been convicted by his Peers in Westminster Hall, for the murder of his steward, Mr. Johnson, whom he had shot with a pistol.

On the twenty-fifth of October following, the King expired at Kensington Palace, of an apoplexy, and was succeeded by his grandson, our present Sovereign, who was proclaimed on the next day, with the accustomed ceremonies, by the title of George the Third. The Coronation was not solemnized till the twenty-second of September, 1761; a fortnight before which the King was married at St. James's to the Princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg Strelitz. Great magnificence was exhibited on this occasion, and the Metropolis was crowded with strangers from all parts of the Kingdom, to witness the procession and ceremony.*

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* The manner of taking the *Coronation Oath*, with the Oath itself, are here given from the detailed account of the whole ceremonial published at the time:—

THE OATH.

"Sermon being ended, the King uncovered his head, and the Archbishop of Canterbury repaired to his Majesty, and asked him, 'Sir, Are you willing to take the Oath usually taken by your predecessors?"

And the King answered, "I am willing."

Then the Archbishop ministered these questions; to which the King (having a book in his hand) answered as followeth:

Archb. 'Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of England, the Laws and Customs to them granted by the Kings of

On the succeeding Lord Mayor's Day, their Majesties, with all the different branches of the Royal Family, the great Officers of State, the Foreign Ambassadors, and a long train of Nobility and

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of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and namely, the Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergy by the glorious St. Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeing to the prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this Realm?'

King. "I grant and promise to keep them."

Archb. 'Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely, according to your power, to the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the People?'

King. "I will keep it."

Archb. 'Sir, will you, to your power, cause Law, Justice, and Discretion, in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?'

King. "I will."

Archb. 'Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the rightful Customs which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? And will you defend and uphold them, to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?'

King. "I grant and promise so to do."

Then the Petition or Request of the Bishops to the King was read by one of that sacred order, with a clear voice, in the name of the rest standing by: 'O Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon us, and to grant and preserve unto us, and the Churches committed to our charge, all canonical Privileges, and due Law and Justice; and that you will protect and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under their Government.'

The *King* answered, "With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant you my Pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the Churches committed to your charge, all canonical Privileges, and due Law and Justice: and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom ought in right to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government."

Then the King rose from his chair, and being attended by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and supported by the two Bishops, and the Sword of State carried before him, went to the Altar, and, laying his hand upon the Evangelists, took the Oath following: "*The things, which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God and the contents of this book;*" and then he kissed the book.

Gentry, were entertained by the Citizens at Guildhall, agreeably to the ancient custom after a Coronation. The City procession was on this occasion distinguished by a most unusual display of magnificence and pageantry, in which the different Companies strove to excel in splendour. The banquet was conducted with great order, and the tables were profusely spread with every delicacy 'that the season could furnish, or expense procure.' The whole expense of the Entertainment was 6,898l. 5s. 4d.*

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* The following particulars ar extracted from the 'Report of the Committee' appointed by the Court of Common Council, to provide the Entertainment:—

"In the preparations for the intended Feast, your Committee omitted no expense that might serve to improve its splendour, elegance, or accommodation; whilst, on the other hand, they retrenched every charge that was not calculated to that end, however warranted by former precedents. Their Majesties having expressed their royal inclinations to see the Procession of the Lord Mayor to Guildhall, the Committee obtained Mr. Barclay's house in Cheapside for that purpose, where proper refreshments were provided, and every care taken to accommodate their Majesties with a full view of the whole Cavalcade.

"The great Hall and adjoining apartments were decorated and furnished with as much taste and magnificence as the shortness of the time for preparation, and the nature of a temporary service, would permit: the Hustings, where their Majesties dined, and the new Council Chamber, to which they retired both before and after dinner, being spread with Turkey carpets, and the rest of the floors over which their Majesties were to pass, with blue cloth, and the whole illuminated with nearly three thousand wax tapers in chandeliers, lustres, girandoles, and sconces.

"A select band of Music, consisting of fifty of the best hands, placed in a superb Gallery, erected on purpose at the lower end of the Hall, entertained their Majesties with a concert during the time of Dinner, under the direction of a gentleman celebrated for his great musical talents; whilst four other Galleries (all covered with crimson, and ornamented with festoons) exhibited to their Majesties a most brilliant appearance of life of the principal Citizens of both sexes.

"Their Majesties table was served with a new set of rich plate, purchased on this occasion, and covered with all the delicacies which the season

The year 1762 was productive of a species of imposture, which for a time strongly operated upon the feelings of the public: this was the deception practised by the *Cock-Lane Ghost*, which originated in malignity, and ended in the exposure and punishment of the projectors of the imposition.

On the eighth of November, the Lord Mayor was informed by Government, that Preliminaries of Peace had been signed with France and the other belligerent powers. This Peace was very much disrelished by the people, who took every opportunity of evincing their disgust on the occasion by ringing the bells in dumb peals, &c. This humour was not attempted to be compromised by any conciliatory act of the Legislature; on the contrary, at the commencement of the year 1763, the Citizens had to petition Parliament against the Bill for granting additional duties on wine, cyder, and perry, and to subject the makers of those articles to the Excise Laws. A Common Council was summoned to oppose this attempt, as "inconsistent with those principles of liberty which had hitherto distinguished this nation from arbitrary governments;" and so effectually did the Citizens exert themselves, that though the Bill passed into a law, its effects were so strongly objected to throughout the Kingdom, that it was soon afterwards thought adviseable to repeal it.

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season could furnish, or expense procure, and prepared by the best hands.

"A proportionable care was taken of the several other tables provided for the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. The Lords and Gentlemen of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; the Lord Chancellor and Judges; the Lords and Ladies in waiting; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council; and many others, both of the Nobility and Gentry: the whole number of guests within the Hall, including the Galleries, being upwards of twelve hundred; and that of the Gentlemen Pensioners, Yeomen of the Guards, and Servants attendant upon their Majesties and the Royal Family, and who were entertained at places provided in the neighbourhood, amounting to seven hundred and twenty-nine."

The particulars of the expenditure, with the Bill of Fare, &c. were attached to this Report.

The recent Peace with France, the resignation of Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, as Premier, and other political events which had occurred, seem at this juncture to have set the Metropolis into a complete ferment; and the conduct of Administration was such as to augment, rather than obviate the prevailing discontents. Hence the Ministry were assailed with political publications, couched in strong terms of reprehension; to counteract the effects which these might produce, a periodical pamphlet, denominated 'The Briton,' was published, under the patronage of Government. This was answered by another periodical paper, called 'The North Briton,' in allusion to the Earl of Bute, who had supplanted and succeeded Mr. Pitt. The writers of the North Briton, the principal of whom was the celebrated John Wilkes, Esq. M. P. for Aylesbury, were composed of those characters who considered the then Administration to be wholly unworthy of the public confidence, and were therefore determined to expose its measures and their authors to the ignominy and contempt which they deserved. The forty-fifth number of the North Briton contained such severe reflections upon the King's closing Speech to the Parliament in April, that the Ministry, who had been sedulously lying in wait for a fit opportunity to crush their avowed enemy, thought that the time was now arrived; and Mr. Wilkes was apprehended on the thirtieth of April, under an illegal Warrant, signed by the principal Secretary of State. Application was immediately made to the Court of Common Pleas, and a writ of *Habeas Corpus* obtained; yet, in despite of this, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where he continued till the sixth of May, when his case having been solemnly argued before that firm friend to constitutional liberty, Lord Chief Justice Pratt, the Court directed him to be discharged.*

Shortly after Mr. Wilkes was released from the Tower, he established a Printing-press in his own house, and republished all the numbers of the obnoxious paper. This provoked the Ministry so highly, that an information was filed against him in the Court of King's Bench, at his Majesty's suit; and in the House of Commons, 'The North Briton, No. 45,' was voted to be 'a most seditious and dangerous libel,' and ordered 'to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. When the appointed Officers attended at the Royal Exchange to execute this order, they were violently assailed by the populace, and dispersed in different directions; and the glass of Mr. Sheriff Harley's chariot was broken by one of the billets snatched from the fire. The pieces of the 'libel,' which the assailants snatched from the flames, were carried away in triumph, and in the evening were displayed at Temple Bar, at which place a bonfire was made to consume a large Jack-Boot, as it was called, in allusion to the Prime Minister. Some time afterwards Mr. Wilkes retired to France, to avoid the persecution which threatened him. For this conduct, which the House of Commons adjudged to be 'a contempt of their authority,' he was expelled on the sixteenth of January, 1764; in the following month, his trial, notwithstanding his absence, was brought on before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, where he was found guilty of re-publishing the libellous paper, and was subsequently outlawed.

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* Mr. Wilkes afterwards brought an action against Robert Wood, Esq. under Secretary of State, for illegally seizing his papers, &c. and obtained 1000l. damages, with full costs of suit.

A dreadful calamity happened on Tower Hill on his Majesty's birth-day, June the fourth, 1763. It was usual at that time to exhibit fireworks in honour of the occasion, a practice, however, which was discontinued during the American war. The concourse of people that assembled to view the fireworks this year was so great, that a railing which surrounded the Postern well gave way, and many fell down a precipice thirty feet in depth; six were instantly killed, fourteen died of their wounds, and a vast number was bruised and maimed.

The benevolence of the inhabitants of London was strongly excited in the course of this year, by the distresses of about eight hundred Palatines and Wurtzburghers, men, women, and children, who had been deluded from their native homes by a German adventurer named Stumple, to form a settlement in the Islands of St. John and Le Croix, in America. After they had been shipped for England, Stumple abandoned them, and they arrived in the Port of London during the month of August, in the most deplorable condition, and in imminent danger of perishing for want. About six hundred who were able to discharge their passage were permitted to come on shore, and they retired to the fields in the neighbourhood of Stepney and Bow, where they continued some days without the least shelter, and wholly destitute of the common necessaries of life: the situation of those on ship-board was almost equally deplorable.

The first intimation which the public received of the wretched state of these poor fugitives, was through the generous act of a Baker, who, passing along the road, near Bow, where the distressed Germans were languishing for food, and perceiving their forlorn condition, threw his basket from his shoulder, and distributed its contents (twenty-eight two-penny loaves) among them, for no other return than 'signs of gratitude and tears of joy;' observing, whilst thus employed, that "his customers must fast a little longer that day."*

For several days afterwards the only assistance these poor people received "was what could be gathered from the different German churches and chapels about the Metropolis; but this was far from being sufficient to relieve so great a number. At length, the Rev. Mr. Wachsel, minister of the German Lutheran church in Ayliffe Street, Goodman's Fields, laid their case before the public in the newspapers, in so true and affecting a manner, that it immediately attracted the attention not only of the great, but also of royalty itself. Before eleven o'clock on the same day, one hundred tents were sent them from the Tower, by order of his Majesty; the passage of those who were detained in the ship was defrayed, and 300l. was sent for their immediate support. Subscriptions were opened, and considerable sums of money gathered for their relief. Physicians, surgeons, and midwives, offered their service for the sick and those in travail, for the latter of whom proper apartments were hired."* The means of immediate subsistence having been thus obtained, a plan was suggested for their permanent settlement in South Carolina; whither they were sent towards the end of the following year, with every thing necessary for their accommodation during their voyage, and proper requisites for their comfortable establishment on their arrival.

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* Malc. Anec. &c. of Lond. p. 39.

In May, 1765, considerable confusion was excited in London by the Spitalfields weavers, many thousands of whom had been thrown out of employ through the introduction of French manufactured silks, and were now with their wives and families in great distress. A petition, which they had presented to the Parliament, not having been attended to as they wished, they assembled before Bedford House, in Bloomsbury Square, and denounced vengeance against the Duke of Bedford, by whom they supposed the relief they petitioned for had been obstructed. Whatever mischief they had purposed, was this time prevented by a party of the military; yet on the next day they again assembled in still greater numbers, and committed various outrages. Bedford House was much damaged, and others threatened; but the exertions of the magistrates, aided by the soldiery, and the assurances of the master weavers that the importation of French silks should be discontinued, prevented any further disorders.

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* To what a dreadful situation the poor sufferers had been reduced, may be estimated from the following passage in the first Letter which Mr. Wachsel addressed to the Public:—"That their distresses were unutterably great, I myself have been too often a mournful witness, in my attendance on them to administer the duties of my situation: with one instance of which I shall conclude this melancholy detail. One of the poor women was seized with the pangs of labour in the open fields, and was delivered by the ignorant people about her in the best manner they were able; but from the injury the tender infant received in the operation, it died soon after I had baptized it; and the wretched mother, after receiving the sacrament at my hands, expired from the want of proper care and necessaries suitable to her afflicting and truly lamentable condition."

On the seventh of November, a tremendous *Fire* broke out about three o'clock in the morning, at the house of a peruke-maker, named Rutland, in Bishopsgate Street, adjoining to the corner of Leadenhall Street. The flames quickly spread to the corner house, and, the wind being high, from thence soon communicated to the opposite corners; so that the four were on fire at the same time, and three of them were totally destroyed. All the houses from Cornhill to the church of St. Martin Outwich, in Bishopsgate Street, were burnt down, and the Church and Parsonage-house considerably damaged, as well as the back part of Merchant Taylors' Hall, and various houses in Threadneedle Street. The White Lion Tavern, which had been purchased only on the preceding evening for 3000l., and all the houses in White Lion Court, were entirely consumed, together with five houses in Cornhill, and several others in Leadenhall Street. Several lives were lost, not only by the fire, but by the falling of chimnies and walls; and on the following day eight persons were killed, and some others had their limbs broken, by the sudden fall of a stack of chimnies. By this accident nearly one hundred houses were destroyed or greatly damaged.*

The beginnings of the years 1767 and 1768 were both distinguished by a very severe *Frost*, through which the price of provisions was greatly enhanced. The navigation of the River Thames was stopped, and the river below Bridge had all the appearance of a general wreck; ships, boats, and small craft, lying in confusion amidst the ice, whilst others were either driven on shore or sunk by the driving shoals. Many persons perished by the severity of the weather both on the water and on shore. During the latter Frost the price of butcher's meat grew so exhorbitant, that the Hon. Thomas Harley, Lord Mayor, proposed that bounties should be given for bringing fish to Billingsgate market; and this plan having been carried into effect, the distresses of the poor were greatly alleviated, by the cheap rates at which the markets were supplied.

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* "A gentleman who ventured among the ruins next day, thinking that some persons might still be among the rubbish, waved his hat to engage the attention of the spectators, and declared that he was sure many were actually under the spot on which he stood. Upon this the firemen went immediately to work with their pickaxes, and on removing the rubbish, they drew out alive two men, three women, a child about six years old, two cats, and a dog."

The beginning of the year 1768 was also the commencement of an era of discontent and political violence. At the election for representatives of the City of London, in March, Mr. Wilkes suddenly arrived from France, appeared on the hustings at Guildhall, and declared himself a candidate. Popular indignation having now a shrewd and bold chieftain, assumed an alarming extent of opposition to Government, and though Mr. Wilkes was the last on the poll for London, he was the first on that for the County of Middlesex; on this success his partizans committed the most extravagant outrages, and not satisfied with having destroyed the windows of such of the Nobility and Gentry as they deemed obnoxious to them, they also exercised their spleen in demolishing the windows, glass chandeliers, and other parts of the furniture of the Mansion House.

About the end of April, Mr. Wilkes, who had been sentenced to imprisonment for two years, to pay a fine of 2000l., &c. was committed to the King's Bench Prison amidst the loudest clamours of the populace. On the tenth of May, the day fixed for the meeting of Parliament, a vast multitude assembled round the place of his confinement, under the expectation that the newly-elected member would be released, and proceed from thence to take his seat in the House of Commons. Finding themselves disappointed, the mob evinced a strong disposition for rioting, and after an ineffectual attempt to disperse them had been made by some of the Surrey magistrates, the soldiery were called in; and eventually, upwards of twenty persons were killed or wounded by their fire. One of those who fell, was shot under circumstances which rendered his death a positive murder: his name was William Allen, son to Mr. Allen, master of the Horse Shoe Inn, in Blackman Street. This innocent sufferer was pursued by some of the Scotch soldiers to a distance of nearly five hundred yards, and was at length shot in his father's cow-house, whilst in the act of imploring mercy. It afterwards appeared that he had been mistaken for one of the crowd who had been actively engaged in the tumult, but was sufficiently fortunate to make his escape. The wretch by whom he was slain, was afterwards tried for the murder, but escaped justice in so extraordinary a manner, that conjecture was very busy in urging motives on this occasion, not very creditable to some of the great men in power. The death of Allen, and indeed the whole sanguinary proceedings of this day, greatly increased the public disaffection.

On the eleventh of September, Christian the Seventh, King of Denmark, who had married his Majesty's youngest sister, the unfortunate Sophia-Matilda, arrived in London on a visit to the Royal Family. During his residence here he was magnificently entertained at the Mansion House, at the expense of the City, the freedom of which was voted to him in a gold box of two hundred guineas value.

The year 1769 was as distinguished for political virulence as the preceding one had been. Petitions were sent from all quarters of the Kingdom, complaining of the illegality of Mr. Wilkes's imprisonment, and of the violence offered to the freedom of election; not only in his person, but also in that of Serjeant Glynn, the other Member for Middlesex, during the poll for whom a hired mob had torn away the poll-books, and a young man, named Clarke, had lost his life by violence.

Previously to this Mr. Wilkes had been elected Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon-Without; yet his extensive popularity gave him no interest with Administration; and on the second of February he was again expelled the House of Commons for publishing some prefatory remarks to a Letter written by Lord Weymouth, and which the House voted to be "insolent, scandalous, and seditious." The Middlesex freeholders, however, were determined to support the object of their choice, and in the course of six weeks, they twice elected the expelled Member; yet the House of Commons persevered in their objection, and a third writ was issued. On this occasion Colonel Luttrell was excited by the Ministry to oppose the popular candidate; and although the numbers on the poll exhibited a majority of 850 in Mr. Wilkes's favor, the House of Commons resolved that the Colonel should be the sitting Member. This decision gave great umbrage to the whole Kingdom, and particularly to the electors of Middlesex, who, on the 24th of May, presented a Petition to his Majesty, couched in very strong terms, intreating him to banish from his Council and confidence "those evil and pernicious Counsellors, whose suggestions had tended to deprive the people of their dearest and most essential rights: and had traiterously dared to depart from the spirit and letter of those laws, which had secured the Crown of these realms to the House of Brunswick." The Citizens of London pursued a similar course; yet no apparent effect was produced by these repeated remonstrances.

In the month of November, the long-contested question of the legality of General Warrants was brought to a decided issue, by the result of the prosecution which Mr. Wilkes had instituted against the Earl of Halifax; and which was tried in the Court of Common Pleas, before Sir John Eardley Wilmot, and a Special Jury, by whom a verdict of 4000l. damages was given for the plaintiff. In April, 1770, Mr. Wilkes was discharged from confinement; on which occasion the Metropolis was illuminated, and transparencies with No. 45, blue candles, &c. were exhibited, from respect to the man whom the people regarded as the Martyr of Liberty.

In the year 1771, the 'Case of the Printers,' as it has been termed, greatly agitated the public mind. The House of Commons, on alledged charges of breach of privilege in reporting the Speeches of the Members, ordered the publishers of two newspapers to appear at their bar; which order was not obeyed. The Serjeant at Arms was then ordered to take them into custody;

but he not succeeding, a Royal Proclamation was issued, offering a reward for their apprehension. Soon afterwards, Mr. J. Wheble,* one of the offenders, was taken by a journeyman printer, and carried before Wilkes, who happened to be the sitting Alderman at Guildhall. Finding that there was no other authority for the detention of Wheble than the Proclamation, Mr. Wilkes ordered him to be discharged; and then bound him over to prosecute the man who had forcibly taken him. Mr. Miller, another obnoxious printer, was arrested in his own house by a Messenger from the Commons; on which Mr. Miller gave the latter in charge to a constable for an assault, and had him carried to the Mansion House. During the hearing, before Brass Crosby, Esq. Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, the Serjeant at Arms demanded the bodies of the Messenger and Mr. Miller, in the name of the House of Commons: the Lord Mayor refused compliance, on the ground of the Warrant being illegal, as it had not been indorsed by any City Magistrate; and obliged the Messenger to enter into recognizances to appear at the next Guildhall Sessions, in order to answer the charge for assault preferred against him by Mr. Miller.

The House of Commons were greatly irritated at this contempt of their authority, and ordered the Lord Mayor and the two Aldermen to appear before them. Wilkes refused to appear, unless he was summoned as Member for Middlesex; but the others attended in their places as Members, and were committed to the Tower. The Commons, to get rid of the question respecting Wilkes, adjourned over the day which they had appointed for his attendance. The spirited conduct of their imprisoned Magistrates was so highly approved by the Citizens, that a Committee was chosen to procure their liberation at the public expense; and they were several times brought into Westminster Hall, by Writs of *Habeas Corpus;* but the Judges refusing to interfere with the Privileges of the House of Commons, they continued in confinement till the Parliament was prorogued on the eighth of May,

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* He now publishes the County Chronicle, in Warwick Square.

when they obtained their enlargement as a matter of course. On their way from the Tower to the Mansion House, they were attended by the principal Citizens in fifty-three coaches, as well as by the Artillery Company, who saluted them with twenty-one pieces of cannon, when they were brought to the Tower Gate. The concourse of people on this occasion was very great, and their acclamations incessant. Silver cups were afterwards voted by the Livery and Common Council to the Lord Mayor and both Aldermen, "as marks of gratitude for their upright conduct in the affair of the Printers, and for supporting the City Charters."

An Act of Parliament of very beneficial consequence to a large and populous city, passed in 1774, for preventing the mischiefs arising from driving Cattle in London, Westminster, and within the Bills of Mortality. It appeared, that 94,000 cattle, and upwards of 800,000 sheep, had been sold in Smithfield during this year.

The dreadful calamities occasioned by the American war occurred about this period. This destructive contest was entered into against the wishes and interests of the people, and in defiance of every constitutional principle by which the country had ever been governed; but the public sentiment had no influence with Administration; and on the 23d of August, 1775, the war was publicly declared at the usual places in London, by a Proclamation for 'suppressing *rebellion* and *sedition*.' The Lord Mayor, Mr. Sawbridge, however, being inimical to the general proceedings of the Court, but particularly to a contest in which his brother subjects were concerned, ordered that the usual official attendances of the mace, &c. should not be complied with; and further to evince his detestation of such an unnatural conflict, he refused to back the Press Warrants issued from the Admiralty in the October following.*

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* The illegality of impressing Freemen of the City of London, proved a fertile source of discord at this period, between the Administration and the City Magistrates. Whilst the disputes continued, several naval officers on the impress service, were charged with assaults, and taken into custody by

In the beginning of the year 1776, Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, resigned his situation as Chamberlain of the City; the vacant office was strongly contested between Aldermen Benjamin Hopkins and Wilkes; but the election was determined in favour of the former: after whose decease in 1779, Mr. Wilkes was elected without opposition, and held the office till the time of his death.

In January, 1779, much damage was done in and near the Metropolis, by a *Hurricane*, by which most of the ships in the river were driven from their moorings, and some destroyed. Several houses were blown down, and others stripped of their roofs; the stacks of chimnies that fell were numerous. Many lives were lost, and a great number of persons considerably maimed and bruised by the fall of the buildings.

The attention of all ranks of people, both in the Metropolis, and in the rest of the Kingdom, was, in the beginning of the year 1780, strongly directed to the general misconduct of government in the administration of public affairs, to the encroachments that had been made on civil liberty, and to the wasteful and extravagant expenditure of the public money. Petitions, having for their object, not only a change of ministry, but also some very essential alterations in the constituted body of the House of Commons, poured in from all parts of the country; and different committees were appointed in the Cities of London and Westminster, to give due effect to the prayer of the petitioners. Mr. Burke, who, at that time, was esteemed one of the most active of the patriotic band, proposed his celebrated plans of economy and efficient controul, some of which were eventually carried into effect, in opposition to ministerial influence; but the greatest triumph which the popular party attained over the premier of the day, Lord North, was in the month of April, when Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, obtained a majority on his famous resolution, "that the

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by individuals whom they had seized within the City's jurisdiction. In these cases the impressed men were immediately discharged, and the officers held to bail, or committed for trial.

the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished:" this was followed by several other motions, branching out from the former, and calculated to restore the administration of affairs to a state of greater political probity; all which were carried in direct opposition to the will of the minister. A recess of ten days, however, in the meetings of the House, on account of the indisposition of the Speaker, afforded the Government an opportunity to exert the acts of corruption and intrigue; by which means, when the Parliament again assembled, the minister was enabled to counteract all the measures which were afterwards proposed for the public good. Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, who was one of the City representatives, publicly charged Lord North with exercising such corrupt influence on some of the members, and offered to prove his charges at the bar of the House; but his Lordship thought it most convenient to avoid the challenge. Though somewhat discouraged by this retardation of success, the popular leaders continued their efforts, and prepared to introduce the important motions for 'Annual Parliaments,' and 'a more equal Representation of the People in the House of Commons.' At this time associations had been formed in almost every quarter of the Kingdom, for the purpose of consolidating the public sentiment; and it was at least expected, that some concessions in favour of Constitutional Liberty would have been wrested from the arbitrary controul of the Administration.

Whilst many of the ablest men in the Kingdom were thus exerting themselves to retrieve the administration of public affairs from the influence of a corrupt Ministry, their efforts, most unfortunately for the country, were rendered nugatory by some very unexpected events, which chiefly took their rise from the weakest and most unenlightened men that the nation could produce. These events were the 'Protestant Association,' the tumultuous meetings which it occasioned, and the riots and conflagrations in the Metropolis, that resulted from the attempts made to carry the object of the Association into effect.

In the year 1778, it having become the general opinion of liberal-minded men that the laws against Papists were much too rigorous to be enforced in an enlightened age, an Act of Parliament had been passed for "relieving his Majesty's subjects, professing the Romish religion, from certain penalties and disabilities imposed upon them in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of King William the Third."* This Act at the time did not appear to excite any great alarm among persons of any class; nor would it perhaps have ever given birth to such extraordinary results, had not the Catholics acted very indiscreetly, in taking more liberties in the public exercise of their religion than what they had been previously accustomed to, and in proceeding to the yet greater length of proposing to open public schools for the education of youth in the Romish tenets.

The sensation produced by these occurrences led many of the lower class of rigid Protestants to express great apprehensions of the increase of Popery, and to exclaim against the late Act, by which they thought it was countenanced and supported. These persons, who for the most part were chiefly Methodists and bigotted Calvinists, at length formed themselves into a body in London, under the title of the 'Protestant Association,' and chose for their president Lord George Gordon, younger brother to the Duke of Gordon, and at that time Member of Parliament for Ludgershall. This young man had been educated in the rigid doctrines of Presbyterianism; and from imbibing a sort of hereditary repulsion to Popery, was a fit head for such a community. Under his direction, a Petition was framed for a repeal of the obnoxious Act; and so much industry was employed to procure signatures, that the names of upwards of 120,000 persons were affixed to it: among them, however, were those of many women and children.

The Petition being thus prepared, a general meeting of the Association was held on the evening of May the twenty-ninth, 1780, at Coachmaker's Hall, Noble Street; when Lord George, after stating his opinion, 'that the indulgence given to Popery by the repeal of the Act of William the Third, was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, dangerous to the Hanoverian succession, and destructive to the civil and religious liberties of the country;' read an extract from a Popish Catechism which had been recently published, and dispersed among the ignorant and unthinking part of the community, and likewise an Indulgence granted by the Pope in the course of the current year to his 'Holy Catholic subjects and saints in this heretic country.' From these publications his Lordship told his auditors to 'form an idea of the rapid and alarming progress that Popery was making in this Kingdom;' and stated his conviction, that 'the only way to stop it was by going in a firm, manly, and resolute manner to the House of Commons, and shewing their representatives, that they were determined to preserve their religious freedom with their lives:' that 'for his part, he would run all hazards with the people; and if the people were too luke-warm to run all hazards with him, when their conscience and their country called them forth, they might get another President; for he would tell them candidly, that he was not a luke-warm man himself, and that if they meant to spend their time in mock debate and idle opposition, they might get another leader.' This speech was received with the loudest applause, and his Lordship then moved the following resolution: 'That the whole body of the Protestant Association do attend in St. George's Fields, on Friday next, at ten of the clock in the morning, to accompany his Lordship to the House of Commons on the delivery of the Protestant Petition.' This was carried unanimously. His Lordship then said, 'that if less than twenty thousand of his fellow-citizens attended him on that day, he would not present their Petition;' and for the better observance of order, he moved, 'that they should arrange themselves into four divisions; the Protestants of the City of London on the right, those of the City of Westminster on the left, the Borough of Southwark third, and the people of Scotland resident in London and its environs to form the last division;' and, 'that they might know their friends from their enemies,' he added, 'that every real Protestant, and friend of the Petition, should come with a blue cockade in his hat.'

Accordingly on Friday, June the second, the day appointed, about ten o'clock in the morning, a vast concourse of people from all parts of the City and Suburbs, assembled in St. George's Fields, near the Obelisk, where they awaited the arrival of their President, who came about eleven; and having, in a short speech, strongly recommended the necessity of a peaceable deportment, he marshalled them into ranks, and gave directions for the conduct of the different divisions. His Lordship then left them, proceeding in his carriage to the House of Commons over Westminster Bridge; and the Committee of the Association, with many other members, went the same way: but the main body, amounting to at least 50,000, took their route over London Bridge, marching in tolerable order, six or eight in a rank, through the City towards Westminster. Each division was preceded by its respective banner, having the words 'No Popery,' written on it, with other sentences expressive of the business of the day; the Petition itself, with the skins of parchment, containing its numerous signatures, and which had been tacked together by a taylor in St. George's Fields, was carried at the head of the procession. At Charing Cross, the multitude was increased by additional numbers on foot, on horseback, and in carriages; so that by the time the different parties had met together, all the avenues to both Houses of Parliament were entirely filled with the crowd.

Till this period every thing had been conducted with proper decorum; but a most lamentable change took place as soon as the Members of Parliament began to assemble. Among such an immense concourse of people, it could not be imagined that every one would be equally peaceable; yet the scenes of confusion and riot which ensued, went far beyond all possible calculation, and most forcibly impressed the reflecting mind with the never-to-be-forgotten lesson of the imminent danger that attends the expression of the *vox populi* from a congregated multitude.

The Protestant Association appeared to recede from its avowed purpose, and to assume all the properties of a seditious mob. Both Peers and Commoners were insulted in their progress to the Parliament House, and it was with great difficulty that some of them escaped with their lives. Thus were commenced the dreadful proceedings distinguished by the appellation of 'the *Riots* of the year 1780.'* The rabble took possession of all the passages leading to the House of Commons, from the outer doors to the very entrance for the Members, which they twice attempted to force open; and a like attempt was made at the House of Lords, but happily they did not succeed in either instance.

Further outrage to the Parliament itself was now prevented by the arrival of the Guards; and the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord George, seconded by Mr. Alderman Bull, one of the City representatives, agreed to the bringing up of the Petition; but his Lordship's subsequent motion, that it should be taken into immediate consideration, was negatived by a majority of one hundred and ninety-two against six. It was resolved, however, that it should be debated on the Tuesday following, and

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* Many of the Members of both Houses, to escape personal injury, were obliged to put blue cockades into their hats, and join in the popular cry of 'No Popery;' and some were compelled to take oaths to vote for the repeal of the obnoxious Act. The principal vengeance of the mob was directed against the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal. The Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Lichfield and Lincoln, were grossly insulted; the latter had the wheels of his carriage taken off, and narrowly escaped with his life; he found refuge in the house of an attorney, named Atkinson, from which he got away in disguise over the leads of the adjacent buildings. The Lord President of the Council, Lord Bathurst, was jostled about in the rudest manner, and kicked violently on the legs; the Duke of Northumberland received better treatment, but lost his watch; the Lords Mansfield, Stormount, Boston, Hillsborough, Townshend, Willoughby de Broke, Ashburnham, St. John, Dudley, Trentham, North, and Germain were treated with excessive indignity and personal insult; and Welbore Ellis, Esq. was chased into the Guildhall of Westminster, which was immediately broken into by the populace, when Justice Addington, with a number of peace officers, were expelled, and Mr. Ellis was seized and very roughly handled.

the House then adjourned. These decisions were not satisfactory to the mob; yet, as the presence of the military restrained them from violence on the spot, they separated into parties, and commenced the work of destruction by partly demolishing the Romish Chapels in Duke Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields, and Warwick Street, Golden Square; and all the furniture, ornaments, and altars of both Chapels were committed to the flames. This was effected before the Guards could arrive, when thirteen of the rioters were taken up. No further outrage of importance was committed during that night.

On the next day, Saturday, the tumult appeared to have subsided, and the rage of bigotry and lawless violence was thought to be allayed; but this expectation proved eminently fallacious. On Sunday afternoon, a mob of many thousands assembled in Moorfields, and with the cry of 'No Papists! Root out Popery!' they attacked the Popish Chapel in Rope-maker's Alley; and having demolished the inside, they carried the altars, pulpits, pictures, seats, &c. into the street, and committed them to the flames. More mischief was prevented by the arrival of a party of the Guards, when the rioters immediately began to disperse. Early on the following morning, however, they assembled again on the same spot, and demolished the School, and three dwelling-houses belonging to the Priests, in Rope-maker's Alley, together with a valuable library. They now divided into parties, and threatening destruction to all who should oppose them, they proceeded to different quarters of the town. One party went to Virginia Street, Wapping, and another to Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield, where they severally destroyed the Catholic Chapels, and committed many other outrages. The house of Sir George Saville, (who had introduced the obnoxious Bill into Parliament,) in Leicester Fields, was, to use the vulgar, but descriptive phrase of the mob, completely *gutted* by a third party; as were also the houses of Mr. Rainsforth, tallow-chandler, of Stanhope Street, Clare Market; and Mr. Maberly, of Little Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields; the latter persons having appeared as evidences against some of the rioters who were taken up on the preceding Friday, and five of the most active of whom had been committed to Newgate. In all these cases the furniture and effects were burnt before the doors of the dilapidated dwellings.

On Tuesday, the day appointed for taking the Petition into consideration, all the military in London were ordered on duty; yet the knowledge of this fact did not appear to intimidate the populace, and a multitude, no less numerous than had assembled on the Friday, again choaked up every avenue to the Parliament House. In vain had the Committee of the Protestant Association circulated a resolution, requesting 'all true Protestants to shew their attachment to their best interests, by a legal and peaceable deportment.' The storm which they had raised, it was beyond their power to allay. As the day advanced, the mob grew more tumultuous; they demolished the carriage of Lord Sandwich, and seized his person, but he was fortunately rescued from their violence by a party of Horse. The residence of Lord North, in Downing Street, was also attacked; but the assailants were repulsed by a body of Light Horse.

In the midst of this alarming state of things, the House of Commons acted with firmness and decision: they declared, that 'no act of theirs could be legal while the House was beset with a military force, and under apprehensions from the daring spirit of the people;' and on this principle they adjourned, having previously voted, among other resolutions, that it was a "high and dangerous breach of the privilege of Parliament to insult or attack Members coming to attend their duty in that House." The Peers also adjourned after a slight conversation.

On the rising of the House, Lord George Gordon acquainted the multitude with what had been done, and advised them to depart quietly: in return, they unharnessed his horses, and drew him in triumph to the house of Mr. Alderman Bull. Whilst one body of the rioters was thus employed, Justice Hyde, with a party of the Horse Guards, attempted to disperse the rest; and after some opposition he succeeded: yet they only separated to re-assemble

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in other places. The activity of the Justice was highly resented by the mob, and about seven in the evening a detached party despoiled his house, in Lisle Street, of all its furniture, and burnt it before the doors: on the approach of the military the rioters immediately fled.

The prison of Newgate was the next object of attack; but the mob, "like regular assailants, did not proceed to storm before they had offered terms." They demanded from the Keeper, Mr. Ackerman, the release of their confined associates, as the only means to save his mansion. He refused to comply, yet dreading the consequence, he posted to the Sheriffs to know their pleasure. On his return he found that his house was in flames; and the gaol itself was soon in a similar situation. The doors and entrances had been broken open with pick-axes and sledge-hammers; and it is scarcely to be credited with what celerity the gaol was destroyed: "nor is it less astonishing, that from a prison thus in flames, a miserable crew of felons in irons, and a company of confined debtors, to the number in the whole of more than three hundred, could all be liberated, as it were by magic, amidst flames and firebrands, without the loss of a single life; some from the gloomy cells of darkness, in which the devoted victims to public justice were confined, and others from inner apartments, to which the access in tranquil times was both intricate and difficult."

The devastations of this night were now only begun. The release of the Newgate ruffians gave an increase of strength and ferocity to the mob, which despised intimidation; and the Ministers of Justice and the Law were among the first marked out for vengeance. The Public-Office in Bow Street, and the house of that active Magistrate Sir John Fielding, adjoining, were presently *gutted*, to use the language of the rabble, and all their furniture and effects, books, papers, &c. committed to the flames. Justice Coxe's, in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields, was similarly treated; the two Prisons at Clerkenwell were set open, and the prisoners liberated; the houses of Mr. Lyon, in Bunhill Row, and a Pawnbroker in Golden Lane, were dilapidated, the goods,

&c.

&c. being burnt before the doors: and to complete the melancholy catalogue, the elegant mansion of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square, was plundered and burnt to ashes, together with an invaluable collection of scarce manuscripts, notes on law cases, pictures, books, deeds, &c. Here the mob met with some resistance from a small party of the military, headed by a civil Magistrate, who read the Riot Act, and afterwards ordered the detachment to fire, by which six men and one woman were killed,* and several other persons wounded. Many of the mob having made their way to his Lordship's cellars, suffered from intoxication.†

"The violence of the populace, instead of diminishing, or being glutted with the destruction, horror, and consternation they had already spread, seemed to be considerably increased on the Wednesday; which is not so much to be wondered at, when it is considered, that all the prisoners of Newgate, Clerkenwell Bridewell, and New Prison, had been let loose on the terrified inhabitants of the panic-struck Metropolis. Some even had the audacity to go into public-houses, and call for what provisions and drink they thought proper, without paying for any; nor dared the affrighted publicans ask for payment: on the contrary, they thought themselves happy that they had not their houses pulled down. Others still more daring, even knocked at the doors of private houses at noon-day, and extorted contributions from the inhabitants." One man in particular was mounted on horseback, and refused to take any thing but gold.

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* The case of this female was a very pitiable one. She lived servant with a Mr. Dubois, and was going towards the street-door, when she was killed by a ball which passed through it into the passage. Several bullets also entered the parlour window at the same time, yet no other person was hurt, though several were in the room.

† Not content with the mischief done to Lord Mansfield's property in Bloomsbury Square, a large body of the rioters marched off to his Lordship's seat at Caen Wood; but here their destructive intentions were frustrated by a party of Horse, which had arrived about half an hour before them; and they retired without commencing an attack.

Many outrages were committed in the Borough of Southwark; several Popish Chapels and private dwellings were burnt in various parts, particularly about Kent Street and its environs. The King's Bench Prison, with three houses adjoining, a tavern, and the new Bridewell, were also set on fire, and almost entirely consumed. An attempt was likewise made to set fire to the Marshalsea; but here the rioters were repelled by the soldiery; and another large body of the insurgents was put to flight in Tooley Street, after several had been killed and wounded, and others made prisoners, by an armed association of many of the substantial inhabitants of Southwark.

On the preceding night, the inhabitants of most parts of the town had been obliged to illuminate their windows; and in the course of this day, they were compelled to chalk up the words 'No Popery!' on their doors and window-shutters: blue ribbons and pieces of blue silk, by way of flags, were hung out at most houses with intent to deprecate the fury of the insurgents, from which no person thought himself wholly secure. Those whose business called them into the streets, were likewise emulous to mount a blue cockade, in order to preserve themselves from personal insult.

The outrages of this day were excessive. The rioters appeared to consider themselves as superior to all authority; and not only openly avowed their intention to destroy certain private houses of the Catholics, but also declared an intention to burn the public Prisons, and demolish the Bank, the Temple, Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the New-River Head, the Royal Palaces, and the Arsenal at Woolwich. The attempt upon the Bank was actually made twice in the course of the day; but both attacks were feebly conducted, and the rioters easily repulsed, several of them falling by the fire of the military, and many others being wounded. An unsuccessful attempt, in which several fell, was also made upon the Pay Office.

The threats of the insurgents, with the endeavours thus made to accomplish their purposes, seem at last to have awakened the latent energies of Government, and vigorous measures were now taken to repress the disorders, which had raged so long without controul. The military had hitherto acted under the guidance of the civil power, but an order was this day issued by the authority of the King in Council, for "the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people." As no man could foresee what might be the effect of a discretionary power vested in such hands, in a populous city, and in the centre of trade, the greatest alarm prevailed; all shops were shut up, and the approach of night was awaited in the most fearful suspense.

"Nothing could convey a more awful idea of the mischief which was dreaded, than the strong guard which was placed at the Royal Exchange for the protection of the Bank, as nothing could have equalled the national desolation, had the purposes of the insurgents upon this place succeeded. Soldiers were distributed at Guildhall, in the Inns of Court, in almost every place tenable as a fortification, and in some private houses; and the cannon was disposed to the best advantage in the Park.

"With minds thus predisposed to terror by so many objects of devastation, and in a city which but a few days before enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity, let those who were not spectators judge what the inhabitants felt, when they beheld at the same instant of time, the flames ascending and rolling in vast and voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, from New Bridewell, from the Toll-gates on Blackfriars' Bridge, from houses in every quarter of the town, and particularly from the bottom and middle of Holborn, where the conflagration was horrible beyond description. The houses that were first set on fire at this last-mentioned place, both belonged to Mr. Langdale, an eminent distiller, and contained immense quantities of spirituous liquors. It is easy to conceive what fury these would add to the flames, but to form an adequate idea of the distresses of the neighbouring inhabitants, and indeed of the inhabitants in every part of the city, is perhaps impossible. Men, women, and children, were running up and down with beds, glasses, bundles, or whatever they wished most to preserve; and in streets where there were no fires, numbers were removing their goods and effects at midnight. The shouts of the rioters were heard at one instant, and at the next the dreadful report of soldiers' muskets, as if firing in platoons, and at various places: in short, every thing which could impress the mind with ideas of universal anarchy and approaching desolation seemed to be accumulating. Sleep and rest were things not thought of; the streets were swarming with people; and uproar, confusion, and dismay, reigned in every part." Six-and-thirty fires were all to be seen blazing at one time in the Metropolis during the night.

These devastations, however, were no longer committed with impunity, and numbers of the rioters fell in the course of this dreadful night by the musket and the sword. Many of these misguided wretches died also with inebriation in different parts, but especially at the distilleries of Mr. Langdale, from whose vessels the liquor poured in streams down the kennels, and 'was taken up in pails, and held to the mouths of the besotted multitude.' Others were killed with drinking non-rectified spirits; and many became so miserably intoxicated, that they were either burnt in the flames which themselves had kindled, or buried in the falling ruins. In some streets 'men were seen lying upon bulks and stalls, and at the doors of empty houses, drunk to a state of insensibility, and to a contempt of danger: boys and women were in the same condition, and many of the latter with infants in their arms.'

The numerous victims to insulted justice which military interference had thus spread before the eyes of the rioters, and the continual arrival of fresh troops from all parts of the country within fifty or sixty miles of the Metropolis, had their full effect of intimidation. The Riots were quelled; and many inconsiderate wretches who had engaged in them were secured on the Thursday in various parts of the town. On this day, London may be said to have borne great similarity to a City recently stormed. The Royal Exchange, the Public Buildings, the Squares, and the principal Streets, were all occupied by troops; the shops were closed, and business was entirely at a stand, whilst immense volumes of dense smoke were still rising from the ruins of consumed buildings.

No disturbance occurring during the night, the alarm gradually subsided, and on Friday business was began to be transacted as usual. In the course of the day, Lord George Gordon underwent a long examination before the Privy Council, and in the evening he was committed to the Tower, to which he was conveyed by a most numerous escort. On the following day, the Secretary of the Protestant Association, an Attorney, named Fisher, was also sent under a strong guard to the above fortress. Upwards of twenty thousand soldiers were at this time supposed to have their quarters in London; the Guards were afterwards encamped in St. James's Park, and the marching regiments and militia in Hyde Park.

The idea of being governed by martial law excited much discontent, particularly among the Citizens, whose rights were shamefully invaded by an order from Lord Amherst to Colonel Twisleton, who commanded the regular forces stationed in the City, to disarm all persons who did not belong to the militia, nor bore arms under the royal authority, and to detain their arms. This measure became the subject of Parliamentary debate, and the Duke of Richmond moved that it should be declared "expressly contrary to the fundamental laws of the Constitution;" but this motion was negatived by the Ministry. The uncontroulled ascendancy of the military force, however, was found to excite such general dissatisfaction, that the King in a Speech from the Throne to the Parliament on the twentieth of June, judged it expedient to advert to the *necessity* of the measure;* and to give "his solemn assurances that he had no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent Constitution in church and state, the rule and measure of his conduct."

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* "The outrages committed by bands of desperate and abandoned men in various parts of the Metropolis," said his Majesty, "who broke forth with such violence into Felony and Treason, had so far overborne all Civil authority,

The number of lives that were lost during the continuance of the Riots, was never perhaps correctly ascertained. The return given of the killed and wounded by the Military was as follows: Killed by the Association, Militia, and Guards, 109; ditto by the Light Horse, 101: Died in Hospitals, 75; total 285: Prisoners under cure, 73. Within a few days after the suppression of the mob, a Special Commission was issued for trying the rioters in Southwark; but those of London were left to the regular course of the sessions at the Old Bailey, which chanced to be near. The number of persons tried for rioting in the latter Court was eighty-five, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted; in Southwark, fifty persons were tried as rioters, twenty-four of whom were adjudged guilty. Between twenty and thirty of the most active of the convicted rioters were executed in a few days after their trials in different parts of the town, but immediately contiguous to the scene of their respective devastations.*

The new influence which these unfortunate events threw into the grasp of the Ministry was very great; and that ardour which had appeared for promoting popular meetings and associations for opposing the encroachments of Government, subsided into a luke-warm indifference. The riots in the Metropolis spread a general dread throughout the Kingdom, and the partisans of the Crown failed not to represent, that the "County Assemblies had a

tendency,

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authority, and threatened so directly the immediate subversion of all legal power, and destruction of all property, and the confusion of every order in the State, that I found myself obliged by every tie of duty and affection to my People, to suppress in every part those rebellious insurrections, and to provide for the public safety by the most effectual and immediate application of the force intrusted to me by Parliament."

* The above account of the Riots was principally drawn up from the New Annual Register for the year 1780: the quotation marks distinguish the passages extracted without alteration. Some additional particulars were introduced from other sources.

tendency, like the Protestant Association, to bring on insurrections and rebellion." Hence, the exertions of the popular leaders were restrained and checked; and the hydra of corruption acquired a predominancy and strength, which no subsequent attempts on the part of the people have been able to repress.

On the fifth of February, 1781, came on in the Court of King's Bench, the trial of Lord George Gordon, who was accused as the author of the late Riots, of High Treason, in "levying war, by assembling great multitudes together, and striving by terror and outrage, to compel Parliament to repeal a law." The Jury acquitted him; and one of them afterwards told his Lordship in Court, in reply to some remarks on the objects of the prosecution, that 'their decision had turned upon a very nice point.' In the month following, Benjamin Kennet, Esq. the late Lord Mayor, was tried in Guildhall, for not using the proper means and authority for suppressing the rioters in an early stage of the tumult. The Jury returned a verdict of 'Guilty,' in 'neglecting to do his duty,' but not 'wilfully and obstinately.' The Court refusing to record this verdict, another of 'Guilty,' generally, was given; the decease of Alderman Kennet, however, before sentence was pronounced, put a stop to further proceedings.

The ruinous progress of public affairs, the decay of trade, and the increasing discontent of the nation at the long continuance and ill-success of the American war, at length produced a change in the measures of Government, which for a short time seemed to move in unison with the wishes of the people. In December, 1781, a very pointed Remonstrance was presented by the Citizens of London to the King, in which they deprecated the "intention" manifested in his Majesty's Speech, "of persevering in a system of measures, which had proved so disastrous to the country;" exhorted him "no longer to continue in a delusion from which the nation had awakened;" and implored him to "dismiss from his presence and councils all the advisers, both private and public," who had deluded him into such an "unfortunate and unnatural war." The City of Westminster followed

lowed the example of that of London; and similar Petitions and Remonstrances flowing in from most other places in the Kingdom, the Premier thought proper to give way; and in the course of March and April, 1782, a new Ministry was chosen under the auspices of that able and illustrious statesman, the Marquis of Rockingham. Negociations for peace were soon afterwards commenced, and preliminaries were settled on the twentieth of January, 1783: the definitive Treaties were signed at Paris on the third of September following; and on the sixth of October, the Peace was proclaimed at the accustomed places in London, with the usual ceremonies, and amidst the reiterated acclamations of an immense multitude of people.

The gleam of sunshine which these occurrences had spread over the horizon of political liberty, was soon overclouded by the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and the divisions which that fatal event admitted to break out among his party. Mr. Pitt, the eloquent son of the late Earl of Chatham, acceded to power; and though an act of apostacy marked the outset of his career, that is, the abandonment of the cause of Parliamentary Reform, of which he had previously been an ardent supporter, his youth and splendid talents, but, above all, his fascinating eloquence, had such an effect upon the multitude, that for a time he may be said to have become the 'idol of a people's hope.' The Coalition Administration was dismissed in December, 1783, and Mr. Pitt became Prime Minister; yet from that period till the dissolution of the Parliament, about the end of March, he was left in a minority on almost every question debated in the House of Commons. During the elections for a new Parliament, the Metropolis presented an almost constant scene of uproar and confusion; but particularly in Westminster, where the struggle between the ministerial candidates and Mr. Fox was unparalleled, and the poll was kept open from April the first till May the seventeenth. This latter circumstance occasioned the passing of an Act, by which the duration of all future elections was limited to fifteen days.

Two events of minor importance excited a great degree of the public attention in the course of this year, 1784. The first was the *Commemoration of Handel*, in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon; and the other, the ascent of Vincent Lunardi, an Italian, in a *Balloon* from the Artillery Ground: this was the first aërial voyage that was ever carried into effect in Great Britain; and from 150,000 to 200,000 spectators are supposed to have assembled to witness the experiment.

In August, 1786, an attempt was made on the life of his Majesty by an insane woman, named Margaret Nicholson, who, under the pretence of presenting a petition, struck at him with a concealed knife, as he was alighting from his carriage at St. James's. The blow was warded off by a page, and the woman seized: she was afterwards sent to a mad-house, where she continued till her death. On this occasion Addresses of congratulation at the King's escape, were transmitted from all parts of the Kingdom. The Address from the Corporation of London was carried up by the Lord Mayor, and other City Officers, attended by a numerous body of Citizens.

On the twenty-sixth of June, 1788, a violent *Storm* of rain and thunder arose about four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued to rage incessantly for two hours. The thunder was terrific; and the rain poured down so fast, that the streets were wholly impassable for foot passengers; and in places where there happened to be a descent of ground, as near Northumberland House from St. Martin's Lane, the current run so strong, that even carriages could not be driven through it. Many kitchens and cellars were inundated in different parts of the town; and in George Street, Westminster, the windows of several houses were broken by a fire-ball, and other damage done.

The ensuing winter was remarkable for a very severe *Frost*, which began on the twenty-fifth of November, and lasted exactly seven weeks. On the fifth of January the thermometer stood at 11° below the freezing point, in the very midst of the City. The river Thames was completely frozen over below London Bridge; and from the variety of booths, &c. erected on the ice, it assumed all the appearance of a fair; even puppet-shews and wild beasts were exhibited. The thaw was sudden, and the confusion which it occasioned was extreme. The large bodies of ice that floated down the river made it necessary to moor the shipping to the shore; yet, notwithstanding every precaution, many vessels broke away by the weight and pressure of the shoals and tide. One vessel that was lying off Rotherhithe, and partly fastened to the main beams of a house, was among the latter number. By this accident the whole building gave way, and unhappily five persons who were sleeping in their beds, were killed. The distresses of the poor in London, during this inclement season, were very great; and though liberal subscriptions were raised for their relief, many perished through want and cold. On this occasion the City subscribed 1500l. towards supporting those persons who were not in the habit of receiving alms.

On the twenty-third of April, 1789, (St. George's Day) the Metropolis displayed a most splendid scene of festivity and show, in celebration of his Majesty's recovery from the calamitous state of insanity, which had attacked him in the preceding October. This event had given birth to the celebrated question respecting a restricted Regency, which, after many animated debates in both Houses of Parliament, was carried in the affirmative. The arrangements proposed, however, were rendered useless, by the gradual restoration of the King's health, under the judicious treatment directed by Dr. Willis. The official notification of a complete recovery was published on the tenth of March; and all ranks of people seemed to vie with each other in testifying their joy. In the morning, the Park and Tower guns were fired, the bells were rang in the churches, and all the shipping in the River were decorated with the colours of their respective nations, streamers, devices, &c. At night the Metropolis was illuminated throughout, and many appropriate transparencies were exhibited by the more affluent inhabitants. Shortly afterwards, St. George's Day, was appointed by authority for a general Thanksgiving; and their Majesties on that day went in great state to St. Paul's

Cathedral, accompanied by the Royal Family, the Foreign Ministers, all the great Officers of Government, the principal Nobility, and Members of the House of Commons, the Corporation of London, &c. The Procession, which set out from Buckingham House, was very magnificent, and particularly so, after the Lord Mayor with his company had joined it at Temple Bar; but the scene which the interior of the Cathedral exhibited when the assembled multitudes were engaged in the solemn offices of Divine Worship, had an air of grandeur and awful sublimity that language is too powerless to describe. The streets were crowded with spectators, and every house within view of the Procession had its windows equally full; numerous temporary galleries were also erected in every convenient spot, and were alike crowded with company. On the following evening another general Illumination took place, far surpassing every thing of the kind that London had yet displayed. The Bank exhibited several beautiful transparencies, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and all the principal Public Buildings throughout the Metropolis, as well as the houses of the Nobility and Gentry, were either decorated with similar paintings, or rendered still more brilliant by the glare of coloured lamps, arranged in various designs.

On the night of the seventeenth of June, the *Opera House* was consumed by a dreadful fire, which broke out whilst the performers were rehearsing a ballet on the stage. The light was so powerful for some minutes that the whole western front of St. Paul's Cathedral was as minutely visible as at noon-day.

Some severe storms of *Wind* were experienced in London, in the month of December, 1790, by which considerable damage was effected. The most violent arose on the morning of the twenty-third, between four and five o'clock, and was accompanied by much thunder and lightning. The chimnies and roofs of many houses were blown down; and a part of the copper covering of the New Stone Buildings in Lincoln's Inn, was carried by the wind over the Six Clerks' Office into Chancery Lane. Several persons lost their lives through the fall of the bricks and rubbish in different parts of the town.

In the following year, on the second of February, the River Thames overflowed its banks to a greater extent than had ever been remembered. All the low grounds adjacent to the stream, were inundated, and immense damage was done along the wharfs and in the warehouses on both sides of the river. In Palace Yard the water was nearly two feet deep, and boats were rowed up from the Thames to Westminster Hall-Gate. The two Scotland Yards and the Privy Gardens were entirely under water, and many parts impassable for hours. The gardens and fields between Westminster Bridge and Blackfriar's Road, were in a similar state; and Bank-Side, Queen-Hythe, Thames Street, Tooley Street, Wapping High-Street, &c. with most of the intermediate wharfs were alike overflowed.

Between one and two o'clock, on the morning of the 16th of January, 1792, the *Pantheon* was discovered to be on fire; and the flames, which issued from the painter's room, spread so rapidly through the building, that not a single article could be saved. The brilliant light from the scenery, oil, and other combustible materials, illuminated all the western parts of the Metropolis; and when the roof fell in, the flames rose in one immense column to a great height, and, continuing to ascend for several minutes, formed a sublime, though fearful spectacle. The thickness and elevation of the walls prevented the conflagration from spreading to the contiguous houses. The damage was estimated at about 80,000l.

During the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, the Metropolis was greatly agitated by political contention. The French Revolution had given a new tone to popular feeling, and associations were pretty generally formed for the purpose of obtaining a more pure representation of the people in the House of Commons. The two principal of these associations, viz. the Society of the Friends of the People, and the Corresponding Society, held their meetings in London. The former was principally composed of the most distinguished opposers of the Ministry, as Members of Parliament, &c.; the latter, and by far the most active, included an immense number of the middle and lower classes of the People, and assembled in divisions in different quarters of the town; they had also some general public meetings in the open air in the vicinity. The avowed object of these societies, as well as of the other numerous ones with which they corresponded in many parts of the country, was Parliamentary Reform: but by their enemies they were charged with seeking to subvert all order and government, and stigmatized by the degrading appellations of 'Republicans and Levellers.' How very feebly those imputations could be substantiated, was afterwards proved by the result of the trials for High Treason, which took place under ministerial auspices in the year 1794.

One of the chief measures employed by the '*affiliated*' societies for promoting reform, was that of extending the spread of political information by cheap tracts and pamphlets. *These*, accordingly as the enthusiasm and talents of their respective writers were more or less matured by experience and knowledge, were either entirely consonant with the broad principles of the British Constitution; or, assuming a higher tone from considerations of abstract right without regard to expediency, expressive of democratical opinions and conduct by no means compatible with the authority of a mixed government*. To prevent the mischiefs which these might have produced, a Royal Proclamation was issued from the Queen's House, on the twenty-first of May, 1792, for the suppression of 'Tumultuous Meetings and Seditious Writings.' This was followed by Addresses of Thanks to the King from both Houses of Parliament, from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City, and from many other public bodies; and various informations, *ex officio*, were laid by the Attorney General against the writers of presumed libels.

On the fifth and sixth of the following month, a great *Tumult* was excited in Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, through the over-officiousness of some peace officers, who with forged warrants apprehended a party of about forty servants, whilst assembled

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* Of the latter description was the second part of Thomas Paine's celebrated *Rights of Man*, which was read with great avidity by the People, and circulated to an immense extent.

bled to make merry on the King's birth-night (June the 4th), by a dance, in a public-house in the neighbourhood. The servants were mostly discharged by the magistrates on the next day; but the indignation of the populace was displayed by the almost complete demolition of the watch-house in which they had been confined: an attack was also commenced upon the dwelling of one of the constables, and the mob could only be dispersed by the interference of the military. Happily no lives were lost, though several persons were wounded by shot before the tumult could be quelled. Three days afterwards, a duel was fought between the Earl of Lonsdale and Captain Cuthbert, of the Guards, between whom some ungentlemanly language had passed, through the stoppage of the Earl's carriage in Mount Street during the disturbance there. The affair was eventually adjusted amicably, though not till after a brace of pistols had been fired by each party.

The numerous atrocities committed in France during the progress of the Revolution, particularly in the months of August and September in this year, and the total abolition of the French monarchy, by a decree of the National Convention, had a vast effect on the public mind in this country, and also furnished Ministry with an admirable opportunity to commence that system of alarm and espionage on which they had now determined to act, in order to arrest the progress of all reform. The continual arrival in London, of numbers of French Priests and other Emigrants, who had been compelled to quit their native land at this period, under circumstances of the greatest distress and horror, had likewise a considerable influence on popular sentiment; and the more timid supporters of liberty, with all the placemen and monied interest of the Kingdom, were quickly enrolled under the banners of Administration. These conjoint causes led to the establishment of the famous 'Crown and Anchor Association:'* the avowed purpose of which was the protection of 'Liberty and Property against the daring attempts of Republicans and Levellers.' This society first met on the twentieth of November; and, assuming as facts, that the Clubs associated for obtaining a more equal Representation of the People, were, by the very forms of their associations, "always seditious, and very often treasonable;" and, that the 'equality of rights' contended for, was only a pretext to cover an intended criminal 'equalization of property,' proceeded to decry any alteration in the existing state of Government, and to impede the circulation of all political writings, that bore the character of free inquiry.

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* So called from the place of its meetings, the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand.

The means employed by the Crown and Anchor Association were not always the most honourable; yet, aided as it covertly was by the support of Administration, it quickly obtained great influence, and similar associations were formed under its patronage, in many parts of the country.

Among the methods resorted to by the supporters of popular liberty, was that of propagating their opinions through the medium of Debating Societies, Political Lectures, &c. wherein, although the nominal subject might relate to some event in the Ancient History of Greece or Rome, or the more recent transactions of France, the deductions were generally allusive to the actual state of affairs in Great Britain. Such a meeting was publicly announced to be held at the King's Arms Tavern, in Cornhill, on the evening of the 27th of November; yet, when the orators and their auditory assembled, they found the staircase in the occupation of a number of peace officers, who refused them admission into the debating-room. This occasioned some slight tumult; but, by the exertions of the Lord Mayor, Sir James Sanderson, who attended with the City Marshals, the crowd was prevailed on to depart. At a full meeting of the Common Council, held a few days afterwards, Sir James received the Thanks of the Court for his conduct on this occasion; though it was thought by many to be an arbitrary stretch of magisterial power.*

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* By the same Court was also passed the following, among other Resolutions: "Resolved, 1st. That it is the duty of all Corporations to preserve

The apprehensions of an immediate Insurrection, which the 'Alarmists,' as they were called in derision, *affected* to entertain at this time, were so strong, that extensive preparations were now made for the defence of the Tower, and the garrison was greatly augmented. Several hundred men were employed in repairing the walls, opening embrazures, raising parapets, and mounting cannon. The breaches were filled up, the ditch cleared, and water let in; and at the western extremity of the fortress strong barricadoes were formed by means of old puncheons, filled with earth and stones. The gates were closed two hours sooner than usual every night, and no persons, except officers and sentinels, were suffered to be seen upon the ramparts. The villages in the environs of London were also crowded with soldiers;

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serve their fidelity to their Sovereign, to be watchful for the safety of the sacred Constitution of the country, and to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the peace, the property, and the personal security of every freeman, living under its protection; as it is equally the duty of every freeman to bear true allegiance to the King, and be obedient to the existing laws of the land.

II. That this Corporation, regarding the blessings which the subjects of the British empire enjoy, under the present mild and happy government, as inestimable, will strengthen its exertions by every possible means, to suppress all unlawful and seditious assemblies within this City, and to bring to justice every disturber of the public tranquillity.

III. That this Corporation, in the most solemn manner, doth hereby call upon every good Citizen to co-operate with them to the same salutary end; to discourage every attempt which may be made to excite the fears of the Metropolis, by weak and designing men; and each, in his own person, to be ready, at all times, to accompany and assist the Magistrates of the City, in the suppression of every tumult.

IV. That this Court doth remind their constituents, the freemen of London, of the oath by which they are bound, to this purpose, viz. the first, second, and last clauses of a freeman's oath. "Ye shall swear that ye shall be good and true to our Sovereign Lord King George. Obeysant and obedient ye shall be to the Mayor and ministers of the City. Ye shall also keep the King's peace in your own person. Ye shall know no gatherings, conventicles, nor conspiracies made against the King's peace, but ye shall warn the Mayor thereof, or let [*hinder*] it to your power."

diers; the Bank was doubly-guarded, and a company of the London Militia was ordered to be constantly on duty at the Artillery Ground, that they might be ready at a moment's notice in case of a disturbance. The general Militia was also called out and embodied, and the Parliament ordered to meet within fourteen days.

In the heat of this ferment (December the fifth), a meeting of about 3000 of the principal Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other inhabitants of the Capital, was held at Merchant Taylors' Hall, when a Declaration of Attachment to the Constitution, &c. was unanimously agreed to; and it was signed in a few days by no fewer than eight thousand and twelve persons of the above description.* Resolutions of similar import were entered into by almost all the public bodies and parishes in London, as well as in most other parts of the Kingdom. These proceedings greatly increased the power of the Ministry, and doubtless contributed

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* The DECLARATION was as follows: "WE the Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other inhabitants of London, whose names are hereunto subscribed, perceiving with the deepest concern, that attempts are made to circulate opinions contrary to the dearest interest of Britons, and subversive of those principles which have produced and preserved our most invaluable privileges, feel it a duty we owe to our country, ourselves, and our posterity, to invite all our fellow-subjects to join with us in the expression of sincere and firm Attachment to the Constitution of these Kingdoms, formed in remote, and improved in succeeding ages, and under which the glorious Revolution in 1688 was effected; a Constitution wisely framed for the diffusion of happiness and true liberty, and which *possesses the distinguished merit, that it has on former occasions been, and we trust will in future be found, competent to correct its errors and reform its abuses.* Our experience of the improvements of agriculture and manufactures; of the flourishing state of navigation and commerce, and of increased population, still further impels us to make this public Declaration of our determined resolution to support, by every means in our power, the ancient and most excellent Constitution of Great Britain, and a government by King, Lords, and Commons; and to exert our best endeavours to impress on the minds of those connected with us, a reverence for, and a due submission to, the laws of their country, which have hitherto preserved the liberty, protected the property, and increased the enjoyments of a free and prosperous people."

tributed to plunge the country into that war, which, most fatally for the interests of humanity and of Europe, has, with little intermission, continued till the present hour.

On the nineteenth of December, the trial of Thomas Paine, for sedition, in writing and publishing the second part of the 'Rights of Man,' was brought on before Lord Kenyon and a Special Jury, at Guildhall; and a verdict of guilty having been given, the defendant was subsequently outlawed, he having recently left the country to go to France, where he had been elected a member of the National Convention.

Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, the ranks of Opposition were greatly thinned by the desertion of many who had hitherto voted against the Ministry, and among whom were the Duke of Portland, Burke, and Wyndham. The party that remained, however, was firm from principle, and powerful from talent; yet, its every effort, though under the patriotic guidance of Fox, to avert the threatened calamity of war, proved unsuccessful.

Early in 1793, the Alien Act was passed; in one of the debates on which, in the House of Commons, much effect was produced by the theatrical oratory of Mr. Burke, who drew a concealed dagger from his coat, and threw it with great vehemence on the floor, falsely affirming, that three thousand of those weapons had been ordered at Birmingham for the purpose of assassination.

During the months of December and January, several attempts were made by Monsieur Chauvelin to renew the political intercourse between Great Britain and France, which had been suspended from the preceding August, when the French King, Louis the Sixteenth, was imprisoned by his subjects. The Administration, however, refused to acknowledge him in his new character of Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France; and on the twenty-fourth of January, three days after the decapitation of Louis, Chauvelin was ordered to quit the Kingdom. On the very eve of his departure, Monsieur Marat, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in France, arrived in England, with enlarged powers, but he also was arrogantly ordered to leave the kingdom, without being permitted to open the object of his Mission. These circumstances, with the warlike preparations in the British ports, &c. leaving no doubt as to the intentions of the British Ministry, the French Republic, on the first of February, declared itself 'at war with the King of England.'

On the sixteenth of February, the Court of Common Council presented an Address to his Majesty, "thanking him for his paternal care in the preservation of the public tranquillity, and assuring him of the readiness and determination of his faithful Citizens to support the honor of his Crown and the welfare of his Kingdoms against the ambitious designs of France," &c. Previous to this, a bounty of fifty shillings to every able seaman, and twenty shillings to every landsman who should enter the Navy at Guildhall was voted out of the City chamber, in addition to the bounties given by the King.

The commencement of the war was marked by great distress in the commercial world, and the number of bankruptcies which took place within a few months, as well in the other principal trading towns as in the Metropolis itself, was unprecedented. Through the general stagnation of trade and credit, a vast number of families was reduced to beggary, and the consequences would have been still more deplorable had not the Legislature interfered, and enabled his Majesty to institute a Commission, under which 'Exchequer Bills to the amount of five millions were directed to be issued, for the assistance and accommodation of such persons as might apply to the Commissioners, and give proper security for the sums to be advanced for a time to be limited.' This measure was chiefly founded on the recommendation of a Committee of eleven of the principal Merchants of London, who met at the Mansion House, on the twenty-third of April.

During the progress of this year, numerous prosecutions were carried on, under the direction of the Attorney General, against divers persons in the Metropolis and elsewhere, for seditious libels and expressions; yet the issue was not always favourable to the Government, and more disaffection perhaps was excited by the attempts made to fetter the liberty of the press, and the right of free discussion, than could have resulted from the licence complained of in these proceedings. In the month of November, the City voted 500l. towards supplying the British troops on the Continent with warm clothing, and other necessaries, during the winter; and Ward Committees were also appointed to receive subscriptions for the same humane purpose.

On the second of December, the whole range of warehouses at Hawley's Wharf, near Hermitage Bridge, Wapping, was destroyed by fire, together with several adjoining houses, and three vessels, with other small craft, that were lying in the dock: great quantities of sugar, rum, and hemp were destroyed; of the sugar, nearly 1400 casks were melted by the intense heat, into one mass, and flowed through the streets in a bright stream of liquid fire.

On the third of February, 1794, a dreadful accident happened at the Little Theatre, in the Haymarket, through the pressure of the crowd, who had assembled in great numbers, in consequence of the play on that night having been commanded by their Majesties. On opening the Pit door, the rush was so strong, that a number of persons were thrown down, and those that immediately followed were hurried over them, by the irresistible pressure from behind; so that many, who were literally trampling their fellow-creatures to death, had it not in their power to avoid the mischief they were doing. The cries of the dying and the maimed were truly shocking; and before the confusion could be remedied, fifteen persons were deprived of life, and upwards of twenty others materially injured, by bruises and broken limbs. Most of the sufferers were respectable characters; among the dead were Benjamin Pingo, Esq. York Herald, and J. C. Brooke, Esq. Somerset Herald.

The alarms which had been so zealously spread by the Ministry and their partizans, in the latter end of the year 1792, concerning the traitorous conspiracies of the democratic societies in England, had, for some time, been suffered to subside, but, in the Spring and Summer of 1794, they were again excited into new consistency and strength. Government, indeed, seemed now determined to try its power, and to check the influence of adverse opinion by the edge of the sword.

On the second of May, Mr. William Stone, a coal-merchant of Rutland Place, Thames Street, was apprehended, and, after several examinations before the Privy Council, he was committed to Newgate, on a charge of High Treason. On the twelfth, Mr. Daniel Adams, formerly clerk in the Auditor's Office, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; and Mr. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, who had acted as Secretary to the London Corresponding Society, were apprehended for "Treasonable practices," and had all their books and papers seized. On the same day a Message from the King was brought down to the House of Commons, stating that "seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with other societies; that they had lately been pursued with increasing activity and boldness, and been avowedly directed to the assembling of a pretended general Convention of the People, in contempt and defiance of the authority of Parliament, on principles subversive of the existing Law and Constitution, and tending to introduce that system of anarchy prevailing in France; that his Majesty had given orders for seizing the books and papers of these societies, which were to be laid before the House; and that it was recommended to the House to consider them, and to pursue such measures as were necessary, in order to prevent their pernicious tendency." On the following day, the voluminous papers which had been seized, but which chiefly consisted of the original copies of resolutions and proceedings that had long been known to the public, were referred to a Committee of Secrecy, which, on the sixteenth, made their first report, wherein it was stated, generally, that "It had appeared to the Committee that a plan had been digested and acted upon, and was then in forwardness for its execution, the object of which was to assemble a pretended Convention of the People, for the purposes of assuming the character of a general representation of the nation, superseding the representative capacity of the House, and arrogating the legislative power of the country at large." On these, and other grounds specified in the reports, the premier, Mr. Pitt, recommended the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, and moved for leave to bring in a Bill for that purpose. This was vehemently opposed by the leading members of Opposition, who ridiculed the idea of a treasonable conspiracy; and Mr. Sheridan expressly declared his belief, "not only that no treasonable practices existed in the country, and that *Ministers and their friends knew this to be the case;*" but that the measures they were now pursuing "was to create some new cause of panic, to gain a continuation of power over the people." It was determined, however, that the suspension should take place, and the Ministry, having thus freed themselves from the principal bar to despotic rule, proceeded with their arrests. In the course of the week the celebrated John Horne Tooke, Esq. the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Lord Stanhope, Mr. John Thelwall, a political lecturer, and Messrs. Bonney, Richter, and Lovett, were all apprehended, on charges of High Treason, and conveyed to the Tower, strongly guarded. Various others persons were also arrested, and were confined in different prisons.

On the seventeenth of May, the French colours, which had been taken on the surrender of Martinique, and had been previously brought to St. James's Palace, were, by the command of the King, deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, to which they were carried, in a military procession, by twenty-nine sergeants, escorted by detachments of the Horse and Foot Guards.

On the tenth of June, intelligence arrived of the memorable victory obtained by Lord Howe, on the first, over the French fleet, and, on the three following nights, the Metropolis was illuminated with great splendour. Almost immediately afterwards, a subscription was opened at Lloyd's Coffee House, for the relief of the wounded on board the British fleet, and for the widows and children of those who had fallen in the battle. The subscriptions soon amounted to a vast sum, towards which the proprietors of Drury Lane Theatre gave a clear benefit, producing upwards of 1300l. and the City 500l. The freedom of the City, in a gold box of one hundred guineas value, was also voted to Earl Howe by the Court of Common Council.

On the twenty-third of July, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a dreadful *Fire* broke out at Cock Hill, Ratcliffe, which, in its progress, consumed more houses than any one conflagration since the great Fire of London, in 1666. It was occasioned by the boiling over of a pitch-kettle, at a boat-builder's, from whose warehouses, which were speedily consumed, the flames spread to a barge, laden with saltpetre and other stores, and thence communicated to several vessels and small craft that were lying near, and could not be got off, through the state of the tide. The blowing up of the saltpetre in the barge carried the flames to the saltpetre warehouses of the East India Company, from which it spread with immense rapidity, in consequence of the different explosions of the saltpetre, which blew up with sounds resembling the rolling of subterraneous thunder, and threw large flakes of fire upon all the adjacent buildings. The scene now became dreadful; the wind, blowing strong from the south-west, directed the flames to Ratcliffe High Street, which, being narrow, took fire on both sides, and, as very little water could be procured for some hours, the engines could offer no effectual check. The premises of a timber-merchant, in London Street, added greatly to the strength of the conflagration, and Butcher Row was almost wholly consumed. During the night, the devastation on the side of Limehouse was stopped by the great exertions of the firemen and inhabitants; but towards Stepney, almost every building in the line of the fire, was destroyed, till, having reached an open space of ground, where the connection of combustible substances was broken off, the flames ceased, for want of materials to consume. It was observed, as a remarkable circumstance, that a large insulated brick-building, belonging to a Mr. Bere, which stood nearly in the centre of the burning ruins, remained uninjured, not even a single pane of glass being cracked.

By this accident several hundred families were deprived of their all, and thrown on the public benevolence. In this distress, Government sent one hundred and fifty tents from the Tower, which were pitched in an inclosed piece of ground adjoining to Stepney Church-yard, for the reception of the sufferers; and for some time provisions were distributed among them from the Vestry. A subscription was also opened for their relief at Lloyd's Coffee-house; and some of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood attended at the leading avenues, for the purpose of soliciting the benevolent assistance of those whom curiosity might induce to visit the desolated scene where the fire had raged. The collection from the visitants on the Sunday following, amounted to more than eight hundred pounds, four hundred and twenty-six pounds of which were in copper, and thirty-eight pounds fourteen shillings in farthings! The total sum collected on this melancholy occasion, was upwards of 16,000l. On a survey of the extent of the damage, taken by the warden and other officers of Ratcliffe Hamlet, it was found, that out of 1200 houses, of which the hamlet consisted, not more than 570 remained unconsumed.

On the seventh of August, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a severe *Storm* was experienced in London. The rain fell in torrents, and was accompanied by long and tremendous peals of thunder, and vivid flashes of lightning: one of these struck the street on the east side of Temple Bar, producing an effect similar to an explosion of gunpowder; every particle of straw, mud, and even the water, being completely swept from the pavement, whilst the houses on both sides were violently shaken, and the doors of some of them forced open.' At Lloyd's Coffee-house, the centre beam of the roof was split by the violence of the storm, and part of the ceiling fell into the coffee-room. Several balls of fire fell in the streets at the west end of the town, by which one person was killed, and some others were thrown down and much hurt.

About the middle of August, the Metropolis was for several days a scene of great confusion, in consequence of the accidental death of an unfortunate man, who had been inveigled into a house in Johnson's Court, Charing Cross, kept for the double purpose of debauchery and recruiting. This house had communications by secret avenues with five others, all of which were in the occupation of a wretched female, called Mrs. Hanna, whose inmates frequently alarmed the neighbourhood by cries of violence and murder. On the morning of the fifteenth, a young man, named George Howe, who had before been heard to cry out for mercy, "was seen on the roof of the house in his shirt, in apparent great agony, as if closely pursued from within; and, upon the approach of his pursuers, he threw himself in despair from the tiles, and was dashed to pieces on the flags of the court."*—This event raised the indignation of the people, and a great mob began to assemble in the vicinity; but their threatened vengeance was for a few hours appeased by the exertions of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey,† whom curiosity had attracted to the spot. The former being in the commission of the peace for Westminster, signed a warrant to search the residence of a notorious crimp, called Jaques, where a poor wretch, the son of a farmer near Maidstone, was found smothering in the height of the small-pox, in a loathsome cellar. In the evening, the crowd was with some difficulty dispersed by the military; but on the next morning the populace re-assembled, and completely gutted all the crimping-houses in the court, with loud cries for vengeance against all crimps and kidnappers. They were at length driven off by a detachment of the Horse Guards; and in the course of the day the Coroner's Inquest returned a verdict on the body of Howe, of "Accidental death, in endeavouring to escape from illegal confinement in a house of ill fame." This was so little satisfactory to the lower classes, that on the four or five following days different mobs collected, and various recruiting offices in different parts of the town were assailed, and more or less demolished, accordingly as the people met with interruption from the soldiers, large bodies of whom, both of horse and foot, were now constantly patrolling the streets. At last, by the prudent exertions of the Lord Mayor and other magistrates, and the firm but temperate conduct of the military, the disturbance gradually subsided; and though some shots were fired, no person appears to have been particularly hurt.

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* Plowden, Short Hist. p. 255.

† Now Earl Grey.

On the tenth of September, a special commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued for the trial of the Prisoners charged with High Treason in May, and it was opened on the second of October, at the Sessions House, Clerkenwell. In the course of the proceedings the Grand Jury found true bills against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardell, Thomas Holcroft*, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, R. Hodson, John Baxter, and John Martin.

Whilst these affairs were in progress, a new alarm was excited by the rumours of a base conspiracy to assassinate the King by means of a poisoned dart, which, according to the information of an infamous and perjured wretch, named Upton, was to have been blown through a hollow brass tube, inserted in a walking-stick. The poison with which the dart was to have been envenomed, was to be of such a subtile and powerful nature, that the slightest wound should occasion death. John Peter Le Maitre, a watchmaker's apprentice; William Higgins, an apprentice to a chemist; and one Smith, who kept a book-stall, were the three persons implicated by Upton, (who was also a watchmaker, and a very ingenious, though vicious man;) and after a long investigation before the Privy Council, they were committed to prison. That some idle conversation in respect to public affairs had passed among the persons thus charged, there is reason to believe; but that there was the slightest attempt made to fabricate a plot of this kind, unless by the informer himself, was never proved. Certainly nothing appeared in evidence to justify the tale; for when Le Maitre was to have been tried, Upton could not be found, and *it was said* that he was accidentally drowned in the Thames a day or two previous: but the greater probability is, that he did not dare to appear. After a close confinement of some months, the three prisoners were liberated; and thus ended the first part of the famous *Pop-gun* Plot.

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* This gentleman, who had heard from public report, that he was to be included in the charges for High Treason, voluntarily surrendered himself whilst the Grand Jury was sitting.

On the twenty-fifth of October, nine of the persons against whom bills for High Treason had been found, were arraigned at the Old Bailey; and on the third day following the trial of Thomas Hardy was commenced. After a laborious investigation of eight days, in which all the eloquence of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals,* aided by a vast mass of papers, and strengthened by the testimony of hired spies, was exhausted to criminate the prisoners, the Jury pronounced a verdict of *Not Guilty*. The effect of this verdict in removing the gloom which had spread over the country at the continued efforts of Administration to govern by despotic power, was most remarkable. In the Metropolis the news flew with a sort of electric rapidity; and all ranks seemed to participate in the sentiment, that the Liberties of Britain could never be effectually destroyed, whilst the invaluable privilege of "*Trial by Jury*," was still maintained inviolable.

On the seventeenth of November, John Horne Tooke was brought to trial. The proceedings lasted nearly six days: the evidence was similar to what had been offered against Hardy, and the issue was the same. These defeats led to the liberation, on December the first, of Bonney, Joyce, Kydd, and Holcroft; yet the Ministry determined on making one more attempt to secure a victim, and on the same day was begun the trial of John Thelwall, who, in his political lectures, had been known to employ some very strong language against the measures of government. Here, however, they were again foiled; and a third verdict of 'Not Guilty,' shamed them into a feeling of the moral turpitude which must accompany any further attempts to sacrifice men's lives

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* Sir John Scott, and Sir John Mitford.

lives on charges so repeatedly proved to be ill-founded. Those in custody for treasonable practices were therefore discharged on different days; and the Commission itself was finally dissolved in January.

During the continuance of the proceedings on these Trials, the strongest agitation prevailed among the people, yet by the judicious conduct of the City Magistracy, tranquillity was effectually preserved through the exertions of the civil power alone. Every day the vicinity of the Old Bailey was crowded by a countless multitude, and the Counsel on the popular side, Messrs. Erskine* and Gibbs† were drawn to their homes in triumph. The popular joy on the acquittal of the prisoners was displayed by loud and reiterated acclamations, and even the interior of the court itself partook of the general feeling.

In the course of the two or three preceding years the minds of the credulous part of the public had been much disturbed by the prophecies of one *Richard Brothers*, who had been a Lieutenant in the navy, and whose writings, founded on erroneous explanations of the Scriptures, had made so much noise, that Administration judged it expedient to interfere, and on the fourteenth of March, 1795, he was apprehended at his lodgings in Paddington Street, under a warrant from the Secretary of State, grounded on the 15th of Elizabeth, in which he stood charged with "unlawfully, maliciously, and wickedly writing, printing, and publishing various fantastical prophecies, with intent to create dissentions and other disturbances within this realm, and other of the King's dominions, contrary to the statute," &c. Among other extravagancies promulgated by Mr. Brothers, he styled himself the 'Nephew of God;' and predicted the destruction of all Sovereigns, the downfall of the naval power of Great Britain, and the restoration of the Jews, who under him, as their Prince and Deliverer, were to be re-seated at Jerusalem. All these events were to be accomplished by the year 1798. After a long examination before the Privy Council, in which Mr. Brothers persisted in the divinity of his legation, he was committed into the custody of a State Messenger. On the twenty-seventh, he was declared a lunatic, by a Jury appointed under a Commission, on a writ *de Lunatico inquirendo*, and assembled at the King's Arms, in Palace-Yard. He was subsequently removed to a private mad-house at Islington, where he was kept till the year 1806, when he was discharged by the authority of the Lord Chancellor Erskine.

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* Now Lord Erskine.

† Now Sir Vicary Gibbs, and Attorney General. How lamentably has the fair fame of this gentleman suffered in the popular estimation, since he became a coadjutor of the present Ministry.

On the eighth of April, 1795, the marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, was solemnized at the Chapel-Royal, St. James's, in the presence of their Majesties, the Princes and Princesses, the State Officers, &c. In the evening the Metropolis was partially illuminated.

On the twenty-third of this month the long-depending Trial, in Westminster Hall, of Warren Hastings, Esq. who had been impeached by the House of Commons for High Crimes and Misdemeanours, whilst Governor-General of India, was brought to a conclusion; and he was declared 'Not Guilty,' by a considerable majority of the few Peers (only twenty-nine) that voted. The proceedings had began on the twelfth of February, 1788, and continued by successive adjournments through every sessions of Parliament to the above time; so that upwards of seven years and two months had elapsed before the end of the trial: a circumstance unparalleled in the annals of judicature.

About the middle of July, some fresh *Tumults* were excited in the Metropolis by the rashness of a Fifer, named John Lewis, who having been refused liquor at the King's Arms, Charing Cross (then deprived of its license), and turned out of the house for his insulting behaviour, raised an immense crowd round the door by falsely asserting, that 'his companion had just been kidnapped, and was then chained down in the cellar with three others; whence they were to be conveyed away by a secret door that communicated with the Thames.' This tale was so fully credited by the mob, that notwithstanding the house was submitted to search, and nothing of the kind discovered, all the furniture was destroyed or carried off, &c. before the military could disperse the rioters. Lewis, however, was taken into custody by some persons who had witnessed his improper conduct.

On the two following days a mob again assembled at Charing Cross, and in St. George's Fields, where they partly demolished the Recruiting Offices, and made bonfires of the furniture. They were at last dispersed by the Horse Guards, who, after enduring a great deal of insult, were forced to ride their horses among them, by which several were trampled on and severely wounded; and some of the more active rioters were apprehended. On the succeeding morning another great multitude collected, and several parts of the town were threatened with disturbances; but the judicious distribution of the soldiery had the effect of intimidation, and the tumult ceased without the necessity of using particular violence. The unfortunate instigator of these disorders was afterwards capitally convicted for the offence, and was hanged at Newgate in November: some other persons also suffered for participating in them.

In the afternoon of the seventeenth of September, the beautiful Church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, was destroyed by fire. The neighbouring buildings were with difficulty preserved, as the heat thrown out by the flames, which arose from the interior of the building in a vast pyramid, was most intense. Nothing was saved but the communion plate. This accident was occasioned by the negligence of some plumbers, who had been employed in finishing the lead-work of the new cupola, the whole edifice having just undergone a complete repair.

The general dearness of provisions, and particularly of bread, in the summer and autumn of this year, occasioned various meetings of the Privy Council, and of corporate and other bodies, through whose recommendations the consumption of the finer sorts of flour was somewhat reduced. Subscriptions for the relief of the necessitous were also opened; and the Court of Common Council gave 1000l. to be distributed among the industrious poor in the different wards in the City.

On the twenty-sixth of October an assemblage of the People was convened in a field between Pancras Church and Copenhagen House, by the London Corresponding Society, for the purpose of preparing an Address and Remonstrance to his Majesty on the subjects of Peace and Parliamentary Reform. The meeting consisted of between forty and fifty thousand persons, and every thing was conducted with propriety and good order; yet the effervescence thus excited among the populace, was most probably the immediate cause of a most daring attack upon the King's person, made three days afterwards, when the Sovereign went, as customary, to open the Parliament. A strange rumour, that a riot was likely to take place, had been industriously circulated, and this contributed greatly to increase the multitude of spectators; so much so indeed, that the numbers assembled in St. James's Park, and its leading avenues, were computed at about 200,000. Instead of the loud huzzas, which generally greeted the King in his way to the Parliament House, the predominant exclamations were on this day, "Peace! Peace!—Give us bread!—No Pitt!—No Famine!—No war!"—and a few voices were heard to exclaim, "Down with George!" or words to that effect. As the procession advanced along the Park, and in Parliament Street, the clamours of the mob were mingled with indecent hissings and hootings, and several stones were thrown at the royal carriage, one of the glass pannels of which was at length perforated by a stone or bullet, near the Ordnance Office, in St. Margaret Street. Similar outrages attended the King's return from the House of Lords; and though the gates of the Horse Guards had been shut to exclude the mob, great numbers had procured access by the other passages, and by them the insults and reviling were kept up till his Majesty alighted at St. James's. The state coach was afterwards attacked by the populace with stones and bludgeons on its way through Pall-Mall to the Mews, and almost demolished.

After the King had remained a little time at St. James's Palace, he proceeded in his private carriage to Buckingham House, without any military escort, and attended only by two footmen. In this unprotected state he was again beset by a gang of ruffians, who, before the carriage could get through the Mall, attempted to force open the door; but the King's footmen having beckoned to a party of the Horse Guards, which was fortunately in sight, the Guards galloped up, relieved the Sovereign from his new danger, and conducted him in safety to the Queen's Palace.

This atrocious attack, whether it was really the consequence of a premeditated design, or whether, as the greater probability is, it merely resulted from the ebullition of the moment, awakened the strongest feelings of abhorrence throughout the country; and his Majesty received Addresses on the occasion from both Houses of Parliament, from the City of London, and from numerous other bodies in all parts of the Kingdom. Three or four persons who had been most active in hooting the Sovereign, were taken into custody on the day of the tumult; but the proffered reward of 1000l. offered by a Royal Proclamation, failed in bringing to justice any of the rabble who had personally insulted the King. Kydd Wake, a journeyman printer, who had been apprehended in the Park, was afterwards tried for a high misdemeanour*, "in having indecently and disloyally hissed and hooted his Majesty, on his way to and from his Parliament;" and being convicted on the clearest evidence, he was sentenced to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour in Gloucester Gaol, for five years; to stand once in the pillory, and to find security on his liberation in 1000l. for his good behaviour for ten years.

Another Royal Proclamation was issued, on the fourth of November, as a preparatory step to the introduction into Parliament of the Pitt and Grenville Acts, more known, perhaps, by the name of '*Gagging Bills*,' for the prevention of 'Seditious Meetings,' and better securing the 'safety of his Majesty's person and government.' The Proclamation assumed, as a fact, that the tumult and violence displayed by the populace, on the day of the opening of the Session, had arisen from 'divers inflammatory discourses, delivered to the persons collected in the fields adjacent to the Metropolis, immediately before the meeting of the Parliament,' and that 'the divers proceedings there had tended to create groundless jealousy and discontent, and to endanger the public peace,' the 'safety of the Royal Person,' &c. Upon these, and other corresponding grounds, stated at large by Ministers in their speeches to the House, the Bills were brought in, yet, in the course of the vehement debates that arose during their progress through the Parliament, it was unguardedly admitted by Mr. Secretary Dundas, that these measures had been in contemplation 'for months past.'

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* In the Court of King's Bench, in February, 1796; his sentence was passed the seventh of May. Wake was near sighted; and, some years after his liberation he was killed by accident, in being crushed between a post and the wheel of a cart, or waggon, in the neighbourhood of Doctor's Commons.

After many animated discussions, and various alterations, which rendered these obnoxious Bills less destructive to the venerable fabric of Old English liberty than administration had purposed, they were finally passed, and received the royal assent on the eighteenth of December. The Opposition had been strong and dignified, both within doors and without; but a corrupt majority, wielded at the pleasure of a haughty minister, rendered all argument unavailing. The voice of the people was decidedly against the Bills, and many meetings were held to consider of the best means of opposing them. The Whig Club met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in November, and, in one of the fullest assemblies ever held, at which the Duke of Bedford presided, and nearly fifty Lords, and Members of the House of Commons were present, they resolved, "That they would give every aid to the Civil Magistrate, in detecting and bringing to punishment the persons concerned in the daring attack made on the person of his Majesty, in his passage to Parliament; yet, lamenting as they did this nefarious act, they saw, with the utmost concern, that it had been used as a *pretext* for introducing into Parliament a Bill, striking at the Liberty of the Press, and the Freedom of Public Discussion; in substance and effect, destroying the right of the subject to petition the different branches of the Legislature for redress of grievances, and utterly subversive of the principles of the British Constitution; and for proposing another measure, calculated to produce similar effects, by means still more exceptionable." On the day following, the London Corresponding Society held another meeting, in the fields near Copenhagen House, at which an immense multitude were present, and Petitions to the three branches of the Legislature were agreed to, on the state of public affairs, and the measures then in progress. That to the House of Commons stated it to be "the Petition of nearly 400,000 Britons, inhabitants of London and its environs, assembled together in the open air, to express their free sentiments, according to the tenure of the Bill of Rights, on the subject of the threatened invasion of their constitutional liberties." Similar meetings were held by the electors of Westminster and Middlesex, by the Livery of the City of London, and by other bodies; and these examples were followed by several counties, and almost every considerable town in England. To nullify these proceedings, the Crown and Anchor Association agreed to address his Majesty, in support of the Bills, and all the influence of the Ministry was exerted to procure similar petitions from their own dependants; yet, powerful as they were, and though every means to cajole and terrify were employed, they were still out-numbered, as appears by a reference to the signatures, by a majority of more than four to one. But *salus populi suprema lex est*, said the Attorney General, and, on this principle, falsely applied to their own unconstitutional and despotic rule, the Bills in question were passed into laws.

On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of January, 1796, Mr. William Stone, coal merchant, was tried in the Court of King's Bench, for High Treason, in corresponding with his brother in France, &c. when a verdict of Not Guilty was returned, to the complete satisfaction of a crowded assembly.

In the course of May, this year, the last part of the Pop-gun Plot* was played off, by the trial of Richard Thomas Crossfield, a surgeon, a surgeon, who had been implicated in the charge of intending to assassinate the King, but after an investigation of two days at the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey, he was declared Not Guilty. Le Maitre, Smith, and Higgins, who, after the apprehension of Crossfield, had been re-committed to prison in rather an unprecedented manner, were finally liberated, without trial, on the nineteenth of this month.

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* See before, p. 560-61.

At a Court of Common Council, held on the sixteenth of September, a Committee was appointed, "to take into consideration the high price of flour, whilst grain was cheap, and to make a speedy return of the best means of removing so oppressive an evil." This measure was founded on the relative prices of wheat and flour in London, at different periods, viz. in 1788, when wheat was 40s. 9¾d. a quarter, and flour 36s. 6d.; in 1787, when wheat was sold at 41s. 1¼d. and flour at 32s. 11½d.; and in August, 1796, when wheat was 40s. 3¾d, and the price charged for flour 50s.

Among the measures resorted to by the Ministers to meet the increasing exigencies of Government, towards the close of this year, was that of a voluntary Loan of 18,000,000l. sterling; and such was the success of this scheme, that though it was only communicated on the first of December to the Lord Mayor, with a request that he would make it known to the Corporation and public companies, the subscriptions were made with such eagerness, that the books, which had been opened at the Bank *, were closed within four days; and though 100,000l. was voted by the Court of Common Council, on the fifth, in the afternoon, it was only by 'especial indulgence' that this subscription was admitted. At this period, the sentiments of the Livery and of the Common Council were decidedly hostile; and whilst the former, on the fourteenth, assembled in Guildhall, and instructed their representatives to vote 'a censure upon Ministers, for sending money to the Emperor of Germany, during the sitting, and without the consent, of Parliament;' the latter, on the twenty-first, resolved, that "the pecuniary

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* 1,000,000l. towards the Loan was subscribed by the Bank in its corporate capacity.

niary aid so furnished to the Emperor had been productive of great advantage to Great Britain, and *given a decided and favourable turn to the war!*"

The year 1797 was distinguished by the extraordinary circumstance of the stoppage of Bank payments in *specie*, a measure rendered necessary by the alarming state of public affairs, which had caused such a demand for cash during the months of January and February, that it was feared a sufficiency would not be left for the emergencies of Government, unless further issues were restricted.

The leading causes of this unprecedented event originated in the great advances that had been made to Government, during the years 1795 and 1796, on the security of Treasury Bills, and which fluctuated from about eight hundred thousand pounds to upwards of two millions and a half sterling, besides other advances under different heads, which made the entire sum amount to more than 10,672,000l. The remittances that had been sent during the war to the Emperor of Germany, and other foreign powers, were found to press so heavily upon the Bank, that as early as January, 1795, the Court of Directors informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was their wish "that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them." Similar remonstrances were made in April and June, and on the eighth of October the Directors addressed a written paper to the Minister, which concluded by stating "the absolute necessity which they conceived to exist for *diminishing* the sum of their *present advances to Government*, the last having been granted with great reluctance on their part, on his pressing solicitations." On the twenty-third of the same month, in an interview which took place with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the loans to the Emperor being mentioned, the Governor of the Bank assured Mr. Pitt, "that another loan of that sort would go nigh to *ruin the country*." In July, 1796, on the strong representation of the Minister that without the accomodation of 800,000l. "it would be impossible to avoid the most serious and distressing embarrassments to the public service," the

Bank Directors agreed to advance that sum, towards the end of August; at the same they expressly stated that "the Court granted this accommodation with great reluctance, and contrary to their wishes;" and that "nothing could induce them, under the present circumstances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the *dread that their refusal might be productive of a greater evil,* and nothing but the extreme pressure and emergency of the case can in any shape justify them for acceeding to this measure." On the first of February, 1797, Mr. Pitt hinted that it would be necessary for him to negociate a loan for Ireland in this country; and in a subsequent conversation, on the eighteenth, he stated, that the sum wanted would be about one million and a half. The Governor immediately replied, that such a scheme would "*cause the ruin of the Bank,*" by the drain which it would occasion in the specie; and on the next day, he further informed him, on the authority of the Court of Directors, that, "under the present state of the Bank's advances to Government, such a measure would threaten ruin to the house, and most probably reduce them to the necessity of *shutting up its doors!*"

During these conferences, the cash in the Bank was very rapidly lowering, partly through dread of the threatened invasion from France, which had induced the farmers and others, resident in the parts distant from the Metropolis, to withdraw their money from the different banking-houses in which it had been deposited. The *run*, therefore, (to employ the technical language of the money-market) commenced upon the Country Banks, and the increasing demand for specie soon reaching the Capital, it became evident to the Court of Directors that, without some essential expedient, the Bank would be wholly unable to withstand the shock. In this critical moment, also, the expected invasion seemed about to take place, by the appearance of some French shipping in Cardigan Bay, and the landing, at Fishguard, of about 1400 men, all of whom, however, surrendered at discretion, to Lord Cawdor, without blood-shed.

At this alarming conjuncture, a message was sent to his Majesty, at Windsor, to request his immediate attendance in town, to assist at a Privy Council, which was accordingly held at St. James's, on Sunday, February the 26th, when an Order was made to prohibit the Directors of the Bank from "issuing any cash, in payment, until the sense of Parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the Kingdom." This Order was promulgated on the next morning, annexed to a Notice from the Bank, stating that "the Directors meant to continue their discounts, for the accommodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in *Bank Notes*, and the dividend warrants in the same manner;" and further, "that the general concerns of the Bank were in the most affluent and prosperous situation, and such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes."

Notwithstanding these assurances, the Metropolis, and indeed the whole Kingdom, was for some days in a state of the greatest agitation, and the stoppage must have had the most fatal consequences, but for the judicious steps that were immediately taken. The Merchants, Bankers, &c. of London, as in the year 1745, declared their unanimous resolution to receive Bank Notes as cash, and to make their payments in the same manner; and many of the Lords and other Members of the Privy Council signed a similar declaration. The Parliament also, which was fortunately sitting at this period, immediately proceeded to investigate the affairs of the Bank, and a Secret Committee was appointed by each House for that purpose. The discussions as to the policy of the measure, were particularly animated, and especially in the House of Commons; but the majorities in favour of Administration were always considerable.

On the first of March, Mr. Pitt introduced a Bill for empowering the Bank to issue notes for sums *lower* than five pounds, to which amount they had hitherto been restricted; and this was passed into a law with such rapidity as to receive the Royal assent on the second day afterwards. On the same day the Committee made their first Report, in which they stated, that they had examined the outstanding claims against the Bank, with the corresponding assets, and found, that on the 25th of February, the day to which the accounts could be made up with accuracy, the total amount of demands on the Bank, was 13,770,390l.; and that the assets (not including the sum of 11,686,800l. of permanent debt due by Government)* amounted to 17,597,280l.: so that the surplus in favour of the Bank was 3,826,890l. A second Report was made on the seventh of March, in which the Committee recommended that the 'Order of Council should be continued and confirmed for a time to be limited;' and on this recommendation, &c. an Act was passed confirming the restriction, and making Bank Notes a legal tender in every case, except the payment of the Navy and Army, which was to be continued in specie. This Bill received the Royal Assent on the third of May. By one of the clauses its duration was limited to the 24th of June; yet, such have been the exigencies of the country, that the Legislature have judged it expedient to continue the suspension, excepting as to small sums, even to the present time.†

From a table which was given in to the House of Commons, professing to show the scale of cash and bullion in the Bank, from 1782 to 1797, it appears, that the quantity of specie remaining on February the 25th, in the latter year, was less than at any former period since December 1783. What the exact sum was remained hidden from the public, under certain arbitrary numbers, at least for some time; but it was at length discovered that the mean number 660, denoted four millions; and by pursuing the calculations, and comparing the different accounts, that when the Order of Council was issued, the amount of the cash and bullion did not exceed 1,272,000l.

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* This sum, it was argued both by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, was not available to the Bank in any other degree, than as producing an annuity of 350,000l. per annum, as the payment of it rested solely at the option of Government, which was not likely to discharge it, when it could be retained at so small an interest as three per cent.

† July 25, 1810.

In March, 1797, an attempt was made by the Lord Mayor, Brook Watson, Esq. to subject the power of convening the Livery in Common Hall, to the authority of the Court of Common Council; and in this manifest endeavour to violate the rights and privileges of the Livery, he was assisted by three of the City Representatives, viz. Sir James Sanderson, and the Aldermen Curtis and Lushington! The forty-three Liverymen who signed the requisition for a meeting which led to this event, immediately addressed a paper to the Lord Mayor, stating various unanswerable arguments in defence of their inherent right; and so little was the Court of Common Council itself inclined to invade it, that when the question came to be argued, the following motion, made by Mr. Waithman, "That it would be highly improper in this Court to give any opinion respecting the propriety or expediency of convening a Common Hall," was carried by a great majority. About a week afterwards, March the 23d, at a very full meeting of the Livery in Guildhall, it was resolved, that "An humble Address and Petition should be presented to his Majesty, upon the present alarming state of Public Affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present Ministers from his Councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent Peace." Only seven voices opposed this resolution, out of a body of three thousand persons; and the Petition was ordered to be presented "to his Majesty, sitting on his Throne," by the Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs, and the four Parliamentary Representatives. When the Sheriffs attended at St. James's, to know when his Majesty would receive the Address, they were informed by the Duke of Portland, that 'the King would receive it at any Levee, in the common form; but that his Majesty received Addresses on the Throne from the City of London as a corporate body only.'

On the first of April, at another Common Hall, the Livery after hearing this answer, directed the Sheriffs, attended by the

City Remembrancer, to wait upon the King personally, agreeably to their undoubted right as Sheriffs of London, and to enquire of him when he would be pleased to ' receive the said Address, upon the throne:' they were also instructed to inform his Majesty, if necessary, "That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London cannot deliver their Address in any other manner than to the King on his throne." His Majesty's reply was similar to that given by the Duke of Portland; and he professed his readiness to receive it, provided it ' was presented at the Levee by no more than ten persons.' When the Sheriffs made their report at another Common Hall, held on the twelfth, the Livery came to the unanimous Resolution, "That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, have from time immemorial enjoyed the right and privilege of addressing the King upon the throne, and have never before been denied that right, except under the corrupt Administration which occasioned and persisted in the American war." They likewise proceeded to discuss another Resolution, strongly reprehensive of the measures of Government; but after much altercation, the Lord Mayor refused to submit it to the Livery, as being contrary to the precept by which the meeting had been convened, and at last, he formally dissolved the assembly. Another Common Hall on this subject was convened on the fourth of May, when several strong Resolutions were entered into, declaratory of the rights of the Livery, and of the profligate and wanton conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, "who had evinced a disposition to sacrifice the blood, treasure, and liberties of the Kingdom, in support of measures repugnant to the principles of the Constitution, derogatory to the dignity and safety of the King, and inconsistent with the happiness of the people." The late conduct of the Lord Mayor was also highly censured; but some days afterwards, a counter declaration was signed by 2096 Liverymen, expressive of their disapprobation of the proceedings in the three last Common Halls, &c. and of their approval of the measures of Government.

The war about this period had become extremely unpopular, excepting with the monied men; and on April the third, a crowded assembly of the inhabitants of Westminster was held in Palace Yard, and a nervous Address and Petition to the King unanimously voted, on the subject of the war, and the conduct of Administration. "Your Ministers," said the Address, "have tarnished the national honour and glory. They have oppressed the poor with almost intolerable burthens. They have poisoned the intercourse of private life. They have given a fatal blow to public credit. They have divided the empire, and subverted the Constitution.—We humbly pray your Majesty, therefore, to dismiss them from your presence and councils for ever." Several Peers and Members of Parliament attended at this meeting; and many similar ones were held in the course of the Spring in various parts of the Kingdom.

On the eighteenth of May, the nuptials of his Serene Highness Frederick William, hereditary Prince of Wirtemburg-Stutgard, with Charlotte Augusta Matilda, the Princess Royal of England, were solemnized in the Chapel-Royal, St. James's, in the presence of their Majesties, the principal Officers of State, the Foreign Ministers, and other personages of distinction.

On the first of June, a message was delivered from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, on the *Mutiny* among the seamen at the Nore, which at this time had raged for ten or twelve days, and threatened the most destructive consequences. The commerce of London was particularly obstructed by the mutineers, who acted with a boldness and determination, unparallelled in the naval history of Great Britain. Their whole force amounted to between twenty and thirty ships of war, mostly line of battle ships, and their proceedings were directed by a Committee of Delegates, two from each ship, of which one Richard Parker, a brave seaman, and as appears from his conduct, a man of strong natural talents but with little education, was appointed President. Some of their demands were similar to what had been recently granted to the seamen of Lord Howe's fleet at Portsmouth, but others were of a description wholly incompatible with the discipline of the navy. After a fruitless attempt, therefore, to persuade the fleet to submission, made by a deputation of the Lords of the Admiralty, it was determined to reduce them by force; to this end, a Proclamation was issued, declaring certain ships in a state of mutiny, and an act was passed, imposing death upon any person having "any wilful and advised communication" with the ships' crews so declared to be mutinous. In this desperate situation, the seamen thought proper to concentrate their forces, which they did at the great Nore, where they drew up the squadron in a line. The men of war being ranged at about half a mile from each other, with their broadsides abreast. To enforce compliance with their demands, they stopped all shipping trading to and from the Port of London, except colliers, neutral vessels, and a few small craft: those which were detained were obliged to cast anchor in the intervals between the line of battle ships. The appearance of such a multitude of shipping, the London trade included, under the orders of a body of mutinous seamen, formed a singular and awful spectacle. In the meantime Government made the most vigorous preparations to reduce them to a state of duty, and lest they should form the desperate scheme of standing out to sea, all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames and the adjacent coasts, were removed. Both shores opposite to the fleet were lined with batteries, the forts at Sheerness, Tilbury, and Gravesend, were furnished with furnaces for red-hot shot, and the Neptune of ninety-eight guns, partly manned by volunteers raised by a subscription among the merchants of London, with other vessels and gun-boats, dropped down to Long-reach, with a view to act offensively against the mutineers. Happily, however, this last resource was unnecessary; the seamen begun to feel the hopelessness of their situation, and on the night of the ninth of June, the Repulse, the Leopard, and the Ardent, separated from the rebel-fleet, and submitted. Between that and the twelfth, several other ships struck the red flag, and hoisted the union; and the detained merchantmen were allowed to proceed on their respective destinations. On the following day, five more quitted the rebel-lines, and ran for protection under the forts of Sheerness; and lastly, the Sandwich surrendered: in this ship the Delegates had held their meetings, and Parker, the President, with about thirty others was now delivered up to justice. On the twenty-second, the trials of the mutineers commenced with that of Parker, before a Court Martial, on board the Neptune, off Greenhithe; on the fourth day he was solemnly adjudged guilty, and a few days afterwards he met his death with great fortitude, on board the Sandwich. He was at first buried at Sheerness, but his wife with some other women, having found means to obtain the body, had it conveyed to London, where the curiosity of the public leading them in crowds to view it, the Magistrates were at last obliged to interfere, and by their orders it was finally deposited in Whitechapel church-yard. Many others of the mutineers were condemned to die, and all the principal ringleaders were executed; yet a considerable number remained under sentence, confined in a prison-ship in the river, till after the signal victory obtained by Admiral Duncan in October, when they received his Majesty's pardon.

On the night of July the 16th, occurred one of the most tremendous *Storms* of thunder, lightning, and rain, ever remembered in this Metropolis. The lightning commenced about nine o'clock in the evening, and continued without intermission till twelve, illuminating with its corruscations and vivid flames of scarlet and blue light, every quarter of the heavens. The thunder came on about twelve, and continued till about half after three, with incessant and most loud and awful peals, so near as seemingly to burst over the head, and accompanied the whole time with the heaviest and most uninterrupted falls of rain: at four o'clock the storm had passed over; but its fury was felt in many other parts of the country, as well as on the Continent.

On the thirty-first of this month, one of the last public Meetings of the London Corresponding Society, was held in the fields behind Somers-Town, for the purpose of proposing a Petition to the King. The multitude was extremely numerous, and three

tribune

tribunes had been erected for the accommodation of the speakers, who had called the meeting under the provisions of the late acts. The Bow-street Magistrates, however, had thought proper to declare, that the assembly had not been legally convened; and though the crowd was perfectly peaceable, Sir William Addington, who had surrounded the principal tribune with a large body of police officers, announced that the Riot Act had been read, and gave orders that several persons should be taken into custody. This was immediately done, the tribunes were knocked down, and the people began rapidly to disperse; a measure that was accelerated by the appearance of a troop of horse, which was ordered to enter the field, and galloped up and down for some time. Several other military detachments had been drawn round the neighbourhood; the West-London Militia were stationed in the Veterinary College, and the London and Westminster Volunteer Associations in the Foundling Fields. In the evening, the persons who had been taken into custody were admitted to bail. An action was afterwards brought against Sir William Addington for his conduct, but it failed through an informality in the process.

Soon after the commencement of the Session of Parliament, in November, the emergencies of the Government occasioned the Minister to resort to a new mode of raising the supplies, viz. by direct contribution, and it was proposed to increase the assessed taxes to nearly a triple amount. This was strongly opposed in a Common Hall held at Guildhall, on the sixteenth of December, and the City Representatives were instructed to prevent it passing into a law, as being "partial, oppressive, arbitrary, and unconstitutional;" and in its principle "destructive of the dearest interests of the people, and subversive of social order." The City of Westminster, and the principal wards and parishes of the Metropolis, held meetings about the same time, and came to similar resolutions. By this plan and its modifications, on which *income* was made the basis of taxation, a double weight was imposed upon the industrious, whilst the spendthrift and the idle were almost exempted from its effects; yet Mr. Pitt persisted in the measure, and the Bill was finally passed.

On the nineteenth of December, the day appointed for a national *Thanksgiving*, for the three great Victories obtained by Lord Howe, over the French, in June, 1794; by Sir John Jarvis, over the Spaniards, in February, 1797; and by Admiral Duncan, over the Dutch, in October, 1797; their Majesties, with most of the Royal Family, Officers of State, principal Nobility, &c. attended Divine Service at St. Paul's Cathedral. The Procession was extremely splendid; and was conducted with great order, notwithstanding the pressure of an immense multitude of spectators which lined the streets, and thronged every avenue. It began with the naval Colours taken from the enemies of Britain, viz. two from the French, three from the Spaniards, and four from the Dutch, mounted on artillery waggons, each attended by a party of Lieutenants, who had fought in the respective engagements in which they were won. A large detachment of marines, with music followed; and after them a number of gallant Admirals in carriages. Next came the Speaker of the House of Commons, with many of its members; the Clerks of the Crown, the Masters in Chancery, the Twelve Judges, and the House of Peers ranged according to etiquette, and followed by the Lord Chancellor; after came the Royal Family, in carriages drawn by caparisoned horses. At Temple Bar, the Procession was joined by the Lord Mayor, with the Sheriffs, and City Deputation, gorgeously attired, who after the ceremony of delivering up the City sword to the Sovereign, rode bare headed before the royal carriage to the Cathedral Church.

When the Procession reached St. Paul's, the Lieutenants taking the flags from the waggons, attended by the seamen and marines, divided themselves for their superiors to pass up the body of the church; and the Colours were next carried in under loud huzzas, and grand martial music, to the middle of the area below the dome, where they were ranged in a circle.— The Princesses, with the Dukes of York and Clarence, Prince

Ernest, and the Duke of Gloucester, and their respective suites, on their alighting remained near the great west door, within the church, to receive their Majesties; the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Admirals standing opposite. The King was received by the Bishops of London and Lincoln, who walked on each side his Majesty, preceeded by the Heralds' at Arms, and the Prebendaries of the Cathedral. Her Majesty, led by Earl Morton, followed with her suite; and next the Princes, Princesses, &c. in procession. On the arrival of the Royal Family within the circle, the Colours were lowered, and their Majesties were greeted with the loudest shouts and acclamations. The company then took their seats, the Common Council of London, with their Ladies, being accommodated with two spacious galleries, under the circle of the dome, and the service was began. At the end of the first lesson, the flag-officers entered in two divisions, right and left of the King's chair, bearing the captured trophies, which were deposited in succession upon the altar. At half past two, on a signal being given from St. Paul's, that the service was concluded, the Park guns were fired. In returning, the royal carriages went first, and fortunately the day closed without any particular accident. The military behaved with much propriety, notwithstanding the pressure of the crowd, and the whole business of the day reflected great credit on those who superintended its arrangements. The three brigades of Foot Guards, with parties of the Horse Guards, were stationed in a double line from St. James's to Temple-Bar: within the bar to St. Paul's, the streets were lined by the two regiments of City Militia, the East-India Volunteers, and several other parochial corps of the same description, whilst the Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster, paraded as occasion required.

The growing difficulties of the state, in matters of finance, at the commencement of the year 1798, led to the idea of a *Voluntary Subscription*, for the public service, and, at a very numerous meeting of the Bankers, Merchants, and Traders of London, held at the Royal Exchange, on the ninth of February, several resolutions

tions for the purpose were unanimously entered into. The business was opened by the Lord Mayor, who, with many eminent merchants, appeared in a temporary hustings, within the area of the Exchange, and four books were immediately prepared to register the sums subscribed on the spot, which, before the close of the day, amounted to 46,534l. 14s. 6d. Four days afterwards, 10,000l. was subscribed by the Court of Common Council; and several of the members, also, gave large sums as individuals, as soon as the Court broke up. Two hundred thousand pounds were subscribed by the Bank, and considerable sums were given by other public companies. The gifts of many noblemen and gentlemen increased the contributions, and 20,000l. was subscribed by his Majesty*.

The continued threats of invasion from France, and the distracted state of Ireland, rendering a great increase of the military force expedient, Government, in the beginning of this year, devised a plan for a more powerful defence of the Kingdom than had ever yet been called into action. This occasioned the passing of several Acts of Parliament, tending to this end, and various armed Associations were, in consequence, organized, in different parts of the country. On the nineteenth of April, the Lord Mayor informed the Common Council that he had received a letter from the Secretary of State, and had also had a conference with the Duke of York, at that time Commander in Chief of the British Army, respecting the formation of armed Associations, in the several wards of the City. At the next meeting of the Court, the Committee of Aldermen, to which the business had been referred, made their report, and, on the first of May, the inhabitant-householders met in their respective wards, when the following propositions were generally adopted, viz. 'that the inhabitant-householders of each ward should choose a Committee to form regulations, and recommend officers; that the more able men should learn the use of arms, and those not capable to bear arms, be sworn in as special constables; and that the whole force thus raised should, in case of necessity, be united into one body, under the direction of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen.

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* In the summary of Ways and Means for the year, the Minister estimated the Voluntary Subscription at a million and a half; its total produce, however, was upwards of two millions.

Whilst these measures were in agitation in the City, parochial, and other meetings, for the same purpose, were general throughout the Metropolis; and, in the course of few months, a very considerable Volunteer force was established, and the protection of the Capital, by that means, pretty effectually secured[*].

On the twenty-fifth of May, a Bill, which particularly affected the seamen, &c. belonging to the Port of London, was brought into Parliament, and carried through both houses; and on the next day it received the Royal assent. This was the very era of the Insurrection in Ireland, and was founded on the evident necessity of having a numerous fleet in readiness, to prevent the insurgents receiving succour from France. It was intituled a Bill for "the more effectually and speedily manning the Navy;" and the principle of the measure was to supersede the force of all protections, for a certain time. During the discussions in the House of Commons, whilst the Bill was in progress, the Minister accused Mr. Tierney, the popular representative for Southwark, of opposing this measure from "a desire to obstruct the defence of the country;" and he afterwards refused either to explain or to retract his expressions. This led to a duel between the parties, on the following Sunday, which terminated without injury to either; Mr. Pitt having fired his last pistol in the air: the meeting took place on Putney Heath.

On the eighth of June, James O'Coigley, alias Fever, who had been recently condemned at Maidstone, for High Treason, in maintaining a traitorous correspondence with the French

Directory,

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[*] The cause for hastening on the formation of Volunteer Corps, at this period, was, doubtless, that the regulars and militia might be more at liberty to leave this country to oppose the projected insurrection in Ireland, which, as afterwards appeared from the confession of Ministers themselves, was *purposely accelerated* by the measures of the Irish Government! How much more to the interests of humanity, and of the British Empire, would it have been, had the same pains been taken to remove the grounds of complaint, as were thus exercised to goad disaffection into rebellion!

Directory, was executed on Pennendon Heath. He had been apprehended about the end of February, at Margate, whilst endeavouring to obtain a passage to France, together with the celebrated Arther O'Conner, Esq. nephew to Lord Longueville, John Binns, Secretary to a division of the London Corresponding Society, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary: the latter was O'Conner's servant. On the first of March, the prisoners were brought to London; and several other persons, suspected of being connected with them, but who were afterwards discharged, were taken up in the course of the week. On the seventh, they were examined before the Privy Council, and, on the following morning, O'Conner, O'Coigley, Binns, and Allen, were committed to separate apartments in the Tower. In April, a special Commission for their trial was opened at Maidstone, and the Grand Jury having found a true bill, they were tried on the twenty-first and twenty-second of May, when O'Coigley only was found guilty; an absurd, but treasonable paper having been discovered in his possession, purporting to be an "Address from the Secret Committee of England, to the Executive Directory of France:" O'Conner and Binns were detained in custody on other charges. During these proceedings, Roger O'Conner, Esq. was arrested at his apartments in Craven Street, and remanded to Dublin, under a warrant from the Secretary of State; and two divisions of Members of the London Corresponding Society, which still continued its meetings, though not so openly as formerly, were apprehended in different parts of the town. These arrests, however, led to no particular discoveries: they appear indeed to have been made more to keep up the spirit of alarm, than for the sake of substantial justice.

On the night of the eleventh of September, the Metropolis was visited by a most tremendous storm of *Wind*, which did considerable damage in various parts of the town, and its vicinity, as well as on the river. In some of the streets the current of air was so violent as to break the lamps; in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, many trees were blown up by the roots, and shattered branches were carried through the air to remote distances;

at Lambeth, several houses were unroofed and chimnies blown down. On the river, at the turn of the tide, the greatest confusion ensued, the wind being directly contrary, and many boats were dashed to pieces, and sunk. Below bridge several ships were driven from their moorings, and much damaged; and the Castor West Indiaman, having a cargo on board, valued at 15,000l. parted her anchor, and drove on shore at Limehouse Reach, where, in the language of the mariner, she 'broke her back,' and filled with water.

On the 2d of October, intelligence arrived of the ever-memorable victory obtained over the French fleet by Sir Horatio Nelson, off the mouth of the Nile; and on the same day, a subscription was opened at Lloyd's Coffee-House, for the relief of the wounded, and of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen. Two days afterwards, the sword of Monsieur Blanquet, the surviving Commander of the enemy's fleet, Admiral Brueys having been blown up in the L'Orient, was presented by Sir Horatio's directions to the Lord Mayor, with his request that the City of London would accept it, "as a remembrance, that Britannia still Rules the Waves." On the same evening, the Metropolis was generally and most splendidly illuminated; and the cheerless aspect of public affairs seemed eminently to partake of the brilliancy of the victory. The French Admiral's sword was afterwards put up in the Council Chamber at Guildhall; and the thanks of the Court, with a sword of 200 guineas value, were voted to Nelson, in testimony of his distinguished merit; the freedom of the City, in a gold box, of 100 guineas value, was also voted to Captain Berry, who bravely fought the Vanguard, after its noble commander had been wounded in the head, and carried from the deck.

Towards the close of the year, the public attention was in a great degree directed to the new measures in progress for raising supplies for the national service; and at a very numerous meeting of the principal inhabitants of London, Merchants, Bankers, and others, held at the Mansion House, on the twenty-first of November, it was unanimously resolved, that "The principle of finance resorted to in the late Session of Parliament, namely, that of raising within the year a considerable portion of the sum necessary for the public service, had contributed, in an eminent degree, to the improvement of public credit, and the advantage of the community;" but that, "the criterion then assumed, as the basis of that extraordinary supply, had been found unequal in its operation, inasmuch as it had failed to call forth a due ratio of contribution from many descriptions of persons," &c. In a Court of Common Council, held on December the nineteenth, this implied censure was more minutely ramified, by the passing of resolutions stating, that "in the opinion of this Court, the bill now pending in Parliament, by which it is proposed to tax the precarious and fluctuating income arising from the labour and industry of persons in trade, professions, &c. in the same proportion as the permanent annual income from landed and funded property, is most partial, cruel, and oppressive;" and, "that the said Bill proposes to establish an inquisitorial power unknown in this country, inconsistent with the principles of the British Constitution, and repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen."

On the third of December, Mr. Pitt opened the detail of his new plan for taxing income by a sort of graduated scale, commencing its operations at 60l. and continuing by a restricted modification to 200l. *per annum*; for which sum, and all upwards, 10 *per cent.* was to be paid. He proposed, at the same time, that this new assessment should take place from the fifth of April, 1799, and that the late increase on the assessed taxes should then cease; he stated his expectations, that the sum of ten millions would by this measure be annually obtained for the service of the country. In the course of the debates on the bill, many objections were made to the partial manner in which the tax was to be laid; every kind of income, whether arising from personal industry, or from lands, or estates, or professions, or offices, &c. being assessed in an *equal* degree, though the property itself which gave the income, or the labour from which it resulted, was *far more valuable* in certain cases than in others, as must be obvious on the least attentive consideration. By the scale of proportion stopping at 200l. it was evident also, that the tax bore with much greater severity on the lower and middling classes of the people, than on the higher ranks, whose superior incomes ought to have been taxed in a fair and adequate proportion. The bill, however, was carried through both houses without any alteration in that respect; and it received the Royal assent on the ninth of January, 1799.

The night of the eleventh of February was distinguished by a dreadful *Storm*, from which great injury was sustained by the shipping in the river Thames. Many vessels were driven from their moorings, and run foul of each other, and great numbers of small craft, boats, &c. were sunk or dashed to pieces.

His Majesty's birth-day, June the fourth, was this year celebrated with more than customary splendour, the common ceremonies of rejoicing being increased by a grand Review of the associated Volunteers of London and its environs, who assembled in Hyde Park, about eight o'clock in the morning, and were formed into three lines, with the exception of part of the Cavalry, which was employed to keep the ground. At nine, his Majesty entered the Park, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, and the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland, and the Review commenced; the Queen and the Princesses beholding the spectacle from the houses of Lady Holdernesse, and Lord Cathcart, in Park Lane. The whole of the evolutions having been gone through, a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and his Majesty after expressing the highest satisfaction at the martial appearance, patriotism, and conduct, of the gallant bands, whom the threatened violation of their country's independance, had thus associated in arms, left the ground about one o'clock, amidst the joyous shouts of a concourse of spectators, supposed to amount to nearly 150,000. The day was extremely unfavourable, through the fall of a heavy rain, with much wind; yet the display of female beauty was not inconsiderable. The walls, trees, and contiguous houses were all loaded with people, and the interest of the scene was much increased by the patriotic sentiments which seemed to prevail in every bosom. The total number of Volunteers under arms on this day, was 8989, of which 1008 were Cavalry.

On the twenty-first of June, a yet greater body of Volunteers was assembled about the Metropolis, for the purpose of undergoing a Royal inspection at different stations, previously fixed on as being near their accustomed places of exercise. His Majesty, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, and the Royal Dukes, and a numerous suite of General and other Officers, left the Queen's House at nine o'clock, and proceeded towards St. George's Fields, where between the Asylum and the Obelisk, the Surrey Volunteers, amounting to 1596, were drawn up. Thence going forward to Blackfriar's, he was received on the Bridge by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. who preceeded him in his subsequent progress through the City. In Bridge Street, 1054 Volunteers were assembled; in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1000; at the Royal Exchange and Bank, 1011; at the East India House, 500; on Tower Hill, 1038; in Finsbury Square, 862; and at Islington, 394. After inspecting the latter Corps, his Majesty proceeded to the Lord Chancellor Loughborough's, where he waited for the arrival of the Queen and five Princesses, who came about two o'clock, attended by the Duke of Clarence, and with them, and his own suite, he partook of an elegant collation. About three his Majesty again mounted, and with the whole of the Royal Family, proceeded down Guildford Street, where 323 of the Tower-Hamlet and Mile-End Volunteers were drawn up, to the Foundling Hospital, in front of which were the Bloomsbury, St. Martin's, Somerset-Place, Hampstead, and other Corps, amounting to 1230, drawn up in parallel lines. During the inspection here, the Queen and Princesses entered the Hospital, and viewed the childrens' apartments, &c. and they were soon joined by his Majesty, with the Royal brothers: the 'Childrens' Hymn,' and 'God Save the King,' were afterwards sung in the Chapel, before

fore the whole family. On his departure from the Foundling, the King went onward to Hyde Park, where the Westminster Cavalry, St. George's Volunteers, &c. were assembled, to the number of 2700; and having passed these, he rode down Constitution Hill to the Queen's Palace, where he arrived about five o'clock. The whole number of Volunteers inspected on this day, was 12,208. His Majesty expressed himself highly gratified at the impressive display of loyalty and public spirit, which this day had afforded him; and the City received his particular thanks for the attention and order with which his progress had been attended. Vast numbers of spectators filled the streets on this occasion, and the windows and house-tops were every where crowded with people.

On the thirteenth of July, a great *Fire* broke out within the King's Bench prison, in the north wing, and for some hours raged with the utmost violence. The flames rose with such fury, that a vast crowd assembled on the outside; and the populace, animated by the shrieks and tears of many wives and relations of the prisoners, whom their fears and alarms represented to be in imminent danger of perishing, meditated an attack upon the walls: but this destructive measure was prevented by the Volunteers of the neighbouring parishes. The prisoners themselves made every exertion to extinguish the flames, without attempting to escape; and at length, by the assistance of the engines, the fire was subdued, yet not till between eighty and a hundred of the lodging rooms were entirely consumed, and other considerable damage done.

The severity of the season, and the great distresses of the Poor from want of employment, and the growing dearness of provision and coals, occasioned a Meeting to be held at the London Tavern, on the ninth of December, to take into consideration the best means of giving them assistance during the continuance of the pressure. It was then resolved to open a general Subscription for the relief of the industrious Poor, in all parts of the Metropolis, &c.; and that the most effectual way of aiding the distressed would be, by selling provisions at reduced prices, as had been done in the year 1795; through which measure great benefits had resulted. It was also resolved to increase the number of *Soup-houses*, the erection of which had particularly contributed to extend the advantages of a former subscription; insomuch, that in the course of the winter and spring months of 1798, about 8400 families had been supplied with 481,336 meals, at the three Soup-houses in Spitalfields, at an expence of only 895l. 12s. to the funds subscribed, exclusive of the first costs of the erections and repairs; and in the winter and spring months of 1799, the number of persons who received benefit from the fund was 40,000, and the number of meals distributed, 750,918, at the aggregate expence of only 3,476l. 8s. 10d. The new subscriptions soon arose to a very considerable amount; and large sums were also collected in the different parishes, through the judicious distribution of which many thousands were preserved from famine. In this month the average price of wheat in Middlesex was 5l. 16s. 9d. per quarter; of rye, 2l. 18s. 7d.; of barley, 2l. 0s. 6d.; and of oats, 1l. 17s. 8d.

The dearness of corn at this period, was in a great degree occasioned by the unfavourable state of the seasons, and particularly by the heavy rains, and continuance of wet weather for many weeks together; yet, it was the opinion of many well-informed persons, that the alarm of scarcity, which had been very indusriously propagated, had its full share in advancing the price. It was thought also, that a circular letter, sent by the Duke of Portland to the Lord Lieutenants of Counties, in which, after adverting to the various means used in the Metropolis for relieving the poor, it was strongly recommended to enforce the statute of the thirteenth of George the Third, empowering the Justices in Quarter Sessions to 'direct, that no finer bread shall be made than such as is called by the name of Standard Wheaten Bread,' &c. had very much contributed to extend the alarm. However this might be, the increasing dearth engaged much of the attention of Parliament in the beginning of the year 1800;

and in consequence of a previous report, a Bill was passed with unexampled rapidity through both Houses, and received the Royal Assent on the same day, February the twentieth, to prohibit, for a limited time, any bakers in the Cities of London or Westminster, or within ten miles of the Royal Exchange, from selling bread till it had been removed from the oven at least twenty-four hours, under a penalty of five pounds for every loaf sold. On the same day, the Archbishop of Canterbury moved in the House of Lords, 'That their Lordships should oblige themselves, by a voluntary engagement, not to suffer more than a quartern loaf of bread a-week; for each person, to be consumed in their families, from the twenty-fourth of February, till the twenty-fourth of October, next;" and after the substitute of 'recommendation,' for 'engagement,' this measure was adopted. The average price of wheat in Middlesex, at this time, was 5l. 12s. 3d. per quarter; and of rye, 3l.

The great importance of the subject induced the House of Commons to pursue their investigation into the causes, extent, and means of supply; and on the Report of a Committee, recommending the 'allowance of a bounty on corn imported from the Mediterranean and America; the substitution of a new assize of bread, with new regulations respecting the millers; the stoppage of the distilleries; the encouragement of the importation of rice and fish, and the culture of potatoes; the prohibition of manufacturing starch from wheat,' &c. those measures were successively adopted, and passed into laws. In March also, a Committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the Coal Trade. The price of wheat in the London markets on the twenty-fourth of this month, was from 4l. 8s. to 5l. 12s. a quarter; the price of rye, from 3l. 16s. to 4l. per quarter; and the price of barley, from 1l. 16s. to 3l. 12s. 6d.

On the evening of the fifteenth of May, an attempt was made by one James Hadfield, a lunatic, to assassinate the King, in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. At the moment his Majesty had entered his box, and was advancing forwards, the audience rose, as usual, from respect, and at the same instant a horse-pistol, loaded with slugs, was fired from the pit: and one of the slugs was afterwards found to have struck the pilaster about fourteen inches above the head of the King. The greatest confusion immediately ensued, and Hadfield, who had been seen to level the pistol, yet not in sufficient time to prevent his firing, was seized amidst loud execrations, and hurried over the spikes of the orchestra, into the music-room below the stage. Here he was examined; and the Duke of York, who was present, recollected him to have been one of his own orderly dragoons on the Continent, particularly at the battle of Famers: he had also been in the actions at Lisle and Lincelles, where he fought with great gallantry, and had received eight sabre wounds upon the head, which, as was afterwards proved in evidence, at particular times affected his brain, and produced insanity. When questioned as to the motives that had induced him to attempt the life of the Sovereign, he answered, that 'he had not attempted to kill the King: he had fired his pistol over the royal box. He was as good a shot as any in England; but he was himself weary of life, and wished for death, yet not to die by his own hands. He did not mean any thing against the King, and knew the attempt alone would answer his purpose." When his trial came on in the Court of King's Bench, on the twenty-sixth of June, his insanity was so clearly established, that Lord Kenyon stopped the proceedings, and the Jury found a verdict of 'Not Guilty;' from the impression that he laboured under mental derangement at the time he committed the act. Among other things, it was sworn, that he had endeavoured to destroy his own child, an infant of eight months old, only two days before his attempt on the King. The Court ordered him to be detained in custody, on account of his insanity; and he was afterwards confined in a private mad-house. His Majesty acted with great coolness, and, with the Queen and Princesses, continued in the Theatre till the close of the performances;

ances; and during the evening 'God save the King' was sung five times, amidst the most enthusiastic shouts of affection and loyalty.

On his Majesty's birth-day, this year, another Royal Review of the Volunteers of the Metropolis and its vicinity, took place in Hyde Park, where nearly twelve thousand attended under arms: the spectators, as in the preceding June, were very numerous, and the Review was conducted in a similar manner.

Soon after the prorogation of Parliament at the end of July, great apprehension of tumults were entertained in London from the state of the public mind, through the *Dearth* of Corn, and other causes; and about the middle of August, a strong refractory spirit manifested itself among the felons in the prison in Cold-bath Fields. This was attributed to the various publications on the state of the prison, which had appeared a short time before; but, however this may be, the keepers began to entertain serious apprehensions at the murmurs of the prisoners, who, on the evening of the fifteenth, when the bell rang as the signal for locking up, mustered together instead of separating, and by their whispers and agitation, appeared as if they had some plan to execute, but were dubious in beginning their operations. After much grumbling, however, and some slight resistance, they suffered themselves to be locked up in their differennt cells; but immediately afterwards commenced loud cries of "Murder! Starving!" &c. In a little time a great mob collected in front of the prison, who answering the prisoners with loud shouts, were besought by them to force the gates or pull down the walls; and appearances were so threatening, that the Governor found it necessary to apply for assistance to the Civil Magistrates and the Military Associations of the neighbourhood, by whose exertions the populace, who had assembled to the number of five or six thousand, were dispersed about midnight. During the succeeding day and night, the Clerkenwell, St. Sepulchre's, St. Clement's, and Bloomsbury Volunteers attended by turns to guard the prison, and keep off the mob, which on the following evening again collected in the neighbourhood, but no further disturbances ensued.

In the month of September some new attempts to excite the populace to outrage, were made by the exhibition of inflammatory bills, posted on the Monument, on Sunday the fourteenth, and beginning with, "Bread will be sixpence the quartern, if the people will assemble at the Corn Market on Monday." When informed of this circumstance, the Lord Mayor, Combe, immediately took the requisite precautions to maintain the public peace; and though a numerous mob surrounded the Corn Market on the following morning, no great disturbance arose, the Lord Mayor, by his own personal exertions, prevailing on them to disperse. Scarcely had he reached the Mansion House, however, than a crowd again collected; and at length, finding all persuasions ineffectual, and that the peace officers were assaulted with bricks and stones, he unwillingly read the Riot Act; after which the populace were dispersed without bloodshed. At night the mob again assembled in Mark Lane, where they broke some windows; but being driven off by the Volunteers, they next attacked the houses of some bakers and cornfactors at Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and Blackfriar's Road. This spirit of riot and discontent continued the whole week; but the vigour and promptness of the Magistracy, seconded by the firmness and humanity of the Volunteers, prevented any greater mischief than the breaking of some windows and lamps, and tranquillity was at last restored.

At a full meeting of the Livery of London, in Common Hall, held on the third of October, an Address and Petition to his Majesty was resolved on, praying him to convene the Parliament, for the purpose of considering of the most salutary measures for remedying the sufferings of the Poor, in consequence of the exorbitant price of every article of life. This Petition the King refused to receive, excepting at the Levee; on which, at a subsequent Common Hall, it was voted, "That whoever advised his Majesty to persist in refusing to his faithful subjects free access, in these times of peculiar difficulty and distress, is equally unworthy of his Majesty's confidence, and an enemy to the rights and privileges of the Citizens of London." A few days afterwards, an Address and Petition of similar import to that of the Livery, was agreed to by the Court of Common Council; though in the intermediate time the Parliament had been summoned to meet for the dispatch of business.

On October the sixth, a great *Fire*, occasioned by the boiling over of a pitch kettle, destroyed upwards of sixty private houses and other buildings at Wapping, and several persons were killed by the explosion of some barrels of gunpowder. The damage was estimated at upwards of 200,000l.

The Parliament assembled on the eleventh of November, and immediately proceeded to pass different Acts to prevent the scarcity from merging into famine; and on the third of December his Majesty, at the request of both Houses, issued a Proclamation, exhorting 'all persons to employ the strictest economy in the use of all kinds of grain, to abstain from the use of pastry, and to reduce the consumption of bread in their respective families, as far as possible.' During the summer and autumn of this year great quantities of corn were imported from foreign countries; and, though a temporary reduction in price took place in August, it was almost immediately followed by a considerable advance, and in the last week of this year the average price of wheat in Mark Lane, was 7l. 1s. 5d. per quarter.

The commencement of the new century, 1801, was distinguished by the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which had been resolved on by the two Parliaments in the course of the preceding year. On this occasion new standards were hoisted, and the Park and Tower guns were fired: a meeting of the Privy Council was held, and the new oaths taken by all the Members that were in town. The style and titles of the King were now altered, and a Royal Proclamation of this day, ordered them to be expressed in Latin, as follows; "GEORGIUS TERTIUS, *Dei Gratiâ Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor.*"

The excessive dearness of corn still continuing, it was judged expedient to prohibit the use of fine wheat flour after the second of February; and all loaves were in consequence made of the brown, or household kind. Notwithstanding this, the prices of corn continued to advance, and in the three last weeks of March, the quartern loaf in London was as high as 1s. 10½d. The average prices of wheat in Mark Lane, was about 7l. 10s. per quarter; and the average in all Middlesex, 9l. 8s. 10d. per quarter.

The growing discontents among the people at the dearness of provisions and long continuance of the war, which even the monied men began to be heartily tired of, and some divisions in the Cabinet respecting the Catholic claims of Ireland, combined to produce a partial change in the Administration in the course of this month. As a preparatory measure, the State Prisoners, who had long been confined in different gaols on charges of Treason and Sedition, were all brought up to the Secretary of State's Office, on the second of March, and mostly liberated on their own recognizances: some few, who at first refused their liberty on this condition, were remanded to prison; but they subsequently obtained their release. A Bill of Indemnity was afterwards passed, to prevent the Ex-ministers from being brought to justice for keeping them in confinement. Mr. Pitt resigned the seals of his Office, as Prime Minister, on the fourteenth of March, when his Majesty delivered them to the Right Hon. Henry Addington, the late Speaker of the House of Commons.

On the thirteenth of June, in the afternoon, the Metropolis and its vicinity experienced one of the most violent *Storms* of thunder, lightning, and wind, that was ever remembered, accompanied with rain, which fell in such quantities for half an hour, that the Streets were almost impassable. In the midst of the Storm, the wind and rain forced in part of the sky-light of the Court of Common Pleas, and for a time, totally impeded all business, the Counsellors, &c. hurrying into Westminster Hall, to avoid the descending torrents. This hurricane did great damage also in many parts of the Kingdom.

On the first of October, the Preliminaries of the long-wished for Peace with France, were signed at Lord Hawkesbury's Office in Downing Street; and on the tenth the Ratifications were exchanged between his Lordship and Monsieur Otto. General Lauriston, first Aid-de-camp to Buonaparte, brought over the French ratifications, and was greeted on his arrival by the cheers of a vast concourse of people, who took the horses from his carriage, and with tumultuous expressions of joy, drew him to the residence of M. Otto, in Portman Square. On the same, and on the following evening, the Metropolis was brilliantly illuminated, and all classes appeared to regard the termination of hostilities with great satisfaction.

A memorable example of English justice was displayed on the twenty-eighth of January 1802, by the execution, before Newgate, of Joseph Wall, once Governor of Goree, in Africa, for the murder of a serjeant, named Armstrong, whom he had caused to be tied to a gun carriage and flogged with such severity that the unfortunate victim died on the fifth day afterwards. This was as far back as the year 1782: some time after which Wall returned to England, and was apprehended for the crime, but made his escape from the officers on the road from Bath, and had lived upon the Continent till the year 1797. He then, most fatally for his safety, returned to this country, and lived in privacy till a short time before his trial, when, apparently induced by perturbation of mind, and deluded by the hope that the witnesses of his guilt were no more, he wrote word to the Secretary of State that he was ready to surrender to take his trial. The evidence against him was conclusive, and though an attempt was made to rebut it by witnesses, who stated the garrison at Goree to have been in a state of mutiny when the punishment was inflicted on Armstrong, the Jury pronounced a verdict of 'Guilty;' various inconsistencies in their testimony being evident. Great interest was made to preserve his life, and a short reprieve was twice granted to the importunity of his friends. One whole day is said to have been occupied by the great Law Officers of the Crown in considering his case, and the Judges conferred together for three hours, at the Lord Chancellor's, on the same subject. The result was against him; in the then state of the public mind, to have pardoned him might have been dangerous, even if his guilt had been questionable. On the morning of his execution a vast crowd surrounded the scaffold, and far, very far, contrary to the usual conduct of the multitude on these occasions, his ascending it became the signal for the utterance of three distinct huzzas; and again, when the rope was affixed to his neck, the brutal exultation of the populace was evinced by another very loud shout. Under this extreme pressure of ignominy the criminal bowed his head, as if the detestation of his fellow creatures had penetrated to his soul; but his sufferings were not yet ended: at the moment the platform dropped, the knot of the cord shifted to the back of his neck, and he remained suspended in convulsive agony nearly twenty minutes. His body was afterwards dissected, as customary in all cases of execution for murder.

On the eighteenth of March, at a very numerous meeting of the Livery of London in Common Hall, it was determined to present a Petition to the House of Commons for the repeal of the Income Tax, which, grievous as it was, had not yet produced within four millions of the sum at which it was first estimated by Mr. Pitt. At this period the voice of the nation was decidedly against its continuance, and the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, as if in deference to the popular sentiment, had it repealed in the course of the Session: a considerable increase, however, was made in the assessed taxes, by way of substitute.

On the twenty-seventh of March, the *Definitive Treaty of Peace* between Great Britain and France, Spain, and Holland, was signed at Amiens, and on the twenty-ninth of April, it was publicly proclaimed in London with more than common solemnity. The concourse of people was very great, and the expressions of joy loud and reiterated. The procession commenced at St. James's: here the Proclamation was first read by Windsor Herald, nearly opposite to the balcony window of the

Palace, where her Majesty, the Princesses, and other branches of the Royal Family, appeared: at Charing Cross, after the trumpets had thrice sounded, it was again read. At Temple Bar the Heralds were received by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. and the chief officers of the City of Westminster, who had thus far accompanied the Heralds, filed off. The procession was then joined by the Lord Mayor and his Company, by the Volunteer Corps of the City, by the Artillery Company, and by the East India Volunteers. At Charing Cross, Wood-street, and the Royal Exchange, the Proclamation was repeated; each time, amidst the applauding shouts of the surrounding multitude. Several accidents happened during the day through the vast pressure of the crowd, every street and avenue pouring forth its throngs, and every house and building in the line of the procession being loaded with spectators. In the Strand, one of the large stone urns which ornamented the roof of the New Church, where many people had assembled, was pushed into the street, by which one young man was killed on the spot, and two more mortally wounded: several other persons were also much hurt. In Fleet-street, a child slipped out of a woman's arms from a one-pair of stairs window, but the mob below caught and saved it; and Mr. Hadley, brother to the Lady Mayoress, had his leg broken, and some other persons were severely bruised, by the fall of a scaffold in front of the Mansion House.

Illuminations of the most splendid description succeeded to the ceremonial of the day; and the streets were filled till a very late hour by the multitudes whom curiosity had drawn from their homes. People of all ranks, both in carriages and on foot, were mingled into one immense mass; the total number of spectators, perhaps, amounting to between three and four hundred thousand. The Mansion House, the Bank, the East India House, the Public Offices, the Theatres, and many houses of individuals in different parts of the Metropolis, were particularly distinguished for the taste and brilliancy of their decorations. The Bank, and Drury-Lane Theatre were more especially attractive, from the vast size of each building, which admitted of a greater variety in the illuminations than most others; and at both these places the variegated lamps were intermixed with fine transparencies: those at the Bank were executed by Smirke.

Amidst all the splendid exhibitions of this evening, however, the residence of M. Otto, the French Minister, was the most attractive. The entire building was illuminated with variegated lamps, disposed in the form of a grand temple of the Ionic Order, having the entablature divided in the centre by the word AMITY [*], in brilliant light; and above it, beneath an arch, a large transparency, representing England and France, with their various attributes, in the act of uniting their hands before an altar dedicated to Humanity; this was surmounted by the word *Peace:* the letters G. R. surmounted by a royal, and F. R. by a civic crown, also appeared issuing from between trees of laurel, formed by green lamps; and the whole was terminated above by a large and most brilliant star. The excessive brilliancy of this illumination was probably never exceeded; the sight could hardly sustain the radiance, even at the distance of many yards. The crowd was so immense, that, for a long time, those who had reached the Square, could find no avenue for retreat; and many carriages were jammed in for hours.

During the elections for a new Parliament, in July, the Metropolis was thrown into great confusion by the tumultuary assemblies of people which accompanied the choosing of the members for Westminster and Middlesex. In Westminster, Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardiner were opposed by one Graham, an auctioneer; and though the latter scarcely possessed a single necessary qualification for a statesman, he polled 3207 votes. In Middlesex, the popular candidate was Sir Francis Burdett, who obtained his election against Mr. Justice Mainwaring, through the extraordinary circumstance of the Sheriffs, R. A. Cox, Esq. and Sir William Rawlins, Knt. receiving the votes of 372 persons, by whom, and a few others, a Company had been formed for erecting a flour-mill at Isleworth, on about a quarter of an acre of ground, which had been bargained for just a twelvemonth before. The original shares in this concern were only of the value of two guineas each; the purchase money was unpaid, no regular conveyance had been made, the mill was unfinished, and not a farthing of profit had been derived from it by any of the proprietors; yet it was sworn by each of them, that he possessed a freehold of the clear yearly value of forty shillings! Every day during the election the road to Brentford was the scene of great disorders, and many acts of personal violence, menace, and insult were committed by both parties; but chiefly by the opposers of Mainwaring, who had highly displeased the populace by his conduct as Chairman of the County Magistrates, when the enquiry respecting the Cold-Bath Fields Prison was going on.

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[*] Whilst the preparations for this magnificent display were going on, a circumstance or two occurred most highly characteristic of the national feelings. The entablature was at first surmounted by the word CONCORD; this was mistaken by the populace for *Conquered*, and, with true John Bull spirit, they insisted that it should be removed, as being intended to convey the inference that the 'English had been conquered by the French.' M. Otto, after some fruitless attempts at explanation, very prudently gave way, and the word Amity was substituted. It was next discovered by some sailors, that the letters G. R. were not distinguished by a crown; this was next stipulated for, and put up accordingly.

On the 19th of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the new Parliament, Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, and thirty other persons were apprehended at the Oakley Arms, Oakley Street, Lambeth, on a charge of Treasonable practices; and after several examinations, twelve of them, with the Colonel, were committed to different gaols for trial. They were accused of forming a conspiracy to overturn the Constitution, and destroy the King and other branches of the Royal family; and the associations to which they belonged were stated to consist of several divisions of about ten persons each, which assembled in various public-houses about town. On the tenth of January, 1803, a special Commission was appointed for their trials, which came on in the following month, at the New Sessions House, Horsemonger Lane, Southwark. Despard, with nine others, was adjudged 'Guilty;'

but three of them were recommended to mercy, and afterwards pardoned. In his opening speech, the Attorney-General stated, the conspirators to consist 'of the lowest order of the people, as journeymen, day-labourers, and common soldiers;' and three of those convicted were privates in the guards. The execution took place on the twenty-first of February, on the top of the Southwark gaol; but that part of the sentence on traitors, which directs the bowels to be taken out, &c. and the body to be quartered, was remitted. The head, however, of each sufferer was afterwards cut off, and exhibited to the crowd, which was considerable, and very orderly; though some confusion had been expected, and a strong military force was provided to resist any attempt that might have been made by the populace to rescue the prisoners. Colonel Despard strongly asserted his innocence on the scaffold; and it does not appear that any of his associates made any other confession inferring guilt, than that they had done wrong in attending the meetings.

The differences which very soon after the signing of the Definitive Treaty at Amiens, had arisen between the Governments of Great Britain and France, most unhappily terminated in war; and after an interval of less than thirteen months, the rival nations were again involved in inveterate hostility. His Majesty's Declaration on this subject was laid before Parliament on the sixteenth of May, 1803; and the strong discussions which arose upon it were as usual decided in favour of administration.

About the middle of June, the Minister signified his intention to impose a *Property Tax*, on the principle of that so lately repealed on Income, but only to the amount of five per cent.; and this measure was in the course of the Session passed into a law, notwithstanding the opposition of the Livery of London, and other considerable bodies.

The commencement of the war with France, was attended on the part of the First Consul, with strong threats of Invasion, to provide effectually against which, the Parliament passed an act to enable his Majesty to arm the people *en masse*; every man from the age of seventeen to fifty-five being rendered liable to enrolment and military duty. Several other acts for increasing the military force of the country were also passed; and in consequence of these and other measures, the people began to form Volunteer Associations in every part of the Kingdom; yet no where were greater zeal and ardour displayed than in the Metropolis itself. The City of London took the lead, and on the eleventh of July, a Special Court of Aldermen was held at Guildhall, for the purpose of considering of the best plan for arming the Citizens at large; and subsequently, meetings were held in all the Ward sto carry the resolutions of the Aldermen into effect. Almost every Parish, and Public Office, had also its distinct meeting, and many thousands were quickly enrolled as Volunteers to defend the independence of Britain. The Squares, Gardens, and even Church-yards, of London and its Vicinity, soon became places of military exercise, and within little more than three months from this time, viz. on the 26th and 28th of October, the number of *effective* Volunteers alone, within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Parishes immediately adjacent, amounted to 27,077, as appears by the General Orders issued from the Horse Guards, after the Volunteer Reviews on those days, by his Majesty in Hyde Park.

On the twentieth of July a general fund, under the name of the *Patriotic Fund*, was established at Lloyd's Coffee-house, on an enlarged scale, for the reward of those individuals who should distinguish themselves in the service of their country; for assisting the relations of those who might fall in battle, and for relieving the wounded. Such was the alacrity with which subscriptions were presented, that the total amount before the end of August, was more than 152,000l.: towards this sum, the City gave 2,500l. in its corporate capacity.

In February, 1804, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the proceedings at the recent contested election for Middlesex; and on their report, made July the ninth, it was resolved, 'That Sir Francis Burdett had not been duly elected; that William Mainwaring, Esq. was duly elected: but that he having, by his agents, violated the Treating Act, was thereby incapacitated from sitting in Parliament.' In consequence of this decision, a new writ was issued, and the younger Mainwaring was put in nomination against Sir Francis. The election commenced on the twenty-third, and was carried on with as much heat and violence as had ever been remembered. The numbers admitted on the poll for Burdett, exceeded those for Mainwaring by *one*; yet the examination into the legality of some of these votes having been deferred by the Sheriffs to the day after the election, it was then found that the power of the Sheriffs had ceased, and the undecided votes having been deducted, Mainwaring had a majority of *five*, and he was therefore returned. On a Petition of Sir Francis, the House resolved, 'that though the questionable votes had been improperly added, it was the prerogative of the House of Commons alone to strike them off again; and, therefore, that the return should have been made in conformity to the numbers on the poll.' Through this decision Sir Francis became the nominal sitting member; yet the business was not brought to a final issue till the tenth of February, 1806, when Mainwaring was declared to have been duly elected.

About the middle of May, a new change took place in Administration, and Mr. Pitt resumed his former office of Prime Minister: the temporary retirement of Mr. Addington was in the following January rewarded by his return to power, with the title of Viscount Sidmouth, and the place of Lord President of the Council.

In the spring of 1805, the Parliament increased the duties on Property one-fourth; and under this advance the Minister estimated its produce at 6,300,000l. On the eleventh of March, the House of Commons ordered the Speaker's warrant to be issued for the commitment to Newgate of the late Sheriffs of Middlesex, for their conduct in respect to the Isleworth millers, &c. during the contest between Mainwaring and Burdett. They were afterwards reprimanded at the Bar of the House, and discharged on paying the customary fees.

About this period the delinquency of Lord Melville, whilst Treasurer of the Navy, in making use of the public money for his own emolument, through his agent, Alexander Trotter, occupied a very enlarged share of popular attention; and on the eighth of April, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Whitbread, and in despite of every effort of the Minister to screen his old associate, came to a series of resolutions, in which it was declared, that Lord Melville "had been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty." On this momentous question, the Speaker, Mr. Abbot, gave the casting vote, the numbers on each side, viz. 216, being equal. It was afterwards determined that a criminal prosecution should be brought against Lord Melville; and on the seventh of May, his Majesty struck out his name from the list of the Privy Counsellors. On the twenty-sixth of June, a motion for proceeding by impeachment, instead of by prosecution in the lower Courts, was carried by a majority of nine; and on April the twenty-ninth, 1806, the trial of the Viscount came on before the House of Lords. On the twelfth of June, the Peers, much to the dissatisfaction of the nation, declared him 'Not Guilty,' on all the charges; though on the second and third articles, which accused him of knowingly permitting his agent Trotter to make a fraudulent application of the public money for his own benefit, upwards of fifty of the Lords voted him 'Guilty.'

On the sixteenth of November intelligence arrived at the Admiralty of the unprecedented naval victory off Cape Trafalgar, fought October the twenty-first, in which Nelson, the British commander, greatly fell. The death of this hero sadly damped the public joy, and even the illuminations of the Metropolis testified the mixture of exultation and sorrow which pervaded the minds of its inhabitants. The crape and the cypress were entwined with the laurel, and the darkness of some streets contrasted with the brilliancy of others. On the fifth of December a public Thanksgiving, for this distinguished victory, was celebrated throughout England, and great collections were made in aid of the

Patriotic Fund, towards the promotion of which all classes of religious persons appeared cordially to unite. On the ninth of the following month, the remains of Lord Nelson were solemnly deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, in a vault immediately below the centre of the dome. He was interred at the national expence, and the funeral solemnity was performed in a manner worthy of the occasion. The Prince of Wales and all the Royal Dukes accompanied the Procession from the Admiralty, whither the body had been brought from Greenwich, by water, on the preceding day, and a vast assemblage of nobility, gentry, naval officers, and others attended also, from respect to his revered memory. The Volunteers of the Metropolis lined the streets, and a proper decorum was maintained by the immense multitude which assembled to behold the remains of the 'ever-to-be-lamented' Nelson conveyed to the silent grave.

In the course of the year 1806, the obsequies of two other distinguished personages, the Right Hon. William Pitt, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, were also celebrated in London with great solemnity and funeral pomp. The former died on the twenty-third of January, and was buried on the twenty-second of February; the latter died on the thirteenth of September, and was interred on the tenth of October. These eminent statesmen were both deposited within a few yards of each other in Westminster Abbey.

The decease of Mr. Pitt led to a total change of administration, and the country began to entertain strong hopes that some of its many grievances would be ameliorated; yet the emergencies of government were so great, that one of the first measures of Lord Henry Petty, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, was to increase the imposition upon property to ten per cent.! Measures, however, were taken, in the course of the summer, to open a negociation for peace, under the direction of Mr. Fox, who had been appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and, had it not been not for his lamented death, whilst the discussions were pending, it is more than probable that the sword of destruction would have been once more sheathed.

At the elections for a new Parliament, in May, the City of Westminster was the scene of a singular contest between three or four different interests; and the result most unequivocally demonstrated that the cause of Reform was gaining ground. It had been proposed to put in nomination a former candidate, Mr. Paull, who had much distinguished himself in Parliament, by urging an inquiry into the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, whilst Governor of India; yet the intemperate conduct of this gentleman, on several occasions, and more particularly in forcing Sir Francis Burdett to fight a duel, in which both parties were wounded, led to another decision, and Sir Francis Burdett himself was proposed as a candidate, and placed at the head of the poll. This was effected by a Committee of the electors, without any expence to the Baronet, and even without his knowledge; his wound having obliged him to be confined to his house, and kept free from agitation.

On the evening of Thursday, October the fifteenth, a shocking accident happened at *Sadler's Wells*, through a mistaken alarm of fire. The audience were thrown into the greatest confusion, and in the sudden effort made to quit the house by the people in the gallery, many were thrown down whilst descending the stair-case, and the pressure from above preventing all possibility of aid, eighteen hapless beings, male and female, were totally deprived of life. Many others were greatly bruised and hurt, and several were restored from a state of apparent death by medical assistance.

The public attention in London, during the latter part of 1807, and beginning of the following year, was much engaged by the proceedings against General Whitelocke, for his conduct at Buenos Ayres, in South America; and after a trial of eight weeks before a Court Martial, assembled at Chelsea Hospital, he was declared unfit and unworthy to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever.

On the morning of the twentieth of September, 1808, the whole of *Covent-Garden Theatre* was destroyed by fire, together with several adjoining houses. But the destruction of the Theatre itself formed but a small part of the calamity: an engine had been introduced within the avenue opening from the Piazza, when, dreadful to relate, the covering of the passage fell in, and involved all beneath in the burning rubbish. The remains of fourteen unfortunate sufferers were afterwards dug out, in a most shocking state; and sixteen others, in whom life remained, were sent to the hospital, most miserably mangled and burnt.

On the ninth of December, a numerous meeting of the Merchants, Bankers, &c. of London, was held at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, for raising a subscription to defray the expence of cloathing, &c. for the Spanish Army; and books having been opened for the purpose, upwards of 50,000l. was subscribed within a few weeks afterwards.

About two o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-first of January, 1809, an accidental fire broke out in the King's Palace, St. James's, and destroyed a considerable part of the building before it could be got under. The damage, in the destruction of property, &c. was estimated at 100,000 l.

On the 27th of January, in consequence of a motion made by Colonel Wardle, in the House of Commons, a Committee of the whole House was appointed to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief, and, on the twenty-first of the following month, the Duke found it expedient to resign. The facts that were discovered through the medium of Mrs. Clarke, one of the Duke's discarded mistresses, made a strong impression on the public mind, and greatly advanced the growing impulse for Parliamentary Reform.

On the twenty-fourth of February, about eleven o'clock at night, the superb *Theatre* of *Drury-Lane* was discovered to be on fire, and, though such a vast building, it was entirely consumed by four o'clock on the following morning.

The entrance of his Majesty into the fiftieth year of his reign, on October the twenty-fifth, was celebrated as a JUBILEE; and every part of the Kingdom, but more particularly the Metropolis, partook in the festive rejoicings which this event produced.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE COMMERCE, TRADE, AND MANUFACTURES OF LONDON; WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF THE CITY COMPANIES.

IT has already been observed,* that the first notice of London, as a place of commercial importance, occurs in the Annals of Tacitus, who speaks of is as the *nobile emporium* of his time; the great resort of merchants, and famous for its trade and intercourse, though not a colony. That London was a celebrated mart of traffic, however, long prior to this period, seems to be inferred with great propriety, from the circumstance of its being extremely improbable, if not impossible, that it could so suddenly have arisen to this distinguished eminency from the short time of its supposed foundation in the reign of Claudius, a term of scarcely eighteen years. Mr. Owen's arguments, likewise, as quoted by Strype, are not without their weight, that London was a considerable commercial City long previous to the Roman invasion; seeing, as he observes, that from the words of Tacitus, it may be concluded to have been then, as now, "the great treasury of the riches of the Kingdom; that considering it abounded with merchants, it may be presumed to have been at that early time the chief trading City of the island; that Cæsar expressly speaks of British merchants trading into Gaul; that the Britons traded for tin and lead with the Phœnicians and Greeks; and that this trade flourished here long before the Romans knew the Island. Therefore, if cities have risen by merchandize, London must be much more ancient than Cæsar's time; and, its situation being advantageous for trade, being in the centre of British merchandize, we may conclude it was the ancient emporium of the British trade with the Gauls, Phœnicians, and Greeks. Nor," he adds, "does Bishop Stillingfleet's assertion, that it grew into a City by the Romans trading into this country, at all invalidate the

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* See before, p. 30.

the argument; for why might it not as well do so by the trade of the Greeks and Phœnicians hither, who had a vast traffic in this island?"*

Of the commerce of London from the time of Tacitus until the close of the second century of the Christian era, we know but little, but may conclude that it made rapid advances, notwithstanding the occasional calamities which the City sustained from the contentions between the Britons and their enemies, as it is said even at this early period to have become "a great and wealthy City;" and about a century and a half later, viz. in 359, that its 'commerce was so extended, that eight hundred vessels were employed in the port of London for the exportation of corn only.'

In the distractions which succeeded the final evacuation of the island by the Romans, and the consequent inroads of various barbarous nations by which the Britons were harrassed previous to the establishment of the Saxon government, commerce must have received a considerable check. About the year 730, however, and probably long before, (for the notice is connected by *Bede*, with events of the year 604) London, though the capital of one of the smallest kingdoms in England, was an emporium for many nations repairing to it by land and by sea. This shews that its commerce was then chiefly, if not entirely, of the passive kind, and carried on by strangers. "*Lundonia civitas est, super ripam præfati fluminis* [*Thamesis*] *posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium.*" King Alfred, in his translation of this passage, calls the City "LUNDENCEASTER;" and, he continues, "*seo is monigra folce Ceap Stow.*"†

About the year 886, London, which appears to have been almost totally destroyed and depopulated by the Danes, was restored and more strongly fortified by Alfred, and soon after filled with inhabitants who had been driven into exile, or kept in captivity by the Danes.* In less than fifty years afterwards, viz. about 930, King Athelstan, by a law, enacting, that money should be coined only in towns, assigns to London, then called *Lundenbyrig*, *eight* coiners; which is the largest number allotted to any of the towns enumerated.

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* Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 7.

† Ceap Stow, i. e. *Merchandize Place*, will explain the modern name of one of the principal trading streets of the City.

With a pardonable partiality, Fitz-Stephens, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, says, that "no city in the world exports its merchandize to such a distance;" but he has neglected to inform us of the species of goods exported, or the countries to which they were carried, none of which were very distant, according to our modern enlarged ideas of navigation. Among the imports he enumerates gold, spices, frankincense from Arabia; precious stones from Egypt; purple drapery from India; and palm oil from Bagdad: all which he might, perhaps with more strict propriety, have derived immediately from the trading cities of Italy. Furs of various kinds, he says, are brought from Norway and Russia; arms from Scythia, and wine from France; and the venders of the various commodities, and labourers of every kind, are daily to be found in their appropriate and distinct places; and every Friday a market is held in Smithfield for horses, cows, hogs, &c.

William of Malmsbury, an author of the same age, says "London is a noble City, renowned for the opulence of its citizens, who, on account of the greatness of the City, are considered as people of the first quality, and noblemen (' *optimates et proceres*') of the Kingdom. It is filled with merchandize, brought by the merchants of all countries, and chiefly by those of Germany; and, in case of scarcity of corn in other parts of England, it is a granary, where it may be bought cheaper than any where else."† Another circumstance, tending to shew that London was comparatively an opulent and commercial city at this time is, that it was the head-quarters of all the Jews in England, a people who have never failed to follow wealth and commerce.

In the year 1220, the merchants of Cologne, in Germany, perhaps

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* Asser, p. 51. † Nov. f. 107. a; Gesta Pontif. 1335.

perhaps in consequence of King John's invitation in 1203, established a hall or factory in London, called their Guildhall, for the legal possession of which they paid to the King thirty-one marks.* It seems probable, that this Guildhall, by the association of the merchants of other cities with those of Cologne, became in time the general factory and residence of all the German merchants in London, and was the same that was afterwards known by the name of German Guildhall (*'Gildhalla Teutonicorum'*), and which has been inaccurately confounded with the Steel-yard. Soon after this period, viz. in the year 1245, among the articles of inquisition into trespasses committed in the King's forests at this time, "*Carbone Maris,*" sea-coal is mentioned.† This term, apparently applied as an established name to fossile coal which might be found in a forest, affords the clearest and earliest authentic proof known that coals had before now been brought to London by sea, and probably from Newcastle; indeed it has been asserted, but it seems without sufficient authority, that the inhabitants of that place had obtained a charter for working coal, from King John. *Sea-coal* Lane, in London, was certainly so called as early as 1253, and received that name, as Stow informs us, from lime being burnt there with sea-coal.

The following account delivered into the Exchequer, A. D. 1268, by Walter Hervey and William of Durham, *custodes* of the City of London, gives a view of the names and amounts of the dues collected in the City from the Eve of Easter to Michaelmas, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Divers *tronages*‡, with some small strandages····	97	13	11½
Customs of all kinds of merchandize coming from foreign parts, liable to pay the duty called *Scavage*, together with the *Pesages* during the half year ································	75	6	10
Carried forward ····	173	0	9½

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* Madox. Hist. Exch. c. n.

† Mat. Par. Addit. p. 155.

‡ *Tronage*, money paid for weighing at the *trone*, or public beam.

Strandage

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	173	0	9½
Measuring dues for corn arriving at the port of Billingsgate, and the *water custom* there......	5	18	7½
Customs of fish brought to London-bridge Street, and some other customs there	7	0	2½
Issue of the Field and Bars of Smithfield	4	7	6
Toll taken at the gates of the City, and *customs* on the water of Thames towards the west	8	13	2½
Stallages, *customs* of butchers, and others, exercising divers trades ('merchandises') in the market of West Cheap, *small tolls* and issues of the same market; the issues of the markets of Garschirche (Grass-church, or Gracechurch), and Wollechirch-hawe, with a certain annual *socage* of the butchers in the City	42	0	5
Issues of Queen-hithe, being in the King's hands	17	11	2
Forfeits of sundry foreigners, for buying and selling in the City, contrary to the statutes and customs thereof	10	11	0
Pleas and *perquisites* in the City..............	86	5	9½
From the *Waidarii* (dealers in woad) of Amiens, Corbye, and Neele, (cities of France) since Michaelmas	11	6	8
The whole amounting to	366	15	4½*

A remarkable era in the commerce and trade of London seems to have commenced about this period, which strikingly marks the great

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Strandage seems payment for the liberty of laying goods on the strand, similar to modern wharfage. *Scavage*, paid for liberty to exhibit or shew them (schaw) the goods at market. *Pesage*, for weighing. *Stallage*, for rent paid for the use of a stall. *Socage*, (a word of disputed meaning) seems here to signify payment for certain privileges enjoyed by the Company of Butchers. And, Hist. Com.

* Madox, Hist. Exch. c. 10.

great progress it had been making since the Conquest, viz. the incorporation of a regular commercial company, under the title of Merchant Adventurers; as also the erecting into corporate bodies different domestic trades, since distinguished by the name of City Companies. The first incorporation of the Merchant Adventurers took place in the year 1296, by Edward I. Besides the favour of the English Monarch, they obtained special privileges from John, Duke of Brabant, who gave them permission to establish themselves and their trades, under government, in the city of Antwerp; where they were principally settled until the reign of Edward the Third, and carried on a great manufacture in cloth, made from wool imported from this country. That Prince, however, perceiving the great advantage which the Flemings thus gained, procured some of their best workmen to establish manufactories here; by which, and by prohibiting the exportation of English wool, the finest cloths were soon afterwards made in this Kingdom. By successive charters and privileges granted to this Company by various Sovereigns, they afterwards arrived at the greatest prosperity, and nearly engrossed the whole clothing trade of Europe.

The formation of the different domestic trades of the Metropolis into fraternities or companies, took place as early as the reign of Henry the Third, or probably earlier, and added in no small degree to its commercial splendour. Some of these trades are now disused, and merely afford a picture of the then manufactures of London: others are circumscribed in their extent by the alterations of times, and others still flourish, and are much increased. Among the former of these were the *Capellarii*, or Cappers: respecting these, Hugh Fitz-Otonis, the City *Custos*, in the 54th of Henry the Third, made certain ordinances in the presence of the Aldermen; as, that none 'should make a cap but of good white or grey wool, or black; that none dye a cap made of white or grey wool into black; they being apt, so dyed, to lose their colour through the rain,' &c. The *Fusters*, Seelers, or Saddletree-makers of London, were another ancient Company, probably incorporated about this time. These came before John le Blund, Mayor, in the reign of Edward the Second, about 1307, and prayed that the points or articles of the mystery *de Fusti*, (of Fusters) practised by their ancestors, might still be used, and subjected to the controul of certain heads of the trade, who should order, that no Fuster make *arzsons de seels* (bows or trees of saddles) but of quarter; and that *le Fust* (the staff) be dry before it be painted. That each Fuster make all his *arzsons* agreeably to one pattern, and that no painter should paint any made out of the City, &c. The Flayers of Dead Horses, otherwise *Megucars*, apparently a very ancient Company, were about the same time subjected to certain regulations; the practising of their trade within the City having been complained of as a great nuisance.

The *Fishmongers*, anciently divided into two Companies, under the title of the Stock-Fishmongers, and the Salt-Fishmongers, were very early incorporated, and, in the times of Catholic superstition, from the increased demand for fish, formed one of the principal trades of the Metropolis. Their stalls, or standings, were chiefly on Fish-street Hill; and here many wealthy individuals of the trade dwelt, whose names shine conspicuously in the annals of Civic honor, as Lovekin, Turk, Sir William Walworth, Sir Stephen Foster, &c. The ancient statutes of this Company are to be found in the *Liber Horn*, still kept in Guildhall; according to which, no fishmonger was to buy fish beyond the bounds appointed; which were, the Chapel on London Bridge, Baynard's Castle, and Jordan's Key. No fish were to be bought in any boat, unless first brought to land. No fishmonger was to buy a fresh fish before mass was ended at the Chapel upon the Bridge; and was to sell fresh fish only after mass, and salt fish after prime. About the same time, viz. A. D. 1320, the fishmongers, who kept shops upon Fish-wharf, used to sell herrings and other fish brought by land and by water, to the inhabitants, and to hawkers who carried them through the streets; but the other fishmongers having entered into a combination to prevent the sale of fish by retail at that wharf, those belonging to the wharf obtained the King's order to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, to permit them to continue to sell herrings and other fish, either in wholesale or retail, to all, who chose to buy.* Between this Company and that of the *Goldsmiths*, such contention for precedency took place in these early times, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, by proclamation, were obliged to expel the mutinous from the City, and to deprive several of their freedom.

Most of the other great City Companies were incorporated soon after this period, that is, the reign of Edward the Third, which constituted an important epoch in the commercial history of the Metropolis. Amongst them we may enumerate the following.

The *Skinners*, incorporated in the year 1327, who, long after their establishment, were a most flourishing Company when sables, lucerns, and other rich furs were worn for tippets in England; which were princely ornaments," says an old writer, "wholesome, delicate, grave, and comely; expressing dignity, comforting age, and better, with small cost, to be preserved than those new silks, shags, and rags since in use." "The Skinners of London, in those times," observes another author, "were many in number, and kept and maintained great families, and employed multitudes of Tawyers, and other poor people." In succeeding times, change of fashions, and the many encroachments made on the trade, reduced much of the importance of this Company; they still, however, exist, and are very wealthy.

The *Vintners*, though apparently incorporated as late as the reign of Henry the Sixth, were a craft, whose extensive dealings to Gascony for wine, constituted an important branch of the trade of the Metropolis in very early times. By a charter of Edward the Third, all other merchants, not free of this craft, were forbidden to import any wine into the Kingdom. The reason assigned for restricting this monopoly to the Vintners was, that the great number of buyers had risen the price of wines;

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* Ry. Plac. Parl. p. 339.

or as the charter quaintly expresses it, "when that Vintners of Englond in old time passid into *Gascoigne* to seke wyn, then was the navie well maintenyd, and the lond well seruid of wyns and of peniworths." This Company reckons as its royal founders seven Kings and Queens, and among its members numerous Mayors and Sheriffs, commencing as early as the reign of Henry the Third.

The *Turners*, at the same period, from the great use of wooden ware, seem to have been also a considerable community, under the title of 'Measure-makers.' In a record in the chamber of London, an affidavit appears, respecting the manufacturing of measures, which was made before the Mayor. By this, certain heads of the trade, viz. Henry le Tournour, dwelling in Wood-street; John le Tournour, in Swithing Lane, of Candelwyke-street; Robert le Tournour, living at Flete, &c. were all sworn, an. 4. Edw. II. "not to make any measures, but gallons, pottles, and quarts; and that they should make no false measures, as *chopines*, *gylles*, &c. nor make them after the manner of boxes or glasses, or any other manner."

The *Ironmongers* constituted a considerable mercantile body at the same time, though of later incorporation. As early as the year 1300, a complaint was made of the *Ferones*, as they were then called, or dealers in iron, to Elias Russel, Mayor, and the Aldermen, "For that the Smiths of the Wealds, and other merchants, bringing down iron of wheels for carts, to the city of London, they were much shorter than anciently was accustomed, to the great loss and scandal of the whole trade of Ironmongers;" and on an inquisition being taken, and three rods presented, of the just and anciently-used length of the strytes, (*strytorum*); and also of the length and breadth of the gropes, (*groporum*,) belonging to the wheels of carts, sealed with the City seal; one of them was deposited in the chamber of London, and the two others delivered to John Dode and Robert de Paddington, Ironmongers of the Market, and to John de Wymondeham, Ironmonger of the Bridge, who were appointed overseers for the benefit of the trade generally, and empowered to seize those of an undue length.

The different workers of cloth, afterwards incorporated by the general name of "*Clothworkers,*" and at present forming one of the principal Companies, anciently consisted of several fraternities, long since decayed or re-incorporated under new titles. The names of some of these are quoted by Strype, from the *liber albus*, and afford an idea of the flourishing state of the trade formerly. The first were the Webbers, or Weavers of cloth, then called *Tellars*, or *Telars*: These were very ancient, being confirmed as a Guild, or fraternity, by King John and Henry the Third; the latter granted them a second charter, which refers even to an *Insperimus* of a former charter, granted to them by his grandfather Henry the Second. Connected with these, in the making of cloth, were the *Fullers*, of whom, and the *Dyers*, a complaint was made by some of the Company to Edward the First, that certain of them, viz. John de Oxon, Henry at Watergate, and Elias le Shereman, sent cloths, which ought to be fulled in the City, to the mill at Stratford, &c. to the great damage of the owners, as well as of those who practised the fulling trade within the City; which was, in consequence, remedied. The mystery of the *Burilers*, another branch of this trade, flourished at the same time: these appear to have been a sort of Overseers, or Inspectors of cloths when made, as to their quality and measure; and were of such ancient standing, that in a dispute between them and the Tellars, or Weavers, in the reign of Edward the First, their calling was then asserted to have existed from time whereof there was no memory.

Many more trades might be added which were incorporated about or soon after this period, and which afford a convincing proof of the greatly increased commercial consequence of the Metropolis, but those already enumerated will alone furnish a sufficient idea of its augmented importance. In fact, of such political rank and consequence were these trading corporations held in the estimation of our ancient Sovereigns, and so much were they thought to conduce to the splendour of the Metropolis, that one company only, the Merchant-Taylors, boasts amongst its members no less than seven Kings, one Queen, seventeen Princes and Dukes, two

Duchesses, one Archbishop, one-and-thirty Earls, sixty-six Barons and Lords, fourteen Abbots, Priors, &c. besides numbers of Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen. This great increase in the commerce of the City justified a complaint made about the end of this reign, viz. 1372, wherein the Citizens of London represented to the King and his Council, that by their industry and their franchises they had gained their livelihood by land and water, and in various countries, from which they had imported many kinds of merchandize, *wherby the City and the whole Kingdom were greatly benefitted, and the Navy supported and increased:* but that lately their franchises were taken from them, contrary to royal grants and *Magna Charta,* which would be of ruinous consequence to the City, the Kingdom, and the Navy, and disable them from paying the taxes.*

To these native Companies, practising various trades within the City, and conducing to its great commercial prosperity, may be added those of the foreigners who were allowed to settle here, particularly the *Hansards,* or Hanse merchants, established in London at a very early period, but to whom the citizens, however, through misconception, could never be cordially reconciled. Of this considerable body of merchants, various notices occur in the City annals: a few particulars respecting them follow. A. D. 1475: as part of the recompense found due by the English to the Hansards, or Hanse merchants, the King conveyed to them the absolute property of the Court-yard, called the *Staelhoef* or *Steel-yard,* with the buildings adhering to it, extending to the *Teutonic Guildhall,* in London; they bearing all the burthens for pious purposes, to which the Staelhoef was made liable by ancient foundation, and having full power to pull down and rebuild, &c. The City of London were bound by that treaty in transactions with the Hanse merchants, whose ancient privileges should not be impaired by any later grants made to the City; and who should have the keeping of Bishopsgate as formerly. That the King should oblige the Public Weighers and Measurers to do justice between the buyers and sellers, and also prevent vexatious delays at the Custom-house, and the repeated opening of the packages containing federatures and other precious furs and merchandize, &c.

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* Brady on Burghs Append. p. 36.

In the year 1498, the suspension of a direct commerce with the Netherlands, gave the German Steel-yard merchants a very great advantage, by their importing from their own Hanse towns great quantities of merchandize into England, to the very considerable detriment of the English *Merchant-Adventurers*, who were wont to import such directly from the Netherlands; whereupon the London Journeymen, Apprentices, and Mob, attacked and rifled their warehouses in the Steel-yard; but were soon suppressed and punished.

In the year 1504, was confirmed, by statute, to the Steel-yard merchants, having their house in London, commonly called "*Guildhalla Teutonicorum*," all their ancient privileges as given by former charters; and all acts, made in derogation of them, were annulled. At the same time, the English merchants "trading in woollen-cloth of all kinds to the Netherlands," obtained a similar charter, and in this they were first properly styled the Fellowship of Merchant-Adventurers of England. They were, by the same, also authorized to hold courts and marts at Calais, and to admit, exacting only 10 marks for such admission, any foreign merchant to the freedom of their Company. The Steel-yard merchants, who had entered into the same trade, were, by this act, strictly prohibited from continuing to interfere; and the Aldermen of the Steel-yard were obliged to enter into a recognizance of 2,000 marks, that their merchants should not carry any English cloth to the place of residence of the Merchant-Adventurers in the Low Countries.

On May-day, 1518, (says Hall in his Life of King Henry the Eighth, p. 62) there was a shameful Riot committed by the London Apprentices, Servants, Watermen, and Priests, against Foreigners, by pulling down and rifling their houses, &c. The complaints against them were, "That there were such numbers of them employed as Artificers that the English could get no work: that the English merchants had little to do by reason the merchant strangers bring in all silks, cloths of gold, wine, oil, iron, &c.; they also export so much wool, tin, and lead, that English adventurers can have no living: that foreigners compass the City round about, in Southwark, Westminster, Temple Bar, Holborn, St. Martin's le Grande, St. John's-street, Aldgate, Tower Hill, and St. Katherine's; and they forestall the market, so that no good thing, for them, cometh to the market, which are the causes that Englishmen want and starve, whilst foreigners live in abundance and pleasure: that the Dutchmen bring over iron, timber, and leather, ready manufactured; and nails, locks, baskets, cupboards, stools, tables, chests, girdles, saddles, and painted cloths." These accusations throw some light on the commercial situation of London at that time.

By an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1524, for settling how many apprentices and journeymen (not denizens) should be kept by foreign tradesmen settled in London, &c. great powers were given to the corporations of handicrafts over the workmanship of the foreigners, who were to have seals or stamps put on their works, after being examined by the Wardens of those Corporations. The jurisdiction of the London Corporations were, by by this Act, to extend to two miles from the City; but the Act itself was not to extend to any other handicrafts but Joiners, Pouchmakers, Coopers, and Blacksmiths. Also Lords, and all others, having lands of 100l. per annum, were hereby permitted to retain foreign Joiners and Glaziers in their service, which may lead us to suppose they were superior workmen at that time to the English.

In the year 1530, the City of London obtained a Decree of the Star-chamber, wherein it is represented that the realm was overrun with foreign manufacturers; and that foreigners exported cheese, bacon, powdered beef, mutton, &c. whereby great portions of corn, victual, &c. grown and bred within the realm, were consumed. These grievous accusations would generally be deemed blessings in our days. The final extinction of the Hanse merchants,

chants, as a Company, took place in the year 1597, under Queen Elizabeth; who, perceiving that the privileges which had been granted to them, were repugnant to the great commercial interests of England, shut up the house called the Steel-yard, in London, and expelled them the Kingdom, from which time the Steel-yard became disused for its ancient purposes.—But to return:

The Magistrates of London, in order to oblige the people to resort to the City for all their purchases, had made an Ordinance that no Citizen should carry goods for sale to any fair or market out of the City. The assortment of goods in London, about the year 1487, appears to have been so commanding, that those interested in other fairs, and also the people of the country in general, were alarmed, and represented to the Parliament the destruction of the fairs, and the great hardship of being obliged to travel to London to procure chalices, books, vestments, and other church ornaments, and also victuals for the time of Lent, linen cloth, woollen cloth, brass, pewter, bedding, osmond, iron, flax, wax, and other necessaries. The City Ordinance was thereupon annulled, and the Citizens were permitted to carry their goods to the fairs and markets in every part of England*.

There are few notices of the state of the commerce of London, during the period of the contention between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, though many of its Citizens embarked in private trading adventures, of considerable magnitude, and attained great wealth. The preamble to one of Richard's laws shews the discontent of the English people at the great resort of foreigners to the Metropolis, and other parts; and the act itself imposes various restraints, under particular forfeitures.† Henry the Seventh, in whose long and peaceful reign trade and commerce made rapid strides, repealed the greater part of this statute; yet, in the true spirit of his own avaricious government, he retained the penalties incurred.* The state of shipping, however, in the Port of London, at this period, and for a considerable time afterwards, even as late as the year 1539, appears to have been very low, if credit may be given to Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, (4to. 1601) who wrote in defence of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, and was their secretary: for he expressly asserts, that, about sixty years before he wrote, there were not more than four ships, besides those of the Navy Royal, that were above 120 tons each, within the river Thames. Nor does the number seem to have increased in any considerable degree in the succeeding reign, if we may believe the statement of a London merchant, made in a letter addressed to Sir William Cecil, and quoted by Strype. He observes, "that there is never a city in Christendom, having the occupying that London hath, that is so slenderly provided of ships, having the sea coming to it, as this hath. That he had heard of late much complaining of English ships to lade goods to Spain, and other places; and none were to be had. And that he had seen thirty-seven boys, laden with wood and timber, go at one tide out of Rye, and never an English mariner among them."†

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* Pub. Acts, 3. H.vii. c. 9.

† 1 Rich. III. ch. 9. "Moreover," says this statute, "a great number of artificers, and other strangers, not born under the King's obeisance, do daily resort to London, and to other cities, boroughs, and towns, and much more than they were wont to do in times past, and inhabit by themselves in this realm, with their wives, children, and household; and will not take upon

Notwithstanding this complaint, however, a spirit of enterprize was at this time general among the Citizens. This we learn more particularly from the events of the year 1553, when a great geographical and mercantile discovery took place, by means of some merchants

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upon them any laborious occupation, as going to plough, and cart, and other like business, but use the making of cloth, and other handicrafts, and easy occupations; and bring from parts beyond the sea great substance of wares and merchandizes, to fairs, and markets, and other places, at their pleasure, to the impoverishment of the King's subjects; and will only take into their service people born in their own countries; whereby the King's subjects, for lack of occupation, fall into idleness and vicious living, to the great perturbance of the realm."

* Chal. Est. p. 26.

* Strype's Stow, Vol. II. p. 395.

merchants of London, who, with others, having established a Company, consisting of 240 shareholders, with a capital of 6,000l. for prosecuting discoveries, under the direction of Sebastian Cabot, fitted out three vessels. Two miscarried, but the third, accidentally falling into the Bay of St. Nicholas, on the White Sea, landed at Archangel, and, obtaining the favour of the Czar of Russia, had permission and peculiar privileges granted them to trade to Russia, the means of doing which, by sea, had been before unknown to the English: this discovery, moreover, pointed out the way to the Whale Fishery, at Spitsbergen. Within a few years after this period, also, the London Merchants had factors settled at the Canaries.

In the year 1556, a manufactory for the finer sort of glasses was established in Crutched Friars; and the fine flint glass, little inferior to that of Venice, was at the same time made at the Savoy. About five years afterwards the manufacture of Knit Stockings is said to have been introduced into England, by one William Ridir, an apprentice on London Bridge; who seeing, at the house of an Italian merchant, a pair of knit worsted stockings from Mantua, very ingeniously made a pair exactly like them, which he presented to William, Earl of Pembroke, being the first of that kind worn in England, of English manufacture. Two years afterwards a manufacture of Knives was begun by Thomas Matthews, of Fleet Bridge.

The number of merchants in London, at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, viz. Anno 1561, were in all 327; of which ninety-nine belonged to the Company of Mercers, fifty-seven to the Grocers, twenty-nine to the Drapers, fifty-one to the Haberdashers, twenty-five to the Merchant Taylors, sixteen to the Skinners, twelve to the Fishmongers, thirteen to the Clothworkers, six to the Ironmongers, two to the Salters, two to the Girdlers, one to the Bowyers, nine to the Leathersellers, and one to the Armourers.

The trade to Russia, which had commenced in the reign of Edward the Sixth, led to the incorporation of the *Russia*, or *Muscovy*

Muscovy Merchants, in the first and second of Philip and Mary; and the charter granted by those Sovereigns was confirmed by Elizabeth, in her eighth year.* The *Eastland Company*, or Merchants trading to the East, was established in the twenty-first of Elizabeth, (anno 1579) and privileged to trade to Norway, Sweden, Poland, Prussia, &c. and in the same year the *Levant* or *Turkey Company* was incorporated; † this Company soon obtained a considerable share of that commerce, which had before been entirely engrossed by the Venetians; and is yet flourishing, though the trade has been long open: but the Eastland Company, though it still exists, is of diminished importance. The Company of *Spanish Merchants* was also incorporated by Elizabeth, yet this has long been extinct, the patent having been annulled in the third year of James the First.

The reign of Elizabeth forms a splendid era in the commercial and trading history of the Metropolis, and much credit is due to that Princess for the introduction of many useful arts and manufactures, by the encouragement she gave to foreigners. At the time of her accession to the Throne, she found herself obliged to

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* About this period Elizabeth obtained from the Czar, John Basilides, an exclusive grant to the English of the whole trade of Muscovy; and she entered into a personal, as well as national alliance with him. The Czar was a mere tyrant, and in his treaties with Elizabeth, he stipulated to have a safe retreat in England, should he be driven from his own kingdom by revolt; and to ensure this protection, he proposed to marry some English woman. The Queen intended to have sent him the Lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon; but this Lady, when informed of the barbarous manners of her intended subjects, wisely declined the proffered honor. The Patent for the exclusive monopoly was afterwards annulled by Theodore, son of John Basilides; yet he continued some distinct privileges to the English, on account of their having been the discoverers of the communication between Europe and Muscovy. *Cam. Eliz.* p. 499.

† We learn from Birch's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 36, that before this time, the Grand Signior had always conceived England to be a dependent Province of France, but when made acquainted with Elizabeth's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them more extensive privileges than he had given to the French.

borrow several very small sums of money, from the Merchants of Flanders; yet during the domestic tranquillity of her long reign, and from "the example of economy and prudence, of activity and vigour, which on all occasions she set before her subjects,"[*] the Londoners, deriving opulence from commerce, were at length enabled to furnish their Sovereign with money to a great amount, besides contributing greatly to the military preparations for the wars with Spain and Ireland.

In the year 1563, says Howe, in his continuation of Stow's Annals,[†] "at which time began the civil dissentions in Flanders, very many Netherlanders fled into this land, with their wives, children, and whole families, and that in such abundance, that whereas before their coming, fayre houses in London were plenteous, and very easy to be had, at low and small rents, and by reason of the late dissolution of the religious houses, many houses in London stood vacant, and not any man desirous to take them at any rate, were all very suddainely inhabited, and stored with inmates; to the great admiration of the English nation, and advantage of Landlords, and Leasemongers. And presently after that beganne the great factions and brawles in France, by reason whereof very many families fled into this land, and chiefely into London; all which, together with the increase of our own nation, who from that time have infinitely conjoined in marriage with strangers, and the greater freedom of traffique and commerce into France, Spain, Italy, and Turkey, &c. that then, and for many years after, this land enjoyed, was, and is, the maine cause of our increase of wealth, and great shippes, the undecernable[‡] and new building of goodly houses, shoppes, shedes, and lodgings within the Citty, in many vacant places; with the converting the Citty bulwarks into houses of pleasure, and the great and wondrous enlarging of the suburbs and skirts thereof, namely, Ratcliffe, Limehouse, Rederiffe, and Southwarke, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and St. Katherine's, the new buildings about the Tower Ditch, Houndsditch, Petty France, Long Lane, Great St. Bartholomew's, Holborne,

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[*] Chal. Est. p. 55. [†] Howe's Stow, p. 868. [‡] Qy. Undescribable?

borne, Chancery Lane, and the Strand, Drury Lane, now called the Princes Street, the west side of St. Martin's Lane, the buildings about St. James's Park, with other new encreases of infinite buildings in Tuthill-field, and on the south side of Westminster Abbey; besides many others in sundry other places."

The great increase of trade, through this additional population, as well as from the extension of foreign traffic, led to the erection of the Royal Exchange, which was built at the cost of the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, in the years 1566 and 1567. Before this, says Stow, "the City was wonderously replenished with great store of Merchants, strangers, from many forraine nations, whose confluence in London was now grown to an unknown greatnes in respect of former ages, all which Merchants and Tradesmen, as well English as strangers, for their general making of bargains, contracts and commerce, did usually meet twice every day in Lombard Streete, like as they doe now in the Royal Exchange; but for as much as their meetings were then unpleasant and troublesome by reason of walking and talking in an open narrow Streete, at their usuall howers, being there constrayned either to endure all extremitie of weather, or else to shelter themselves in shoppes, for redresse whereof, uppon good advice, the Citizens of London bought, at divers times, houses, and many small tenements in Cornhill, and pulled them downe, and made the ground faire and plaine to build uppon, the charge whereof cost them above 5000l. and then the Citie gave that ground unto Sir Thomas Gresham, to the ende that he should builde a Burse or fair place for the assembly of Merchants, like to that at Antwerp, &c.*

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* Howe's Stow, p. 667. In another place the Annalist gives the following curious particulars of the rents of the shops, and of the articles sold at the Exchange, within a few years after this period. "After the Royall Exchange, which is now called the *Eye of London*, had beene builded two or three yeares, it stood in a manner empty, and a little before her Majesty was to come thither to view the beauty thereof, and to give it a name, Sir Thomas Gresham, in his own person, went twice in one day, round about the upper pawne, and besought those few shoppekeepers then present, 'that they

In the year 1576, many complaints were made to the Queen in Council, of "great spoils and robberies," daily committed on the merchant-vessels of London, &c. by the Flushingers, and in August her Majesty gave orders for the putting to sea of "four good ships and two barks," to cruise against the pirates: and in the course of six weeks, eight of the Flushingers vessels were made prizes, "with 220 sea rovers in them," who were sent to sundry prisons.*

In the year 1579, Morgan Hubblethorne, a Dyer, was sent into Persia at the expense of the City of London, to learn the arts of dying there, and of making Carpets, &c. as appears from the second Volume of Hakluyt's Voyages.

During the preparations made to repel the threatened invasion from Spain, the Citizens and Merchants of London fitted out thirty-nine ships, 'amply furnished;" a number that a few years before, exceeded the whole amount of the Royal Navy. The Merchants also, to the number of "almost three hundred," and others "of like quality," met weekly, "practising all usual poynts of warre; and every man by turne bare orderly office from the Corporall to the Captaine: and some of them this year, (1588), had charge of men in the great Campe, (at Tilbury), and were generally called Captaines of the Artillerie Garden."†

Under the year 1595, Stowe records the singular circumstance of

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they would furnish and adorne with wares, and wax lights, as many shoppes as they eyther coulde or would, and they should have all those shoppes, so furnished, rent-free that yeare, which otherwayes at that time was xl s. a shop by the yeare; and within two yeares after, hee raysed that rent unto foure marks a yeare, and within a while after that he raysed his rent of every shoppe, unto foure pounds tenne shillings a yeare, and then all shoppes were well furnished according to that time: 'for then the *Milloners* or *Haberdashers*, in that place, sould *mouse-trappes*, *bird-cages*, *shooing-hornes*, *lanthornes*, *Jew's-trumps*, &c. there were also at that time, that kept shoppes in the upper pawne of the Royall Exchange, *Armorers*, that solde both oulde and new *armor*, *Apothecaries*, *Bookesellers*, *Goldsmiths*, and *Glasse-sellers*; although now it is as plenteously stored with all kinde of rich wares and fine commodities, as any particular place in Europe; unto which place many forraine Princes daily send, to be best served, of the best sort.' *Ibid*, p. 868, 9.

* Howe's Stow, p. 680.

† Ibid, p. 743.

of the building of a Pinnace, about five or six tons in burthen, in *Leadenhall*, by "Master Stickles, the excellent Architect of our time." This was so constructed as to be taken asunder and put together again at pleasure: it was launched at Tower Dock; but, continues Stowe, "there came no good of it."*

On Dec. the 31st, 1600, the Queen granted their first Patent to the *East India Company*, whose stock of 72,000l. enabled them to fit out four ships, under the command of James Lancaster: the adventure proving successful, the Company continued its exertions, and hence arose the most important of all the branches of foreign connection which Great Britain now enjoys.

With the extension of commerce arose the desire of rendering the risk less hazardous to the individual; and as the most efficacious means for that purpose, Assurance or Insurance Companies were devised, which, for a small per centage, undertook to guarantee the safety of both ships and merchandize, as well from the dangers of the sea, as from the perils of warfare. Some abuses in the practice led to the passing of an Act in 1601, for "regulating the business of Assurance," and a standing Commission of Merchants was appointed to meet weekly, "at the office of Insurance on the west side of the Royal Exchange." Long previous to this, insurance concerns had been carried on at the meetings of the Merchants in Lombard Street; and Malynes in his *Lex Mercatoria*, speaking of this great safeguard of commerce, says, "all Policies of Insurance which then were, and now are made (1622,) do make mention, that it shall be in all things concerning the said Assurances, as was accustomed to be done in Lombard Street, in London."

During a great part of the reign of Elizabeth, the domestic industry of her subjects, but more particularly of the Londoners, had been excessively fettered, through the numerous Grants of exclusive Patents and Monopolies, which had been made under her administration, to an extent and mischief before unknown. This practice, it is true, was not of recent origin, yet, as the true

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* Howe's Stow, p. 769.

principles of trade became better understood, its injurious consequences, in preventing all competition, were more clearly seen, and the Parliament began strongly to remonstrate against its longer continuance. "It is astonishing," says Hume, speaking on the authority of D'Ewes,* "to consider the number and importance of those commodities, which were thus assigned over to Patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cords, calf-skins, pouldavies, ox-shin bones, train-oil, cloth-lists, pot ashes, anniseeds, vinegar, sea coal, steel, aquavitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, salt-petre, lead, accidences, oil, calamine stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards; transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather; importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities, which had been appropriated to monopolists;" and the evil was further augmented, in many cases, by the sale of the original patents to other persons, who were thus enabled to raise the prices of many articles of the first necessity. The high and arbitrary powers with which the Patentees were armed by the Council, enabled them also to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their Patents.

In a former Parliament, application had been made to the Queen for some redress against these grievous monopolies; but the answer was more general than satisfactory, and the Sovereign in her closing speech from the Throne (anno 1597), again reverting to the subject, told the House of Commons, "that with regard to these Patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects, would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head-pearl in her crown and diadem, but that they would rather leave those matters to her disposal." Notwithstanding this rebuff, the growing discontent of the people at the continual increase of these exactions by patent, emboldened the Commons in October, 1601, to introduce a Bill for their total abolition; yet this measure, which led to a very curious discussion, or rather conversation, respecting the prerogative, was not persevered in; the Queen having the prudence to stop the proceedings by directing the Speaker to inform the House, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of the Patents, and leave the rest to be tried by the laws.

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* Hume's History, Vol. V. p. 439, 8vo. Edit. and D'Ewes's Jour. pp. 648, 650, 652.

The granting of Patents for monopoly was not the only restraint upon the freedom of trade, which existed during the supremacy of the Tudor line. The Proclamation of the Sovereign had the effect of positive law, and a full dispensing power against any, and every penal statute, was supposed to reside in the crown. Civil liberty was a phrase scarely understood; and the Prerogative, guarded as it was by the rigorous decisions of the Court of Star Chamber, seemed to operate like the talisman of a Magician, and under its influence the laws became spell-bound, whenever it suited the convenience or the humour of the reigning Prince. Queen Mary exacted money from the Merchants, by laying embargoes on their goods and vessels; and Elizabeth, before her coronation, 'issued an order to the Custom-House, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks which should be imported till the Court were first supplied.'[*]

The commencement in London of the manufactures of flint glass, knit-worsted stockings, and knives, has already been mentioned; but various others were also introduced in the course of Elizabeth's reign, which it will here be expedient to record. In the year 1560, the Queen was presented with a pair of black silk knit-stockings, for a new year's gift, by her silk-woman, 'Mistresse Montague,' who had made them purposely for her Majesty, and from that time Elizabeth entirely left off the wearing of cloth hose; "for you shal understand," says the historian, "that King Henry the Eighth did weare only cloath hose, or hose cut out of ell-broad taffety, or that by great chance there came a payre of Spanish silk stockings from Spain."[†]

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[*] Hume's Hist. Vol. V. p. 462, App.

[†] Howe's Stow, page 867. Edward the Sixth had a pair of long Spanish silk

About two years afterwards, anno 4th of Eliz. "John Rose, dwelling in Bridewell, devised and made an instrument with wyer stringes, called the Bandora; and he left a sonne far excelling himself in making Bandoras, Viol de Gamboles, and other instruments."* In 1564, the use of Coaches was introduced by a Dutchman, named William Boonen, who became the Queen's coachman;† and after a while, divers great ladies with as great jealousie of the Queen's displeasure, made them Coaches, and rid in them up and down the countries, to the great admiration of all the beholders; but then by little and little they grew usual among the nobilitie, and others of sort, and within twenty yeares became a great trade of Coachmaking."

Shortly before the introduction of Coaches, the knowledge and wear of Lawns and Cambrics was introduced by the Dutch Merchants, who retailed those articles, in ells, yards, &c. "for there was not then one shopkeeper amongst forty, durst buy a whole piece;"‡ "and when the Queen had ruffs made thereof for her owne princely wearing (for until then the Kings and Queens of England wore fine Holland in ruffs), there was none in England could tell how to starch them; but the Queen made special meanes for some Dutch-women that could starch, and Guillham's wife was the first Starcher the Queen had, and himself was the first Coachman."§

About the fifth or sixth of Elizabeth, the manufacture of Pins was introduced; and in her eighth year the making of Needles was first taught, by a German, named Elias Crowse, though previously to this, in the reign of Queen Mary, fine Spanish needles had

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silk stockings presented to him as a great rarity by Sir Thomas Gresham. *Ibid.* The machine for weaving stockings was first invented about the year 1599, by William Lee, M. A. of St. John's College, Cambridge.

* Howe's Stow, p. 869. † Ibid, p. 867, and 868.

‡ Ibid, p. 869.

§ Ibid, p. 867, 8. Soon after this the art of starching was first publicly taught in London, by a Flemish woman, called 'Mistris Dinghen, Van den Plasse,' her usual price for teaching the art istelf being 'foure or five pound,' and twenty shillings additional for shewing how "to seeth the starch." At this period the making of lawn ruffs was regarded by the populace had been made in Cheapside, by a Negro, who, however, "would never teach his art to any."*

About the tenth year of Elizabeth, the making of "earthen Furnaces, earthen Fier-pottes, and earthen Ovens, transportable," was first taught in London, without Moorgate, by Richard Dyer, an Englishman, who brought the art from Spain, and "for a time enjoyed the whole profit thereof to himself, by patent."†

"Milloners or Haberdashers," says Howe, "had not any Gloves imbroydered or trimmed with gold, or silk, neither gold nor imbroydered Girdles and Hangers, neither could they make any costly wash or perfume, until about the fourteenth or fifteenth yeare of Queen Elizabeth, when the Right Hon. Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, came from Italy, and brought with him Gloves, sweet Bagges, a perfumed leather Jerkin, and other pleasant thinges; and that yeare the Queene had a payre of perfumed Gloves trimmed only with four tuftes or roses, of coloured silke; and the Queene tooke such pleasure in those Gloves, that she was pictured with them upon her hands: and for many years after it was called the Earl of Oxford's perfume."‡

About the middle of this reign the making of large Bucklers, and long Tucks and Rapiers, came into fashion, and he "was helde the greatest gallant," says Howe, "that had the deepest ruffe, and longest rapier:"§ the ruffs were a full quarter of a yard in depth, "and twelve lengths in one ruffe;" but, "the offence to the eye of the one, and the hurt unto the life of the subject that came by the other, caused her Majesty to make proclamation against them both, and to place selected grave Citizens at every gate, to cut the ruffes, and break the rapiers' poynts, of all passengers that exceeded a yard in length of their rapiers, or a nayle of a yard in depth of their ruffes."‖

Women's

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pulace as so strange and finical, that "thereuppon rose a general scoffe, or by-worde, that shortly they would make ruffes of a spider's webbe." Ibid, p. 869.

* Howe's Stow, p. 948. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, p. 868.
§ Ibid, p. 869. ‖ Ibid.

Women's Masks, Busks, Muffs, Fans, Bodkins, and Periwigs, were introduced from France about the time of the Massacre in Paris, anno 1572; and about the year 1577, pocket Watches were first brought into London from Nuremberg, in Germany, where they are thought to have been invented.

The first Englishman, says Howe, "that devised and attayned the perfection of making all manner of tufted taffeties, cloth of tissue, wrought velvets, braunched sattins, and all other kinde of curious Silke Stuffes, was Master John Tyce, dwelling near Shoreditch Church."* One other article which now forms an important branch of the commerce of London, must not be unnoticed, viz. Tobacco, which was first brought to England by Sir John Hawkins, about the year 1565,† though it did not get into general use for many years; most probably its alledged virtues were not sufficiently known till after Sir Francis Drake brought home from Virginia, the remnant of the colony which had been left there by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The spirit of enterprise and hazardous adventure which had been awakened in the reign of Elizabeth, by the voyages of Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Cavendish, Frobisher, and others, greatly contributed to increase the commerce and riches of the Metropolis during that of her successor. Whilst the neighbouring nations were engaged in frequent wars, James, whether from timidity, as has sometimes been alledged, or from more praise-worthy motives, preserved his Kingdom in peace; and the industry and means of his people were therefore the more uninterruptedly employed in the advancement of domestic manufactures, and in the promotion of foreign traffic. He also has the credit of continuing the practice begun by Elizabeth, of giving bounties for ship-building, and the tonnage, as well of the Merchant-vessels of London, as of the Royal Navy, was progressively augmented. The trade with Spain, Portugal, and France, was thrown open; and in respect to the former country, soon became very considerable.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 869. † Ibid, p. 948.

The domestic manufactures of London were, in some degree, promoted, through the King's proclamation against the remaining Patents for monopolies which had been granted by Elizabeth; yet the exclusive Companies, with the exception of that of the Spanish Merchants, as mentioned above, were still suffered to exist; and by the operation of their privileges, almost all the foreign commerce of the Kingdom centered in the Port of London. This fact is evident from the Journals of the House of Commons, anno 1604, by which it appears that the customs of London amounted to 110,000l. per annum, whilst those of all the other ports of Great Britain yielded only 17,000l. It appears also, that at the same period the whole trade of the Capital was engrossed by about 200 Citizens, who, by combining among themselves, were easily enabled to fix whatever price they thought proper, both to the exports and the imports of the country; and a Committee was appointed to examine into this grievance.* In the October following, "the customes of merchandizes, both inwards and outwards, being raised, were then letten out to farme." †

In the second year of James, the *Feltmakers*, or Hatmakers, of London, were incorporated, "and then," says Stow, "they hired themselves a Hall near Christchurch."‡ This business was first introduced by the making of Spanish felts by "Spaniards and Dutchmen," about the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth, "before which time, and long since, the English used to ride and goe winter and summer in knit capps, cloth hoods, and the best sorte in silk thromb hatts."§

The increasing affluence of the Capital in the early part of James's reign, is shewn by a curious passage in Howe, who speaks of it with an admiration bordering on enthusiasm. "Except there were now due mention in some sort made thereof," says this writer, "it would in time to come bee held incredible, to the great obscuring of the gracious bounty of Almighty God, and dishonor of the King and Commonwealth. For in the 15th year of

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* Jour. 21st May, 1604.

† Howe's Stow, p. 856.

‡ Ibid, p. 870.

§ Ibid.

Richard the Second, the generall weaknes of wealth in the cittie of London, was such, as the whole Cittie hazarded the losse of their Charter, which at that time to them was most precious, for refusing to lend the King one thousand pounds: since which time, though the Citizens have encreased in riches, yet the loane of ten thousand pounds a good while after was held a great matter, and in tract of time after that the lending of twentie thousand pound was held a wondrous matter, even within man's memorie; and in the year 1587, when the Queene sent to the Citizens to borrow threescore thousand pound, I well remember it was made a matter of great admiration, which way and of whom it should be levied. Since which time, to the eternal prayses of Almighty God, such is his boundlesse blessing upon the whole Kingdome in generall, and London in particular, that certain private Cittizens, *farmers* of the Custom-house, in December, 1607, lent the King one hundreth and twenty thousand pound for one whole year,—and in May the last year, 1608, the King borrowed also of certain other Cittizens, threescore and three thousand pounds for fifteen months."*

The following summary of the foreign commerce of the Capital, in the year 1614, is given by Howe: "and concerning the most auncient, and most honourable Citty of London, chiefe seate and chamber of the sole monarch of Great Britayne, being at this day one of the best governed, most richest, and flourishing Citties in Europe, plentiously abounding in free trade and commerce with all nations, richly stored with gold, silver, pearl, spice, pepper, and many other strange commodities from both Indies; oyles from Candy, Cyprus, and other places under the Turks' dominion; strong wines, sweet fruits, sugar, and spice, from Grecia, Venice, Spayne, Barbaria, the Islands, and other places lately discovered and known; drugs from Egypt, Arabia, India, and divers other places; silkes from Persia, Spaine, China, Italy, &c. fine linen from Germany, Flanders, Holland, Artois, and Hanault; wax, flax, pitch, tarre, mastes, cables, and honey, from Denmarke,

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* Howe's Stow, p. 895: see also before, p. 314.

Poland, Swethland, Russia, and other Northern Countries; and the superfluity in abundance of French and Rhenish wines, the unmeasurable and uncomparable encrease of all which comming into this City, and the encrease of houses and inhabitants within the terme and compasse of fifty years, is such and so great, as were there not now two third parts of the people yet living, having been eye-witness of the premises, and the bookes of the Custome-house, which remain extant, the truth and difference of all things afore-mentioned were not to be justified and believed."*

Harrison, in his 'Description of Britain,' first printed in 1577, speaking of the Forests, remarks, that 'an infinite deal of wood hath been destroyed within these few years,' and 'I dare affirm,' he continues, in a tone of prescience, 'that if woods do go so fast into decay, in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are likely to do in this, it is to be feared that *sea-coal* will be good merchandise, even in the City of London.' Had our author lived till James's time, he would have seen his apprehensions realized; for about the year 1615, two hundred sail were employed in bringing Coals to the Metropolis.

What greatly tended to the increase of the commerce of London in this reign, was the settlement of the colonies at Virginia, Newfoundland, and the Bermudas; which opened new sources for industry, and brought numerous articles into general use and traffic, that had previously been confined to small spots in different parts of the Globe. The new maritime discoveries that were also made furnished an additional stimulus for commercial exertions; and the West Indies becoming more known, the trade with those Islands proportionably increased: a small colony from England was also planted at Barbadoes, by Sir William Courten.

In the year 1622, King James issued a commission to erect a *Board of Trade*, and it was recommended to the Commissioners, among other objects, to provide a remedy for the low price of wool; to enquire and examine whether greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive Companies, would not be beneficial, and to frame and digest a Navigation Act, the intended provisions of which bore a strong analogy to the famous one afterwards carried into effect under the Commonwealth.* About two years afterwards all monopolies by patent, and dispensations from penal laws, were abolished by Act of Parliament.

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* Howe's Stow, p. 868.

It is deserving of remark, that though a most evident increase in almost every branch of commerce and domestic manufactures, distinguished nearly every period of this reign, the complaints of a decay of trade were most grievous and lamentable, in almost every Session of Parliament. "Such violent propensity," observes Hume, "have men to complain of the present times, and to entertain discontent against their fortune and condition."†

During the peaceful years of Charles the First, the commerce of the Metropolis continued greatly to increase, and though the Civil Wars, for a time, had a contrary operation, yet eventually, the hostilities of this period proved very beneficial. The energies of the mind were more awakened, and in the habits of thinking, and modes of action, which became general, man began to feel his dignity as an individual; the different ranks of the community were drawn closer together by a more enlarged intercourse;‡ the exertions of industry were better directed; and the means of obtaining affluence were augmented through the increased quantity of riches that was brought into circulation by the progressive measures of the contending parties. The hoards of the opulent and loyal were freely opened for the use of their distressed Sovereign; taxation became more general, and in consequence, more productive; and the injurious effects of the monopolies and exclusive Companies, which confined trade, though the latter were never expressly abolished by any Ordinance of the Parliament, were eminently counteracted during the supremacy of the Commonwealth;

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* Rym. Fœd. Vol. XVII. p. 410. † Hume's Hist. Vol. VI. p. 180, App.

‡ The prevalence of democratical opinions, says Clarendon, engaged the Country Gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to Merchants, and commerce has ever since been more honorable in England than in any other European nation.

monwealth; for as "men paid no regard to the prerogative whence the Charters of those Companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty."[*]

In the early years of Charles various Proclamations were issued to regulate the manufacture of Saltpetre, the importation and growth of Tobacco, &c. About one-third of the Saltpetre then used, was made in England, as appears from a Proclamation bearing date in 1627, and which, after reciting that 'Sir John Brooke and Thomas Russell, Esq.' had given 'demonstrative proof' of their ability to make sufficient quantities of Saltpetre, as well for all the wants of the realm, as to supply foreign nations, and that the above persons had had granted to them an exclusive patent for the same, commands, that 'all the King's subjects of London, Westminster, and other places, near to the place [*Southwark*] where the said patentees have erected a work for the making of Saltpetre, that after due notice, they carefully keep in proper vessels all human urine, throughout the whole year, and also as much of that of beasts as can be saved, for the patentees to carry away from time to time at their own expense.'[†] In one of the Proclamations respecting Tobacco, anno 1634, the King orders that no Tobacco shall be 'any where landed in England, excepting at the Custom-house quay, of London;'[‡] and in the same year he took the sole pre-emption of all Tobacco into his own hands, under a special Commission granted to a number of Gentlemen and Merchants.[§]

In the year 1608, an attempt had been made under the immediate patronage of King James to produce Silk in England, and circular letters were sent to all the counties directing the planting of Mulberry trees, with instructions for the breeding and feeding silk-worms, &c. This scheme was not successful, yet it was not wholly discontinued even so late as 1629, as may be inferred from a grant to Walter, Lord Aston, &c. of the custody of the garden, Mulberry trees, and silk-worms, near St. James's, in the County of Middlesex. The silk manufacture, however, had become so flourishing, that in the latter year the *Silk-Throwers* of London and its vicinity, to the extent of four miles, were erected into a Company.

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[*] Hume's Hist. Vol. VII. [†] Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. p. 822.

[§] Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. 554. [‖] Ibid, p. 560.

The augmented consequence of the Port of London, in respect to shipping, may be partly estimated from the quota demanded of the City, in the year 1634, when Charles issued his writs for levying *Ship-money*, on his own authority. The Citizens were ordered to fit out and equip, at their own charge, for twenty-six weeks in the year 1635, one ship of 900 tons, and 350 men; one of 800 tons, and 260 men; four of 500 tons each, and 200 men; and one of 300 tons, and 150 men.* In the following year, the City was commanded to supply two ships of 800 tons, and 320 men each; and the County of Middlesex, including Westminster, one ship of the same burthen and crew.

The enlarged intercourse and opulence of the inhabitants of the Capital in this reign, are indicated by several records respecting *Coaches*, which after their introduction in Queen Elizabeth's time, had progressively increased, so that in the year 1605,† the Nobility and Gentry had them in pretty general use, and in the year 1625, they begun to ply as Hackneys in London streets, or more correctly speaking, perhaps, at the gates of the Inns. Their utility and convenience, under this character, were soon appreciated, and though there were only twenty at first, they augmented so much in number, that in ten years afterwards, the King thought it requisite to issue an Order of Council, restraining their increase. Previously to this, viz. in 1634, a Patent was granted to Sir Sanders Duncomb, for the exclusive letting, &c. of *Sedan Chairs*, which according to Wilson, were first brought into England by the Duke of Buckingham, in the time of King James.‡ This Patent was granted in consequence of the streets being "of late so much encumbered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches, that many of our subjects are thereby exposed to great danger, and the necessary use of carts and carriages for provisions thereby much hindered."

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* See also before, p. 336. † Howe's Stow, p. 867.

‡ Court and Cha. of King James. Wilson states, that the Duke was much descried for thus making 'beasts of burthen' of the people.

In the following year, the King, by a Proclamation, commanded, that 'no Hackney, or hired coach, should be used in the Cities of London or Westminster, or their Suburbs, except they be to travel three miles out of the same;' and also, 'that no person should go in a coach in the streets, except the owner of the coach should keep up four able horses for the King's service, whenever required.' These injunctions were founded on the 'general and promiscuous use of Coaches in London;' which 'were not only a great disturbance to his Majesty, his dear Consort the Queen, the Nobility, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets, but the streets themselves were so pestered, and the pavements so broken up, that the common passage was thereby hindered and made dangerous, and the prices of hay, provender, &c. made exceeding dear.' *

The printing of *Prices-current*, appears to have originated in this reign; as we find from a grant dated in 1634, that John Day, Citizen and Sworn-Broker, of London, had 'for three years past,

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* Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. p. 721. This Proclamation will not appear so preposterous, if we advert to the excessive narrowness of the streets and avenues of London before the great Fire; yet in two years afterwards, anno 1637, the King had so far changed his views, that he granted a special Commission to the Marquis of Hamilton, his Master of the Horse, empowering him to license 'fifty Hackney Coachmen in and about London and Westminster;' limiting each not to 'keep more than twelve good horses for his Coaches respectively;' it being "very requisite," to employ the words of the Commission, "that there should be a competent number of Hackney Coaches for the use of our Nobility and Gentry, foreign Ambassadors, Strangers, and others," The Marquis was also privileged to license as many in other cities and towns of England as he judged necessary, to the prohibition of all others; and to regulate the 'daily prices' "to be by them taken *for our own particular service*," &c. As each coachman was allowed twelve horses, it is probable that the number of Hackney Coaches amounted to about 300 at this period.

past, printed and published Weekly Bills of the prices of all commodities in the principal Cities of Christendom,' but "which," says the grant, "has never yet been brought here to that perfection answerable to other parts beyond sea; by which neglect within our City of London, being one of the Mother Cities for trade in all Christendom, our said City is much disgraced, and our merchants hindered in their commerce and correspondence."*

The increase of the trade and commerce of London having created a greater necessity for a more speedy and enlarged intercourse with distant parts of the Kingdom, the King, by a Proclamation in 1635, orders his 'Postmaster of England for foreign parts,' to open a regular communication, by running posts between the Metropolis, and Edinburgh, West Chester, Holyhead, Ireland, Plymouth, Exeter, Bristol, Oxford, Norwich, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places.†

Among the various projects and monopolies devised for filling the King's Exchequer, was the erection, with exclusive powers, of a new *Company* for manufacturing *Soap* at Westminster; but which, after some years, was broken up; and a new exclusive Company, equally illegal, was established by the King in its stead, within the City of London,‡ in 1637. In the same year, an Order of Council was issued, most arbitrarily commanding all the London silversmiths to reside in Goldsmith's Row, which was formed by the South sides of Cheapside and Lombard Street.§

How greatly the operations of commerce had increased the affluence of the Metropolis previous to the year 1643, is apparent from a passage in Rushworth, who says, that the City of London 'agreed to make a weekly payment of 10,000l., exclusive of Westminster, and the other suburbs,' for the use of Parliament:‖ and that sum was subsequently ordered to be regularly levied during the war, by an Ordinance of the House of Commons. The decided part taken by the Londoners against the King, after the commencement of the Civil Wars, induced the latter to the very imprudent measure of interdicting in this year, all intercourse of whatever kind, with the City and Suburbs of London; and in September, 1644, the misguided Sovereign issued a new Proclamation against the trade and commerce of the Metropolis, in which it was declared, that all persons who had any dealings with its inhabitants, should suffer every severity of the law that could be inflicted on traitors.

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* Anderson's Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 380. Ed. 1805.

† More extended particulars of the intercourse by Posts, will be given under the article Post-Office.

‡ Rym. Fœd. Vol. V. p. 161.

§ And. Ann. Vol. II. p. 401.

‖ Hist. Coll. Vol. III. p 2.

The *Banking* business commenced about the year 1645, as appears from a very rare and curious small pamphlet, intituled "The Mystery of the new-fashioned Goldsmiths or Bankers, discovered;"* and in which it is stated, that the Merchants and Traders of London, no longer daring to confide, as before, in the integrity and care of their apprentices and clerks, who frequently left their masters to go into the army, began first at this period to lodge their cash in the hands of the Goldsmiths; whom they also commissioned both to receive and to pay for them.† The Goldsmiths, or Bankers, as they had now become, quickly perceiving the great advantages that might be derived from disposable capital, soon began to allow a regular interest for all sums so deposited; and at the same time they commenced the discounting of Merchants' bills, at a yet superior interest than what they paid. These inducements producing a mutual benefit and greater confidence, many gentlemen remitted to town the rents of their estates, and surplus cash, which they had no direct call for, and which were consequently increased by interest, till the sums thus lodged be-

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* Previously to 1640, the Merchants, &c. used to deposit their cash in the Royal Mint in the Tower; but that deposit having entirely lost its credit, through the ill-advised measure of a forced loan of 200,000l. made by the King on the money so placed, in the above year, the Merchants afterwards confided their property to their servants, as mentioned in the text.

† This was printed in the year 1676, and consists only of eight 4to. pages.

came very considerable; and the new Bankers were enabled to supply the existing Government with money in advance upon the revenues, as occasion required, and on terms extremely beneficial to themselves.

In 1651, the Parliament reduced the legal interest of money from eight to six *per cent.*, in order that the British merchants, who traded on credit, might be placed more on a par with those in sundry places beyond sea, where the interest was lower than in England. In the same year, was passed the famous *Navigation Act*; to the judicious provisions of which the British marine and British independence are so highly indebted. The great influence of this meritorious Ordinance on the shipping and commerce of the Port of London, can hardly be estimated.

In this year also, the use of *Coffee*, which now forms such an important article of English trade, was introduced into London by a Turkey Merchant, named Daniel Edwards, who brought home with him, as servant, a Ragusian Greek, by whom the manner of roasting and making Coffee was first made known, and a Coffee-house opened in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill.

The correspondence between the respective parts of the Kingdom had arisen to such an unexperienced height, that the revenues of the Post-Office in Great Britain and Ireland, were in the years 1653 and 1654, farmed by the Council of State and the Protector, at 10,000l. per annum. Two years afterwards, the Protector and his Parliament instituted a new General Post-Office for the Commonwealth of the three Kingdoms.

On a review of the progress of British Commerce, in the reign of Charles, and during the existence of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, it will be found, that a vast increase took place in almost every branch of trade, and that new sources were opened in many parts of the world. The settlement at Barbadoes, and the taking of Jamaica from the Spaniards, led to the establishment of the Sugar Trade; and the colonies of New England, increased as they were by the multitudes of Puritans that fled from the tyranny of Laud, and afterwards by the Catholics, who sought that liberty of conscience beyond the Atlantic, which was denied to them in their native land, proved eminently serviceable to the navigation and traffic of the mother country. About 20,000 cloths were annually sent from the Port of London to Turkey; though this trade afterwards declined, in consequence of the advantages given by Spain to France, in the Treaty of the Pyrenees, made in 1659; subsequent to which the French found means to supersede the English merchants, by artfully designating their own woollen cloths, *Drap de Londres*, and conveying them into Turkey in the names of English traders.* The war which Cromwell waged with the States of Holland, with such great success, proved also of signal advantage to the commerce of England, and led to the re-establishment of the East-India trade, which the Dutch for some years, either by policy or perfidy, had found means almost wholly to engross. The Spanish war was less fortunate, from throwing into the possession of the French almost all the trade with that country and its dependencies, and occasioning the confiscation of goods belonging to the English merchants, to a vast amount. This loss, however, was partially compensated by new connections with Portugal and the Brasils, and with Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Tunis, Algiers, and other nations.

In the year 1657, the Parliament passed an "additional Act for the better improvement of the Excise and new Impost;" to this was annexed a curious list, or table, of imported merchandize upon which the new rates were to be levied. It is remarkable, that, though *Cocoa-nuts* and *Sugars* are mentioned in the table, neither Coffee, Tea, nor Chocolate are at all noticed: it seems probable, however, that both the latter articles were at this time getting into use, as well as Coffee; as, in an Act made soon after the Restoration, in 1660, the Excise duties on "Malt-liquors, Cyder, Perry, Mead, Spirits, or strong waters, *Coffee*, *Tea*, Sherbet, and *Chocolate*," were settled on the King for life, by way of

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* Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 477.

additional revenue to what had previously been granted by the Tonnage and Poundage Act.* In the same year the Navigation Act was re-enacted, with some new clauses, by which its utility was increased.

In the year 1662, "the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, petitioned the House of Commons to erect the Merchants trading to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy into four new Corporations for confining those trades entirely to English natives; the pretext for which was, that most part of the trade of exporting the commodities of England was in the hands of aliens, whom they would have to be obliged by law to pay double duties on all draperies exported by them. They also, and sundry Merchants of London, in behalf of themselves and the English Merchants of the Out-ports, petitioned that the Merchant Adventurers, the Levant, the Eastland, the Russia, and the East-India Companies, already established, might have further privileges confirmed to them by Parliament, exclusive of foreigners." But "the Commons," continues Anderson, "were wiser than to listen to those petitions for adding new fetters to our export trade."†

During the dreadful year of the Plague, anno 1665, the trade and commerce of London were almost wholly impeded, excepting for the direct necessaries of life: ‡ nor was it till three or four years afterwards that foreign vessels frequented the port as freely as before. The great Fire of the following year also, was of almost incalculable loss to the traders and merchants of the Metropolis; yet the spirit and exertions of its inhabitants seem to have redoubled with the extremity of the case, and in the compass of a few years the City rose from its ashes with renewed and augmented splendour.§ Another shock, though of less importance, was given to the commercial dealings of London in 1667, when in consequence of the apprehensions excited by the entrance of the Dutch Fleet into the River Thames, continual demands were made upon the London Goldsmiths, for the property which had been entrusted to them, but which they had advanced to the King on the security of his revenue. The Sovereign, as a means of restoring confidence, judged it requisite to issue a Declaration, for preserving inviolably the course of payments from the Exchequer, both with regard to principal and interest. The honour of the Crown, however, though thus solemnly pledged, was basely violated within five years afterwards, viz. in January, 1671-2, when the King closed the Exchequer, to the great detriment of nearly ten thousand of his subjects, and the total ruin of many of them. The money kept by this unwarrantable measure from its rightful owners, amounted to 1,328,526l.; and, though the King found himself obliged to grant his patent for the payment of six *per cent.* interest, yet this was never regularly discharged; and the shock given by the whole transaction to commercial credit, was extremely disastrous, and the Banking business of the London Goldsmiths was for a long time utterly ruined by it.

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* This proves the mistake of a writer, quoted by Dr. Johnson, who states, that Tea was *first* imported from Holland by the Earls of Arlington and Ossory, in 1666; and that from their Ladies the women of quality learned its use.

† Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 505. ‡ See also, p. 400—403. § See p. 436-7.

About the year 1670, the wear of *India Muslins* was introduced into London, and soon became prevalent. In this year also, the *Hudson's-Bay Company* was incorporated with very enlarged powers; and the manufacture of fine *Glass* was brought to perfection, through the encouragement given by the Duke of Buckingham, who "procured makers, grinders, and polishers of glass from Venice, to settle in England."*

The *Printing of Calicoes* was first practised in London about the year 1676; and nearly at the same time the *Weaver's Loom*, then called the Dutch-loom Engine, was introduced into the Metropolis from Holland. In the same year Sir William Petty wrote his 'Treatise on Political Arithmetic;' in which he computed, that the population of London had doubled within the preceding forty years; that the number and splendour of coaches, equipages,

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* Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 561.

pages, houses, household furniture, &c. had increased proportionably; that the consumption of coals had increased in a threefold proportion; and that the customs had augmented upwards of two-thirds upon the former produce.

The great increase in the population and domestic traffic of the Metropolis, led to that useful establishment, the *Penny Post*, which was first set up by an upholsterer, named Murray, in the year 1683.

A still further augmentation both in the prosperity and population of the Capital took place in the year 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz by Louis the Fourteenth, when many thousands of industrious French Refugees settled in what at that period were the Suburbs of London; as Spitalfields, Soho, and St. Giles's. By them the Silk Manufacture and other arts were advanced to a higher stage of perfection; and some new manufactures were introduced, as of toys, hardware, surgeons' instruments, locks, fine paper, &c. The revenues of the Post-Office were about this time computed at 65,000l. per annum.

The increased opulence and consequent luxury of London at the period of the Revolution, may be illustrated by a few passages from the 'Brief Observations concerning Trade,' &c. written by Sir Josiah Child, and first published in 1688. "Notwithstanding," says this author, "the long Civil Wars and great complaints of the deadness of trade, there are more men to be found upon the Exchange now worth 10,000l. than were then worth 1000l." He also remarks, that 500l. given with a daughter sixty years back, was esteemed a larger portion than 2000l. in his days; that gentlewomen then esteemed themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid would now be ashamed to be seen in; and that beside the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, there were now one hundred coaches to one kept formerly.

The War which King William found it expedient to engage in with France, soon after his accession, was for a considerable time of much detriment to the commerce of the Port of London, as appears from an account laid before Parliament in 1692; it was therein stated, that the French had captured no fewer than three thousand sail of trading vessels, great and small, during the two last years; whilst, on the contrary, the number of merchant ships taken by the English amounted only to sixty-seven. On the other hand, a great improvement in our own manufactures, particularly of Hats, Linen, fine Glass, Cutlery-ware, Watches, broad Silks, and Ribbands, was effected through the strictness of the prohibitions against French trade.

In the year 1693, an Act of Parliament was passed for reviving the *Greenland Fishery*, which is stated to have been then wholly lost to England, by incorporating Sir William Scawen, and forty-one persons more, Merchants of London, as a Joint-stock *Company* for fishing in the Greenland seas, &c. for the term of fourteen years, from October the first.

The year 1694 became a most memorable one in the commercial annals of the Metropolis, by the institution of the BANK OF ENGLAND, which was incorporated by Charter on the twenty-seventh of July; and the effects of which on the trade, prosperity, revenues, and government of Great Britain, are perhaps incalculable.* About this time numerous projects were on float to erect new Companies, for Lotteries, Banks, Inventions, Draining, Mining, Manufactures, Trade, Colonizing distant Countries, &c. Almost all these schemes proved unsuccessful, and, like the subsequent South-Sea Bubble, they occasioned considerable distress, though their influence was, happily, more confined. The *Million Bank*, which took its rise from a set of London Bankers, who lent out money on pledges,† and was so called from the purchase of tickets in King William's Million Lottery, anno 1695, was one of those which preserved its credit, and was enrolled in Chancery as a partnership Company by Deed.

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* Under the description of the Bank of England will be inserted a particular account of its origin and progress.

† Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 670.

The concerns of traffic were much advanced in the years 1696 and 1697, by the recoinage of the *Silver Currency*, which appears by an Act of the 6th and 7th of William and Mary, to have been so reduced by "clipping, washing, grinding, filing, and melting," as to reduce it to "about half its just value," &c. All the diminished Silver was therefore called into the Mint, and whilst the re-coinage was going on, *Exchequer Bills* were first issued to supply the demands of trade. The coins were called in by tale, and the re-coinage was performed at London, York, Norwich, Chester, Bristol, and Exeter. It appears from D'Avenant, that the quantity re-coined from the old hammered money, amounted to 5,725,933l. Some excellent regulations were also made at this time in regard to the Gold Coin, and to lower the value of Guineas by progressive steps, as they were then generally circulated at thirty shillings. Through the difficulties experienced during the re-coinage by the Bank, which had taken the clipped Silver money at the legal or par value, and Guineas at their advanced price, Bank Notes, in 1697, were at a discount of from fifteen to twenty per cent. This was a most important era in the financial transactions of London; and the immense system of Paper Credit, which now prevails, may be said to have principally originated at this period. "During the re-coinage of our Silver," says D'Avenant, "all great dealings were transacted by Tallies, Bank Bills, and Goldsmiths' Notes. Paper Credit did not only supply the place of running cash, but greatly multiplied the Kingdom's stock; for Tallies and Bank Bills did, to many uses, serve as well, and to some better, than Gold and Silver: and this artificial wealth, which necessity had introduced, did make us less feel the want of that real treasure, which the war and our losses at sea had drawn out of the nation." *

The suppression of the various Sanctuaries, or privileged places for Debtors, in and near the Metropolis, by an act of the Legislature in 1697, has already been mentioned.† This measure had a most a most salutary effect in securing the property of the industrious creditor, and extinguishing those unlawful combinations which prevented the proper officers from executing an arrest in any of the privileged recesses, without hazarding their lives.

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* Discourses on the Public Rev. and Trade of Eng. P. II. p. 161.

† See before, p. 478.

The vast increase of Commerce with the East Indies, which had already occasioned various Acts of Parliament to be passed in different reigns since that of Elizabeth, and the many disputes respecting exclusive trade, led to the formation of a new Joint-Stock Company in 1698, who were incorporated on the fifth of September, by the name of *The English Company trading to the East Indies*. Their capital was fixed at 2,000,000l.; and this large sum was subscribed for within three days. The numerous absurdities and contradictory rights, which were soon discovered to arise through the existence of two rival Companies, having similar privileges, and trading to the same countries, as well as other circumstances which cannot be detailed here, eventually produced the consolidation of both the Companies into one, in the first and seventh years of Queen Anne, by the title of *The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.*

'London at this time,' anno 1698, says Anderson, 'abounded with new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold. There were also sundry rational new projects introduced, mostly by the French Protestant Refugees; the chief of whom was one Dupin, who had been instrumental in advancing the manufactures of fine Linen, Thread, Tapes, Lace,' &c. And 'writers about this time complain heavily, that the Royal Exchange was crowded with projects, wagers, fairy Companies of new manufactures and inventions, Stock-jobbers, &c. so that very soon afterwards the transacting of this airy trade of Jobbing was justly removed from off the Royal Exchange, into the place called Exchange Alley.'* At this period also, private and fallacious Lotteries were so very general, not only in London, but also in most other great Cities and Towns of England, that an Act was passed for their suppression, under a penalty of five hundred pounds on every proprietor, and twenty pounds on every adventurer.

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* Ann. of Com. Vol. II. p. 703.

In January 1701—2, as appears from the returns made to circular letters from the Commissioners of the Customs, the number of vessels belonging to the Port of London was 560; carrying 84,882 tons, and 10,065 men; but in the great storm of November, 1703, several men of war, many merchant ships, and much of the small craft was destroyed, and many hundred lives were lost.*

During the eight years' war with France, in the early part of King William's reign, the trade and commerce of London was much obstructed; partly, through the approaching equality between the French and the English navy, and partly through the increase of taxes, which being at that period almost wholly collected in specie, occasioned a great deficiency in the medium of circulation. The paper system was then in its infancy, and the Government was obliged to have recourse to *tallies of wood* to supply the deficiency of the coin.† From the year 1688 to 1696, the tonnage of the shipping cleared outwards from the Port of London had greatly decreased; and in the latter year it was 98,766 tons less than in the former one. The value of the merchandize exported had also been reduced from 4,086,087l. to 2,729,520l. and the revenue of the Post-Office had fallen off from 76,318l. to 58,672l.‡ The lowest depression appears to have been in the year 1694, when the tonnage of the shipping cleared outwards from London, amounted only to 81,148, of which only 39,648 were British; and that of the vessels entered inwards to no more than 135,972 tons, of which 76,500 were foreign. After the Treaty signed at Ryswick, however, in 1697, commerce revived with new energy; and the security which had been given to all property by that clause in the Declaration of Rights, which declared, '*that the levying money, without consent of Parliament, is unlawful,*' began to operate in full vigour, and from the Peace of Ryswick to the accession of Queen Anne, the foreign traffic and navigation of London were at least doubled:* the domestic trade and manufactures were also augmented in proportion.

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* See before, p. 479, 480.

† Chal. Est. p. 67. ‡ Ibid, p. 68.

The trade of *Pawn-broking*, which appears to have been first practised in London in the early part of the preceding century, gave rise in the year 1708, to a new Company, which obtained a charter under the appellation of *The Charitable Corporation for lending Money to the Industrious, but necessitous Poor, &c.*—The ostensible motives for forming this Company, were the extortions and extravagant usury made by the Pawnbrokers, which amounting to from thirty to sixty *per cent*. upon all pledges; yet in the course of twenty-five years, the numerous frauds, embezzlements, loans on fictitious pawns, and other abuses, made by the Company itself, occasioned a Parliamentary inquiry, the result of which was, "that the Corporation had not effects sufficient to pay even but a small part of the money they had borrowed at interest of a great number of persons; the whole amounting to 487,895l. 14s. 10¾d." All the property of the Company, excepting outstanding debts, the recovery of which was uncertain, was valued at 34,150l. 13s. 1½d. The Legislature, as a means of relieving the distress of the many sufferers through this defalcation, granted a Lottery for 500,000l. yet after the expences &c. were deducted, the sums distributed amounted to no more than 9s. 9d. in the pound. Several Members of the House of Commons, who had been Directors of the Company, and most of whom had, till then, retained fair characters, were expelled the House in consequence of the inquiry.†

In the year 1709 was passed the very useful Act, made as the preamble recites, "at the humble request of the Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of Middlesex," for registering all deeds, wills, conveyances, &c. affecting any honors, manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the County. This Act, which had but two exemplers in England, viz. those for the legal registering of deeds in the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire, was framed to prevent the injurious effects of fraudulent and secret conveyances in the disposal of landed property. All deeds, and memorials of wills, by which estates in the County of Middlesex are intended to be conveyed, are by this statute declared fraudulent and void, if not registered agreeably to the directions contained in it.

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* In the year 1701, the merchant shipping belonging to this Port amounted to 84,882 tons, which contrasted with the numbers given above, gives an increase in seven years of 45,234 tons.

† Ann. of Com. Vol. III. p. 4, 5.

How greatly the Commerce of the Port of London exceeded that of all the rest of the Kingdom about the year 1710, may be seen from D'Avenant's Report to the Commissioners of Public Accounts, in which the Customs of London are stated at 1,268,095l. and those of all the out-ports at 346,081; that is, considerably more than three and a half to one.

In the year 1711, the *South Sea Company* was incorporated. This Company, from which such baneful results were experienced within ten years after its foundation, had its origin in the exigencies of Government, and was projected as a means of funding about nine millions and a half of floating debt, in navy and army debentures, &c. the holders of which were incorporated by the name of 'the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the South Seas and other parts of South America, and for encouraging the Fishery.'

The commercial advantages that had been given to France by the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce concluded at Utrecht, in April 1713, caused a strong sensation throughout the Kingdom, but particularly in London, where the most eminent Merchants were examined at the Bar of the House of Commons, as to the probable results from the eight and ninth Articles of the said Treaty; and to the great satisfaction of the mercantile interest, those articles were eventually annulled by a majority of nine. Among the numerous Petitions presented to the House of Commons on this occasion, was one from the Company of Silk-weavers of London, wherein it was stated that the silk manufacture was now increased to above twenty times its extent in the year 1664; and that all sorts of black and coloured silks, gold and silver stuffs, and ribbands, were now made here as good as in France.

In 1714, the Parliament reduced the rate of Interest from six to five *per cent.* in order that it might bear a nearer proportion to the value of money in foreign States.

From this time the commercial annals of London, as separated from the general history of the Kingdom, present no events of particular import till the year 1720, when the destructive effects of the *South Sea Bubble*, palzied all the energies of industry, and gave such a shock to public and private credit, as rendered the lapse of years necessary before confidence could be restored. The absurd speculations, the bare-faced impositions and frauds, the infatuated credulity, and the egregious folly, which distinguished this period, were all in the extreme, and cannot be paralleled in any other era of British history.

From an attentive consideration of all the circumstances connected with this pernicious scheme, scarcely a doubt can be entertained but that, from the desire of individual emolument, a majority of the then Ministers lent a willing hand to the furtherance of the arts practised to delude the people. Indeed, the different Acts of Parliament made for the advantage of the South Sea Company in the course of the year, prove this to have been the fact; as well as the conferring on several of the Directors the hereditary honour of Baronet.

The following particulars from Anderson, will illustrate the account already given of the chicanery and wretched infatuation of this period.* After the issuing, on the 11th of June, of the Royal Proclamation against the numerous minor projects vulgarly called *Bubbles*, and which were neither founded upon Charter, nor Ordinance of Parliament, it might have been expected that they would have all shrunk to their original nothing in a moment; and, indeed, for a few days some check was thereby given to that frantic trade: yet, maugre all authority, it soon revived, and even increased more than ever: and whilst these Bubbles daily advanced in price every one was a gainer, so that the lower class of people fell into luxury and prodigality, as well as their betters. From morning till evening the dealers therein, as well as in South Sea Stock, appeared in continual crowds in Exchange Alley, so as to choke up the passage through it. Not a week-day passed without fresh projects, recommended by pompous advertisements in all the Newspapers, directing where to subscribe to them. On some 6d. per cent. was paid down: on others 1s. per cent. and some came so low as 1s. per thousand, at the time of subscribing. Some of the obscure keepers of those Books of Subscription, contenting themselves with what they had got in the forenoon, by the subscriptions of one or two millions, were not to be found in the afternoon of the same day; the room they had hired for a day being shut up, and they and their Subcription Books never heard of more. On others of those projects, 2s. and 2s. 6d. per cent. was paid down, and on some few 10s. per cent. was deposited, being such as had some one or more persons to midwife them into the Alley. Some were divided into shares instead of hundreds and thousands, upon each of which so much was paid down; and both for them and the other kinds there were printed receipts, signed by persons utterly unknown. Persons of quality of both sexes, were deeply engaged in many of them, avarice prevailing at this time over all considerations of either dignity or equity; the Gentlemen coming to Taverns and Coffee-houses to meet their Brokers, and the Ladies to the shops of Milliners and Haberdashers for the same ends. Any impudent impostor, while the delusion was at the greatest height, needed only to hire a room near the alley for a few hours, and open a Subscription Book for somewhat relative to commerce, manufacture, plantations, or some supposed invention, either newly hatched out of his brain, or else stolen from some of the many abortive projects of former reigns, (having first advertised it in the newspapers of the preceding day) and he might in a few hours find subscribers for one or two millions, and in some cases more, of imaginary stock. Yet many of those very Subscribers were far from believing those projects feasible; it was enough for their purpose that there would very soon be a premium on the receipts, when they generally got rid of them, in the crowded alley, to others more credulous than themselves: and in all events, the projector was sure of the deposit-money. The first purchasers of those receipts, soon found second purchasers, and so on, at still higher prices; some coming from all parts of the town, and even many from the country. So great was the wild confusion in the crowd in Exchange Alley,* that the same project or bubble, has been known to be sold at the same instant of time ten per cent. higher at one end of the Alley than at the other end. Amongst those many bubbles there were some so barefaced and palpably gross, as not to have so much as the shadow of any thing like feasibility. Their infatuation was at length so strong, that one project was advertised thus: 'for subscribing two millions to a certain promising or profitable design, which will *hereafter* be promulgated;' and another, for permission to subscribe to a new Sail-cloth Manufactory, 'the particulars to be made known at a future period.' This last was called the Globe-permit Scheme, from square bits of playing cards which were given to the Subscribers, on which was the impression of a seal in wax, representing the Globe, with the motto or inscription of 'Sail-cloth Permits,' but without any person's signature; and so egregiously credulous was the multitude, that these Permits came to be currently sold in the Alley, at from sixty guineas and upwards to seventy pounds. These instances, out of hundreds more that might be produced, are sufficient to display the frenzy of the time; when the Taverns, Coffee-houses, and even Eating-houses, near the Exchange, were constantly crowded with adventurers; and the very advertisements of

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* See before, p. 486 to 49[illegible].

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* "'Change Alley," says another writer, "was more like a fair crowded with people, than a mart of exchange, as were all the avenues leading to it: and there was a little hump-backed man, who, seeing this mania, made his fortune by lending his back, as a desk to make transfers on, to those who could not afford time to run to the Coffee-houses."

of those bubbles were so many, as to fill up two or three sheets of paper, in some of the daily News-papers for some months.*

Whilst these projects were going on, and rising in value, they served like lesser currents or rivers, to swell that of the great South Sea; the gainers in the former bubbles very frequently purchasing into the latter to the extent of their increased capital. So considerable was the crowd at the South Sea House, that on busy days; "it was the greatest favour to get transfer business done; and frequently in giving in the sum to be bought or sold, a 20l. bank note was given at the same time, lest the lapse of a day might make 100l. per cent. difference." These perquisites were so great that the very Clerks to the Company made their daily appearance in laced dresses, and when questioned as to the cause of so much finery, were accustomed to answer, that, 'if they did not put gold upon their clothes, they could not make away with half their earnings.†

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* And. Hist. of Com. Vol. III. p. 88 to 94.

† Europ. Mag. Vol. LII. p. 435. In the same Column the following anecdotes of the ill and of the good success of some of the Proprietors of South Sea Stock, are inserted on the authority of a Mr. Cotton, who was a Banker's Clerk at the time, and lived till the year 1777.

"A married man of the age of sixty, after portioning off his sons and daughters, secured, as he thought, for himself and wife, 1,000l. per annum South Sea Stock; and with this provident idea went to Bath, bought a house there, and proposed settling for life in a contented way. Upon the first great fall of stock he began to be alarmed—it was at 1,000l. when he left London, and it fell to 900l. He accordingly left Bath with an intent to sell out; but before he arrived in London (then four days' journey) it fell to 250l. It was too low, he thought, to sell then—and he lost all.

"Two maiden sisters, being original proprietors, when the stock got up to 970l. were advised to sell out. The elder sister agreed; the other was for continuing: at last the former prevailed, and they sold out their stock, which amounted to 90,000l. They then consulted their broker how to invest the money: he advised them to buy navy bills, which were at 25l. per cent. discount. They accordingly bought in, and in two years after received the whole of their money from government. Thus they had not only the

Among the very few successful schemes, which originated in this remarkable year, were the *Companies* of the *Royal Exchange Assurance*, and the *London Assurance*, which were both incorporated on the twenty-fourth of June; the statute in favour of

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the luck to sell out within 80l. per cent. of the highest price of South Sea stock, but to gain an additional increase of 25l. per cent. on their capital.

"The Duke of Chandos's stock was worth, at one time, 300,000l. He went to the old Duke of Newcastle to consult what to do. He advised him to sell. No, he wanted half a million. "Why, then," said the Duke, "sell 100,000l. and take your chance for the rest." No—he kept all—and lost all.

"Sir Gregory Page was a minor at that time; his stock was worth 200,000l. He had two guardians: the one was for selling, the other for keeping: the former was positive, and insisted on an umpire: the umpire was accordingly called in, who gave his opinion for selling. It was accordingly sold; and Sir Gregory on coming of age, with the legal interest of so large a fortune, afterwards built that fine house on Blackheath, and purchased a park of three hundred acres round it, which house he lived in, in great magnificence, for fifty years, and then left it, with an estate of 10,000l. a year, to his nephew, the late Sir Gregory Page Turner.

"Gay, the poet, had 1,000l. stock given him by the elder Craggs; this, with some other stock which he had purchased before, amounted, at one time, to 20,000l. He consulted with his friends what to do. Dr. Arbuthnot advised him to sell out. No, that would be throwing away his good luck. "Well, then," said the Doctor, "sell out as much as will produce 100l. a year, and that will give you a clean shirt and a shoulder of mutton for life." He neglected this advice, and lost all; which had such an effect upon his spirits, that, notwithstanding his subsequent success with the Beggar's Opera, it produced a billious disorder, which, in the end, killed him.

"An old Quaker, when the stock was at its height, employed one Lopez, a broker, to sell out; which he accordingly did; but when the money came to be paid, the stock fell, and the purchaser was off. "Sell them again, friend Lopez," said the Quaker. He did so; and the stock falling a second time, the purchaser walked off. "Sell them again, friend Lopez, for anything—but be sure of thy man." The third time he succeeded; and the fall between the two days' interval, was about 50l. per cent.: so that out of 100,000l. stock he secured half.—Lopez, who lived many years after this transaction, was well known by the name of "Sell them again, friend Lopez."

them having received the Royal Assent fourteen days previously. These Companies were afterwards chartered to insure from loss by fire; and they were the third and fourth only that were so empowered, the *Hand in-hand Company* incorporated in 1696, being the first; and the *Union Fire Office Company* being the second: the latter was chartered in 1714.

Through the disastrous effects of the infamous projects above described, and from the distractions occasioned by the Scottish Rebellion in 1715, and the Spanish war in 1718, the trade and commerce of the Metropolis made but little progress during the reign of George the First; yet several salutary laws were passed for the encouragement of domestic ingenuity and manufactures, and the fisheries were also promoted by bounties. The whole number of vessels that arrived in the Port of London, within the year ending at Christmas, 1728, was 8889; viz. 1839 British ships, 6837 coasters, and 213 Foreign vessels.* The Peace with Spain in the following year, and the truce with Morocco favoured the increase of commerce by opening the Ports of the Mediterranean.

In the year 1732, the South Sea Company relinquished their attempt to establish anew the Greenland Whale Fishery, after a losing trial of eight years; their disbursements under this head during that period, amounting to 262,172l. 9s. 6d. and their total receipts to only 84,390l. 6s. 6d.; so that the net loss, without reckoning the interest of money expended in the different years, was 177,782l. 3s. 0d.† The merchant shipping belonging to the Port of London at this period, amounted to 1417 vessels, measuring from 15 to 750 tons, and containing in all 178,557 tons, and 21,797 men.‡

During the six succeeding years, the progress of trade was gradually improving; and the value of public securities rose so much higher than at any former period, that the 3 per cent. stocks "sold at a premium on 'Change:"§ and the annual surplus of standing Taxes, as paid into the *Sinking Fund*, which had been first established in 1716, amounted in 1738, to no less a sum than 1,231,127l.[*] At this period the National Debt had been reduced nearly four millions and a half in the preceding ten years, and was then only 46,661,765l. the interest of which did not amount to two millions.

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* And. Ann. Com. Vol. III. p. 144. † Ibid, p. 179.

‡ Reg. of Cus. House, as quoted by Maitland. Edit. 1733.

§ Chal. Est. p. 144.

The new Spanish war into which the Ministry was forced, by the clamours of the people, towards the end of 1739, and chiefly of the mercantile interest, was for some years of considerable detriment to the foreign commerce of London. The ultimate point of depression appears to have been in 1744, in which year the alarm of invasion in favour of the Pretender, led to a new war with France, and to many temporary embarrassments. The Rebellion in Scotland, in the following year, led to such a demand upon the Bank, that the Directors ordered all payments to be made in silver.[†]

After the Peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the commerce of London rapidly increased, and from the more general diffusion of wealth, the interest of money became lower, notwithstanding the augmentation of the National Debt, which on the 31st of December, 1749, was stated to be 74,220,686l. In the following year the Government, with the consent of the Creditors of the State, reduced the interest of nearly fifty-eight millions of stock, from four *per cent.* to three and a half, during seven years, from 1750, and afterwards to three *per cent.* for ever.[‡] In this year also, the *Society of the Free British Fishery* was incorporated for twenty-one years, with a capital of 500,000l. The African Trade was also much advanced by the institution of a new Company consisting of "all his Majesty's subjects trading to and from Africa, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope;" who were to trade in their own individual right, and be under the direction of a Committee of nine persons, "to be chosen annually, and to meet as often as shall be necessary, in

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[*] Chal. Est. p. 144.

[†] See before, p 602.

[‡] Chal. Est. p. 119.

some place within this City of London." The former 'Royal African Company' was finally dissolved on the tenth of April, 1752, and all their rights, possessions, &c. were vested in the new Company.

The year 1754 became distinguished in the Annals of London, by the establishment of the *Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.* This is one of the most praise-worthy Associations that was ever formed; its sole object being the general good of the British Empire, by bestowing honorary and pecuniary rewards on industry, ingenuity, and enterprize.

About this period the commercial intercourse of the Metropolis with the more distant parts of the Kingdom, was much facilitated by the making of good *Turnpike Roads;* though so little was at first understood by the common people of the advantage of rendering the transit of goods and merchandize more commodious, that many tumults arose, and the Legislature was obliged, towards the end of the reign of George the Second, to make the law perpetual, which deems it felony to pull down or destroy a Toll-bar.

The new War, which was commenced in 1756, chiefly with a view to expel the French from North America, had for several years a considerable effect in restraining the Commerce of the Port of London; yet before the termination of hostilities, by the Treaty, signed at Paris in February, 1763, trade began to revive, and the exports of the three following years increased to an hitherto unexampled amount. The National Debt had also greatly increased; and when all the floating demands were brought into account, after the conclusion of the War, its amount was found to be 146,682,844l.; and the interest payable to the creditors had advanced to 4,850,821l. annually. The gross amount of the foreign and domestic revenue of the Post-Office in 1764, amounted to 281,535l.

In the year 1763, the fine cream-coloured *Earthen-ware,* called Wedgwood's Ware, from its inventor, Mr. Josiah Wedgwood,

wood, was first manufactured, and very soon afterwards it was introduced into the Metropolis, where its superior texture, beauty, and durability, quickly rendered it an important article of domestic traffic. Great quantities of this ware are now continually exported, as well from the Port of London, as from other parts of the Kingdom.

A singular instance of an attempt made to introduce a contraband trade between Venice and London, in articles of magnificent Household Furniture, occurred in 1772. On the sixth of July, in that year, the Lords of the Treasury, in consequence of a representation of the Journeymen Cabinet-makers, ordered a seizure to be made of some hundreds of chairs, sofas, marble-tables, tapestry, and other furniture, said to be but a small part of the goods of that kind consigned to the Venetian Ambassador; who afterwards thought proper to make a demand of the goods imported under *his privilege;* but he received for answer, that 'the King would not suffer his Minister, at Venice, to infringe the Venetian laws, nor the Venetian Minister here to violate the laws of Great Britain.'[*] It was probably through this circumstance, that in the following year the privileges of Ambassadors and Noblemen were restrained by an Act of Parliament.

The various laws that were enacted from the period of the accession of his present Majesty to the era of the War with the American Colonies, in 1775, for the general improvement of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures, the regulation of Trade, the encouragement of Fisheries, &c. produced considerable benefit to the Metropolis, and greatly added to the spreading affluence of its inhabitants. This fact is corroborated by the increase in the value of Bank Stock and Navy Bills, within the ten years, ending in July, 1774: at this time the price of the former was risen from 113 to 143 *per cent.*;[*] and the discount on the latter,

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[*] And. Ann. of Comm. Vol. III. p. 526.

[†] This rise in the value of Bank Stock must have been occasioned by the increased dividends, arising partly from the greater profits made by discounting Merchants' Bills, &c. which, after the 24th of June, 1773, had been advanced to 5 *per cent.*

latter, fallen from 6½ to 1 and ⅛ *per cent.* The revenue of the Post-Office also in this year, had augmented to 345,321l. Nearly eleven millions of the capital of the Public *Debt* had likewise been paid off; and the price of bullion had decreased.

In March, 1778, many of the evils that had resulted from the prevalence of *State Lotteries,* were remedied by an Act of Parliament, which enacted, 'that any Office-keeper selling Shares of Tickets that were not in his possession, should suffer three months imprisonment, and pay a fine of five hundred pounds; that every Office-keeper should pay fifty pounds for a license, to be in force for one year; that no smaller shares than a Sixteenth should be sold; that all shares should be legally stamped; and that all Schemes grafted upon the Lottery, should be prohibited as unlawful.' In consequence of this Act, the number of dealers in Lottery Tickets was reduced to fifty-one for all England; though in the preceding year there had been upwards of four hundred in and about London only.*

The continuance of the American War embroiled this country, in succession, with France in 1778, and with Spain and Holland in 1780. This state of enlarged hostility caused a considerable depression in the trade and commerce of the Metropolis, as well as of all other parts of Great Britain; and the great misconduct of Administration in the management of the War, occasioned loud and universal complaint;[*] and, at length, under a new Ministry, led to a general Peace, in the years 1783 and 1784.[†] The pressure being thus removed, speculation and industry rose with new strength. The value of exports from the Port of London was much increased, and the concerns of our internal traffic was so far extended, that the revenue of the Post-Office, in the year ending with the 5th of April, 1785, was increased to 463,753 l. During the preceding ten years, many Acts had been passed for the improvement of our domestic manufactures; the Coinage had been amended; and the tonnage of the Shipping belonging to the London Merchants had been considerably augmented, and particularly within the last three years.

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* Before these regulations were made, it had been a common practice to sell *sixty-fourth* Shares; and in 1777, there was at least one Office that advertised *three-hundredth* Shares at one shilling each. It had also been a custom of the Dealers to sell several Tickets of the same number at their own risk; by which means the adventurer was sometimes cheated of his prize, the parties becoming bankrupt, or running away; an instance of which occurred at York, where several copies had been distributed of one number, which was drawn a 20,000l. to the great disappointment of all concerned, the Office-keeper failing for a large sum. There were also Miniature Lotteries, with Shilling Tickets; and besides these, Tickets were issued with Magazines, Almanacks, Lady's Pocket-books, Song-books, &c.; as well as by Bakers, Potatoe-dealers, and others, promising certain sums to their customers, should their numbers come up considerable prizes in the State Lottery. These schemes were also wholly contrived for the advantage of the projectors; as the small and middling prizes being excluded, the adventurers had but little chance, though amused with lofty sounds.

In July, 1782, the Board of Trade and Plantations, which had now almost degenerated to a mere subject for ministerial patronage, was abolished, as one step towards the executing of the enlarged plan of Reform in State Offices, brought forward by Mr. Burke; and the duties and authority of its Members were transferred to a Committee of the Privy Council.

The destructive effects to the Commerce of Great Britain, which many ill-boding politicians had predicted would arise from granting Independence to America, were found from the issue to be merely imaginary; and even so soon after the Peace as the year 1784, the value of the exports to that country, as appears on the Custom-house books, had increased to 3,397,500l.; which was somewhat more than 332,000l. above its greatest amount in the most prosperous years before the war. There cannot be a doubt, in fact, but that the separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country operated highly to the advantage of both nations. The immense expense incurred in carrying on the war, however, had a great effect in repressing the exertions of the Merchant and Trader, through the many new impositions that had been laid on to discharge the interest of the National Debt; which, after all the floating securities had been funded, or otherwise provided for, amounted, in 1785, to the sum of 240,222,248l. 5s. 2¾d. including the money granted by Parliament for compensations to the American Loyalists: the interest upon this Debt, and the charges of managemetn, amounted to upwards of 9,275,000l.* The net amount of the Customs of the Port of London, paid into the Exchequer in the course of this year arose to the vast sum of 4,472,091l. 13s. 3d. This considerable increase, however, was in a great measure owing to the payment of arrears due by the East India Company on their imports in 1782 and 1783.†

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[*] See before, p. 541, 42.

[†] The Peace with Tippoo Saib, in the East Indies, was not concluded till March, 1784.

[‡] This increased revenue was doubtless in a considerable degree owing to the Act made in 1782, for subjecting all Inland Bills of Exchange, Promissory, and other Notes, not payable on demand, to the Stamp Duties, (it having before been the practice to draw Bills on the paper of the Letters which accompanied them); to the increase of the rates of Postage, and regulation of Franking, in 1784; and to the establishment of Mail-coaches in the same year, through the exertions of Mr. Palmer, Comptroller-general of the Post-Office.

About this period, the Silk Manufactures of London had greatly declined, through the improved manufacture and general wear of *Cotton Goods*, which, in consequence of the application of the ingenious machinery invented by Arkwright‡ and others, had been extended, within the short compass of twelve or fifteen years, to a degree unparalleled; so much so, indeed, as "to form a new era, not only in manufactures and commerce, but also in the dress of both sexes." The cheapness with which these goods can be rendered, and which has wholly arisen from the aid of the machinery employed in fabricating them, and the ingenuity of the Calico-printers in devising patterns for printed cottons, "which for elegance of drawing, exceed every thing that ever was imported," has given a new aspect to the shops of the Metropolis, and almost wholly superseded the use of silks. Cambrics, lawns, and other expensive fabrics of flax, have also in a considerable degree given place to cotton articles. Besides the great domestic trade which the Londoners have acquired from the improvements in this manufacture, immense quantities have been shipped from the Port of London; and, as a political writer has truly remarked, the expense and folly of the American War, have been counteracted by the genius of an Arkwright, a Wedgwood and a Watt.* *Muslins* of British manufacture were first made in 1781; and they were sold in London in the same year.

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* Before the Floating Debt had been provided for, the discount on Navy Bills in the London market was as high as 20 *per cent.*

† Ann. of Com. Vol. IV. p. 100, Note.

‡ See Beauties of England, Vol. III. p. 512—21; for an account of Mr. Arkwright, and some particulars of his inventions.

A considerable check was for a time given to several of the manufactures of London, as well as of other parts of Great Britain, by two Decrees issued by the King of France, on the tenth and seventeenth of July, 1786, prohibiting the importation of 'English Sadlery, Hosiery, Hardware, Woollen-cloths, polished Steel-wares, Glass, printed Calicoes,' &c.; and in consequence of these Decrees, above one hundred looms were stopped in Spitalfields, in the Gauze branch only. In the September following, these orders were invalidated by the signing of a 'Treaty of Commerce and Navigation' between the two countries, in which a very enlarged intercourse of the respective subjects of either power was agreed to, and the manufactures, &c. of both nations reciprocally admitted, under certain restrictions. The right of *Argent du chef*, or Head-money, was also expressly relinquished by France; and the still more iniquitous *Droit d'Aubaine*, tacitly annulled, with respect to British subjects. This Treaty, together with a supplementary one, called a Convention, was confirmed by Parliament in April, 1787.

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† See Jasper Wilson's Commercial and Political Letter to the Right Hon. W. Pitt. Third Edition, 1793. Watt was the great improver of Steam-engines; Wedgwood's ware has already been mentioned: vide p. 662.

The great act of the political life of Mr. Pitt, and the only one, perhaps, for which posterity will hold his memory in respect was the establishment, about the middle of the year 1786, of a *Sinking Fund*, of a million sterling annually, for the paying off the National Debt. This measure, though so immediately connected with the general state of public affairs, is equally intermingled with the commercial concerns of the Metropolis, through the great influence which the regular appropriation of the Fund, with its interest in a compound ratio, and the additions to the principal, which have been since voted by Parliament, have had upon the public Stocks.*

Among the various articles, which about this time began to form a considerable branch of the trade and commerce of London, was that of *Prints;* to which, perhaps, the growing eminence of the British Engravers had not more contributed, than the active enterprize of Mr. Alderman Boydell; by whose exertions it has been said, the balance which had previously been greatly in favour of France, was turned to the advantage of this country, in the proportion of from four or five hundred to one.

In the year 1791, the philanthropic Granville Sharpe, Esq. with many other friends of humanity, who had hitherto vainly attempted to procure the abolition of the Slave Trade, (the chief seats of whose Merchants in this country were London, Bristol, and Liverpool,) were incorporated for thirty-one years, under the appellation of *The Sierra Leone Company;* for the purpose of establishing settlements and opening a trade with Africa, on the fair principles of reciprocal Commerce, and to the eventual destruction of Slavery.

In the years 1792 and 1793, the Parliament, in order to accelerate the operation of the Sinking Fund, as well as to provide for the gradual extinction of all future debts, voted 200,000 l. annually, in addition to the former million; and also determined that every new Loan "should carry its own Sinking Fund along with it;" or, in other words, that with the sum necessary to defray

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† In Chal. Est. p. 178—190, and 280—282, are various excellent remarks upon this subject.

fray the interest of all money borrowed in future, an additional annual fund of the one-hundredth part of the capital created, should be appropriated to the discharge of the principal.

Both the Exports and Imports of the Port of London continued greatly to increase from the year 1784 till the commencement of the Revolution War with France in 1793, which, as already noticed, created much embarrassment in the commercial affairs of the Metropolis; and, independent of the numerous bankruptcies which it occasioned,* it appears to have lowered the Exports from the preceding year upwards of two millions; or from 14,742,516l. 13s. 4d. to 12,660,463l. 6s. 11d.: the Imports amounted to within 36,000l. of the same sum.† The prudent interference of the Legislature, and the voting of Exchequer Bills to the amount of 5,000,000l. for the use of such persons as could give sufficient security, soon checked the growing distress, and was "extremely instrumental in restoring mutual confidence; as it gave traders time to recollect themselves, and to look for, and use those resources, which are not often wanting to Merchants of character and property, in times of commercial difficulties.‡" Mr. Pitt stated in the House of Commons, that "the failures had begun by a run on those houses which had issued circulating paper without sufficient capital;" and it was known, that of the Country Banks, upwards of one hundred stopped payment. The whole number of applications for loans under the Act, was three hundred and thirty-two, of which two hundred and thirty-eight had their claims for assistance granted to the amount of 2,202,000l.; forty-five more were either withdrawn or not pursued, and forty-nine were rejected. Of the whole sum lent by Government, 989,700l. was distributed in the

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* The total number of Bankruptcies in this year was 1304, or nearly double the amount at any former period: the greatest prior number was 675, in the year 1778.

† Rep. &c. on the Trade and Ship. of the Port of Lond. App. D.

‡ Chal. Est. p. 300. The embarrassments of this period are thought by Mr. Chalmers to have been "altogether owing to an impeded circulation." Ib. p. 289.

Metropolis. In this year, the gross revenue of the Post-Office amounted to the great sum of 607,268l. In the course of the summer, the *Board of Agriculture* was established in London, on the suggestion of Sir John Sinclair.

The distresses among the Manufacturing classes in 1793, were very great in all parts of the Kingdom; and it was ascertained, that in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields only, upwards of 4,500 silk-looms were shut up, which, when in full work, had furnished employment to 18,000 people, of whom more than one half were women and children.

The peculiar circumstances of the war, and the convulsed state of the Continent, tended greatly to advance the Commerce of London, during the years 1794, 1795, and 1796. In the latter year the Exports amounted in value to 18,410,499l. 17s. 9d. and the imports to 14,719,466l. 15s. 7d. In the same year the number of Ships entered inwards at the Port of London, amounted to 2,007 British ships, carrying 436,843 tons; and 2,169 Foreign ships, carrying 287,142 tons; making a total of shipping, 4,176, and of tonnage 723,985: and the number of vessels which entered the Port, coastwise, &c. including repeated voyages, was 11,176: the tonnage, amounting to 1,059,915. At this time the number of Colliers was 431. In April, the same year, the aggregate number of Craft, exclusive of Ships' Boats, Wherries, and Pleasure-boats, in active service in the Port of London, was stated by a return of the Admiralty Office, to be as follows:

No. of Vessels.	*Description.*	*Am. of Tonnage.*	*Tons each.*
2,596	Barges*	85,103	33
402	Lighters	15,454	39
338	Punts	6,810	20
57	Boats	1,332	24
6	Sloops	161	27
10	Cutters	711	71
10	Hoys	585	53
3,419		110,156	

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* About 400 of these craft were employed in the Deal, and the remainder in the Coal Trade.

This greatly-extended trade of the Port of London, accelerated the measures which had been for some time in agitation for improving the accommodations for Shipping, by excavating new Docks, &c.; and after various representations from the West-India Merchants, and others, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to make the proper enquiries, and report on 'the best mode of providing sufficient accommodations for the increased trade, &c.; yet several more years were suffered to elapse before any effectual alteration was made.* The net amount

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* The *Port of London*, as actually occupied by *Shipping*, extends from London Bridge to Deptford; a distance of nearly four miles, and from four to five hundred yards in average breadth. It may be described as consisting of four divisions, called the Upper, Middle, and Lower Pools, and the space between Limehouse and Deptford: the Upper Pool extends from London Bridge to Union Hole, about 1600 yards; the Middle Pool, from thence to Wapping New Stairs, 700 yards; the Lower Pool, from the latter place to Horse-Ferry Tier, near Limehouse, 1800 yards; and the space below to Deptford, about 2,700 yards.

When the House of Commons commenced the Inquiry, the land accommodations of the Port of London, consisted only of the legal Quays and the sufferance Wharfs. The *legal Quays* were appointed in the year 1558, under a Commission from the Court of Exchequer, authorized by an Act of the first year of Elizabeth, for the exclusive landing of goods, subject to duty: they occupy the north bank of the River Thames, with some interruptions, from London Bridge to the western extremity of the Tower-Ditch; the whole frontage measuring about 1464 feet. Till of late years these Quays constituted the whole *legal* accommodation for the prodigious Shipping trade of London; though from the increased size and tonnage of merchant vessels, &c. the depth of the River in this part was found too shallow to admit of that speedy clearance which the trading and mercantile interests require. In fact, they had become utterly inadequate to the vastly increased extent of commerce: on this account, the Commissioners of the Customs occasionally permitted the use of other landing-places, which were thence called *Sufferance Wharfs*, and five of which were situated on the north side of the River, between the Tower and Hermitage Dock, and the remaining eighteen on the opposite side: the whole having a frontage of 3,676 feet. Notwithstanding these additional conveniences, the whole number of Quays was still very far from possessing sufficient accommodation amount paid into the Exchequer of the Customs of the Port of London in 1796, amounted to 3,564,724l.

The very considerable advances made by the Bank to Government in the years 1795 and 1796, and the consequent stoppages of Bank Payments in *Specie* in February 1797, occasioned great alarm among the Merchants and Traders of London[*]; yet confidence was soon restored through the intervention of Parliament, and the inconvenience, *at that time*, was nearly temporary. Within a few days after the stoppage in issuing cash, the Bank Directors began their first issue of 1l. and 2l. notes; and as a further substitute for guineas and small coin, they also introduced into circulation a large quantity of Spanish dollars, which, with a miniature impression of his Britannic Majesty's head stamped upon them, they distributed at the value of 4s. 9d. each, being

somewhat

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[*] See particulars of this event, p. 570··574.

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tion for the increased trade; and more especially in times of war, when large fleets of merchantmen arrive at once.

The numerous evils arising from this want of a sufficient space for shipping and landing goods, and among which, the monopoly thrown into the hands of the owners of the few *legal* Quays, was not the least, were for many years subjects of vexation and complaint. So long ago as 1674, the Merchants of London petitioned the House of Commons for redress against a combination, which the whole body of Wharfingers had entered into; and in the year 1711, when the tonnage of the vessels belonging to London did not amount to one-third part of what it now does, the Commissioners of the Customs recommended to Government to make a legal Quay at Bridge Yard, on the south side of the River, but it was never executed. About the year 1763, the Court of Exchequer directed a part of the Tower Wharf to be converted into a legal Quay; but the part to be reserved to the Crown, not being accurately specified, the plan was allowed to fall to the ground. The construction of Wet Docks had of late years been suggested as the best expedient for obviating the vast loss and embarrassment arising from the encumbered state of the Quays and Wharfs, and from the immense crowding of the vessels on the River; and through the various schemes which were about this time offered for the purpose, &c. the House of Commons was induced to appoint their Committee.

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somewhat near their real value. These continued in circulation till October the 31st, during which time such prodigious quan-

tities

The following Particulars of the Foreign Trade of this Port in 1795, are given from the Books of the Custom-House.

COUNTRIES.	BRITISH.		FOREIGN.		TOTAL.		PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF IMPORTATION.
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	
America .... British	83	15,732	..	..	83	15,732	Furs, Fish, Skins, Corn.
America .... United States	3	490	175	36,109	178	36,599	Tobacco, Corn, Rice, Indigo, Furs, Wood.
Africa	5	656	3	420	8	1,076	Fruit, Wax, Gum, Elephants' Teeth, Guinea-Wood, Palm Oil.
Azores	9	658	2	176	11	834	Fayal Wine.
Barbary	4	399	..	..	4	399	Copper, and some of the Articles under the Head of Africa.
Bremen	..	..	31	5,324	31	5,324	Linen, Corn, Timber, Wine.
Canaries	4	516	..	..	4	516	Wine.
Cape de Verd	..	..	..	..	..	..	Skins, Hides, Horns.
Corsica	18	5,399	..	..	18	5,399	Small Quantities of Honey and Wax.
Courland	..	..	1	70	1	70	Iron, Deals.
Denmark and Norway	20	2,436	177	52,649	197	55,085	Fir, Timber, Deals, Corn, Iron.
East Indies	63	46,221	..	..	63	46,221	Tea, China, Drugs, Calico, Muslin, Nankeens, Pepper, Raw Silk, manufactured Linens, & Cottons, Sugar, Cotton-Yarn, Salt-petre.
Flanders .... Austrian	..	..	24	2,032	24	2,032	Hemp, Silk, Brandy, Cotton.
French	..	..	11	1,257	11	1,257	
France	9	2,297	45	4,479	54	6,776	Oil, Wine, Fruit, Cotton, Glass, Brandy, Plaister of Paris, Madder.
Florida	2	499	..	..	2	499	Skins.
Genoa	..	..	1	130	1	130	Silk, Skins, Wine.
Germany	127	28,075	128	27,317	255	55,392	Linen, Linen Yarn, Timber, Deals, Wine, Corn, Smalts, Hides, Rags, Oak-bark, Skins, and now Streights Silk, Brandy, Geneva.
Gibraltar and Streights	8	1,870	..	..	8	1,870	Silk.
Greenland and Davis' Streights	10	2,864	..	..	10	2,864	Blubber, Whale-fins.
Guernsey, Jersey, &c.	41	4,168	6	872	47	5,040	Paving-stones, Wine.
Honduras	5	1,122	..	..	5	1,122	Logwood, Mahogany, Fustic.
Carried forward	411	113,402	604.	130,835	1,015	244,237	

tities had been imported and regularly stamped, that the Bank Directors found it necessary to call them in indiscriminately, the clerks

COUNTRIES.	BRITISH.		FOREIGN.		TOTAL.		PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF IMPORTATION.
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	
Brought over	411	113,402	604	130,835	1,015	244,237	
Holland	9	1,226	44	6,271	53	7,497	Corn, Wine, Geneva, Brandy, Wainscot-boards, Oak-bark, Drugs, Madder, Smalts, Flax, Hides, Cast-Iron, Linen, Provisions, Seeds, Skins, Furs, Snuff, Cotton.
Ireland	323	34,594	2	260	325	34,854	Provisions, Linen-Yarn, Linen, Cattle, Corn, Skins, Hides, Tallow, Woollen-Yarn.
Italy	2	241	..	..	2	241	Silk, Oil, Wine, Marble, Chip-Hats, Fruit, Paper, Drugs, Rags, Madder, Valonia, Skins, Cotton.
Leghorn	40	6,986	3	470	43	7,456	
Livonia	62	15,123	..	..	62	15,123	Hemp, Iron, Deals, Timber, Masts.
Naples	5	605	..	..	5	605	Fruit, Oil, Skins.
Nootka Sound	..	..	..	..	..	..	Skins.
Portugal	116	17,413	27	3,146	143	20,559	Wine, Fruit, Cork, Salt, Cotton.
Poland	57	12,535	27	6,360	84	18,895	Corn, Timber, Deals, and some Linen.
Prussia	121	23,047	166	24,885	287	47,932	Timber, Corn, Skins, Linen-Yarn.
Russia	196	47,461	2	480	198	47,941	Masts, Iron, Deals, and other Timber, Linen, Tallow, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Ashes.
Sardinia	3	411	..	..	3	411	Fruit.
Sicily	3	320	..	..	3	320	Brimstone, Barilla.
Southern Fishery	23	5,026	..	..	23	5,026	Oil, Whale-fins, Spermacetti, Skins.
Spain	103	14,698	33	5,192	136	19,890	Wine, Fruit, Oil, Barilla, Skins, Wool, Hides, Drugs, Cork, Brandy.
Sweden	10	2,109	78	10,337	88	12,446	Iron, Deals, Corn, Pitch, Tar.
Turkey	4	846	1	200	5	1,046	Fruit, Mohair, Cotton, Carpets, Box-wood, Madder, Gums, Opium, Silk.
Venice	13	1,374	4	700	17	2,074	Fustic, Fruit, Drugs.
West Indies and Madeira — British	339	91,655	..	..	339	91,655	Sugar, Rum, Coffee, Cocoa, Cotton, Indigo, Mahogany, Dying-woods, Fustic, Ginger, Gum, Drugs, Hides, Tortoise-shell, Wine.
West Indies and Madeira — Foreign	1	245	..	..	1	245	
Total	1,841	389,317	991	189,186	2,832	578,503	

clerks not being able to distinguish the difference between those with a counterfeit stamp, and those which had been stamped at the Mint. The net amount of the Customs of London in this year was 3,950,608l.

During the years 1797 and 1798, the *Clock and Watchmakers* of London were thrown into great distress from want of employment, by some improvident Acts of Parliament, imposing duties on watch-cases, and on all persons using clocks and watches. The decrease in the manufacture of silver watches, within the year, was one-third; of gold watches, one-half; and of metal watches, considerably more. Through the representations made to Parliament, these obnoxious taxes were soon repealed; and permission was given to manufacture gold watch-cases of a more inferior standard than formerly, in order that this trade might be more upon a level with foreign countries.*

The crowded state of the Port of London, from the vast increase of its commerce, and the want of sufficient wharfage for landing and shipping its merchandize, which in the year ending on the fifth of January 1798, was estimated at the immense sum of upwards of sixty millions and a half sterling, had led to a most extended and regular system of river *Plunderage;* in which, as computed by Dr. Colquhoun, in his valuable 'Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames,' about eleven thousand Persons were engaged, of all descriptions, "inured to habits of depravity, and long exercised in all the arts of villany;" and whose depredations upon floating property amounted to more than five hundred thousand pounds sterling, annually! †

The great loss incurred by the West India Merchants, whose property, from its quantity, bulk, and value, was more peculiarly exposed to the arts of this disciplined host of plunderers, had, at different times, from the year 1765, occasioned these Merchants

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* Macpherson has conjectured that the value of the watches and marine chronometers made in London and its neighbourhood, amounts to a million sterling annually. *Ann. of Com. Vol. IV. p.* 441, note.

to form various regulations for the security of their property; but all in vain, and "depredation still continued, with a swelling tide, to overflow and undermine every branch of trade on the river."*

In this state of things, Mr. Colquhoun, an able Magistrate, who had already distinguished himself by his attention to the Police of the Metropolis, suggested a new system of *Marine Police*, which should be peculiarly applicable to the particular circumstances of the Trade on the Thames, and, at the same time, having justice and humanity for its basis, *mild in its operations*, but

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* *The following Table of the Vessels employed in the River Thames, with the Value of the Goods, calculated on the Imports and Exports of the Year ending Jan. 5th, 1798, and Amount of the Plunder, is given by Mr. Colquhoun.*

	Vessels.		Tonnage, including repeated Voyages.	Value of Exports & Imports; according to the best authorities.	Amount of Plunder.
	Foreign	British			
East Indies	3	50	41,466	£ 10,502,000	£ 25,000
West Indies	11	335	101,484	11,013,000	232,000
British American Colonies	0	68	13,986	1,638,000	10,000
Africa and Cape of Good Hope	0	17	4,336	531,000	2,500
Whale Fisheries, North & South.	0	45	12,230	314,000	2,000
United States of America	140	0	32,213	5,416,000	30,000
Mediterranean and Turkey	29	43	14,757	509,000	7,000
Spain and the Canaries	119	2	16,509	947,000	10,000
France & Austrian Netherlands	121	1	10,677	1,015,000	10,000
Portugal and Madeira	55	125	27,670	853,000	8,000
Holland	329	0	19,166	2,211,000	10,000
Germany	172	63	37,647	10,672,000	25,000
Prussia	527	81	56,955	432,000	10,000
Poland	31	38	17,210	242,000	5,000
Sweden	100	9	14,252	322,000	3,000
Denmark	194	8	48,469	806,000	5,000
Russia	5	225	56,131	2,017,000	20,000
Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, & Man	4	42	5,344	302,000	2,000
Ireland	3	273	32,824	2,539,000	5,000
Coasting Trade	0	6,500	560,000	6,600,000	20,000
Coal Trade	0	3,676	656,000	1,710,000	20,000
	1,843	11,601	1,779,326	60,591,000	461,500
Annual loss in tackle, apparel, and stores of 13,444 Vessels, as estimated by the Ship-Owners					45,000
Total of Depredations					506,500

but *effective in its results.* This scheme having been properly matured by successive Committees, and approved by Government, was first put into operation on the second of July, 1798, when an Office for the 'Marine Police Establishment' was opened at Wapping New Stairs, a situation centrical to the trade of the Port. The effects of this institution, improved as it is by subsequent experience, has been astonishingly efficient in checking that daring system of rapine which before existed, and in breaking up the formidable conspiracy by which it was supported, and had been carried on.*

The importations of sugars and rum, in the course of 1798, exceeded those of any other preceding year, most of the West India Islands being at that time in the possession of the English; and the duties on those articles alone produced upwards of 1,600,000l. deducting the drawbacks on exportation. The net revenue of the Customs of London, in this year, including the West India duty of four and a half *per cent.*† amounted to the sum of 5,321,187l. 7s. 3d.

In the year 1799, as a preliminary step towards the improvement of the Port of London, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, were authorized by Parliament to make a Canal, "sufficiently large and convenient to be navigated by ships," through the 'Isle of Dogs;' and, by the same act, the *West India Dock Company* was incorporated, for the purpose of making sufficient wet docks, with quays, wharfs, and warehouses attached to them, on the north side of the proposed Canal, for the reception and discharge of all vessels in the West India trade. The capital stock of this Company was fixed at 600,000l. In the same year the *Globe Insurance Company* was incorporated, with a capital a capital of from 500,000l. to 1,000,000l. and in June 1800, after a delay and opposition of five years, the act was obtained for incorporating *The London Dock Company*, with a capital of 1,200,000l. for the purpose of making and maintaining Wet Docks, with the necessary quays and wharfs adjoining, in the angle formed by the river Thames, between Hermitage Dock and Shadwell Dock, below Wapping.* The Lords of the Admiralty were, by the same act, empowered to purchase the 'legal Quays,' between London Bridge and the Tower, with their warehouses and other appendages, at prices either agreed to by the proprietors, or settled by Juries. Another trading Company was also incorporated in 1800, under the title of *The London Flour Company*, the object of which was to establish a manufactory of flour, meal, and bread, to be sold out at reasonable prices. Their capital was fixed at 120,000l. and the managers are prohibited from dealing in corn, flour, or bread, on their own private account. The King is empowered to dissolve this Company, by an Order of Council, at six months notice.

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* Further particulars will be inserted under the article Thames Police Office.

† The duty thus denominated has been *paid in kind* ever since its commencement in 1663: it arises from what is called 'dead produce,' shipped from Barbadoes, and the other sugar colonies, except Jamaica and the Ceded Islands. *Ann. of Com. Vol. IV. p.* 625.

In the same year, *The Royal Institution of Great Britain* was incorporated, by charter, for the patriotic object of diffusing a knowledge of useful mechanical inventions and improvements; and generally, for facilitating the adaptation of discoveries in art and science to the common purposes of life. In July also, an Act of Parliament was passed, for the encouragement of the remanufacture of *Paper;* and patents were granted to an inventive German, named Matthias Koops, for "extracting printing and writing ink from waste paper, and converting it into white paper," &c. and for "manufacturing paper from Straw, Hay, Thistles, waste and refuse Hemp and Flax, and different kinds of Wood and Bark, *fit for Printing*, and other useful purposes." To carry these plans into effect, a manufactory was commenced at Bermondsey, and another very extensive one was begun building at Millbank; but the imprudence of those concerned, and other still more reprehensible causes, occasioned the complete failure of the whole.

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* The effects which the construction of the West India and London Docks have had upon the trade and commerce of London, with other necessary particulars, will be inserted under their respective heads in the subsequent descriptions.

The several new duties that had been imposed by Parliament, together with various adventitious circumstances arising from the nature of the war, had in the year, ending at Christmas, 1799, increased the net revenue of the Custom House of London to the vast sum of 7,226,353l. 0s. 1d. including the West India four and a half *per cent.* duty. In the following year the net revenue, from the same sources, fell to 6,468,655l. 13s. 7d. In these years both the exports and imports of the Port of London had amazingly increased: their *official* valuations, in 1800, as stated on the books of the Custom House, amounted to 18,843,172l. 2s. 10d. for Imports; and to 25,428,922l. 16s. 7d. for Exports; of which 13,272,494l. 0s. 5d. was in British Merchandize. The *real* value of the Exports and Imports of the whole Kingdom in this year, was more than One Hundred and Eleven Millions sterling. That of the trade of this Port only, amounted to about 68,000,000l. as appears from the data given below.*

On the 30th of September, 1800, as appears from official documents laid before Parliament, the number of the trading vessels belonging to London was 2,666, carrying 568,262 tons, and 41,402 men. On comparing these numbers with the state of the shipping of this port in 1701,* a most astonishing increase is seen to have taken place in the course of one century; an increase, which, upon the quantity of tonnage, is nearly in the proportion of six to one, and in the number of men and ships, upwards of four to one. At this period the ships employed by the East India Company alone,† carried more burthen, by 21,166 tons, than all the vessels of London an hundred years before.

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* The real *marketable* value of merchandize, both imported and exported, is always considerably greater than the value entered on the Custom House books, and this arises in consequence of the ancient estimates of the value of goods (made in the year 1696) being still adhered to in the official valuations. The *real* value of Foreign merchandize imported, as appears from evidence given before the 'Trade and Shipping Committee' of the House of Commons, by Mr. Irving, Inspector-General of the Customs in the Port of London, and from subsequent accounts laid before Parliament, varies from *double* its *stated* value to about one and four-fifths: that of British Merchandize may be averaged at about two-thirds more than its official value. Coffee is the only article which, when re-exported, is entered at more than its real value, and this it is to a considerable amount.

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* See before, p. 652.

† The ships in the service of the East India Company, in 1800, amounted to 122, the whole comprising 106,048 tons, and about 10,000 men.

⁂ Further particulars of the trade and commerce of London, from the year 1800 to the present time, will be inserted under the heads Custom House, East-India House, Coal Exchange, Corn Exchange, Royal Exchange, Bank, Post Office, West-India and London Docks, Billingsgate, Smithfield, Goldsmiths' Hall, Stamp Office, &c.

END OF THE VOLUME.

LIST

OF THE

Principal Books, Maps, Plans, and Prints, that have been published in Illustration of the Antiquities, History, Topography, and other Subjects treated of in this Volume.

MIDDLESEX AND LONDON.

THE earliest general Account of MIDDLESEX is contained in Norden's "*Speculum Britanniæ;* the 1st. parte, *an Historicall and Chorographicall Description of Middlesex:* wherein are also alphabeticallie sett downe the Names of the Cyties, Townes, Parishes, Howses of Naine, &c.; with Direction spedelie to find anie Place desired in the Mappe, and the Distance betwene Place and Place, without Compasses; by the Travaile and View of John Norden, Anno 1593." Small 4to. Lond. with a Map, &c. This was reprinted in 1637, and again in 1723, with his Description of Hertfordshire annexed, and a Plan of London, &c.

"*View of the Agriculture of Middlesex;* with Observations on the Means of its Improvement," &c. by John Middleton, Esq. 8vo. Lond. 2nd Edit. 1807.

The meagre notice of LONDON in the Domesday Book would seem to imply, that some separate account of this Capital was taken, and afterwards lost; and Strype's Stow, Vol. I. speaks of a Domesday in *Saxon*, being a Register, sometime kept in Guildhall, of the *Laws of London* and of the Portgreves.

In the earliest account of London that is any wise particular, and now extant, is intituled "*Descriptio nobilissimæ Civitatis Londoniæ,*" which was first published entire by Stow in 1591, as an Appendix to his Survey of London. Strype afterwards corrected it in his edition of Stow's Survey, from a Manuscript in the City Archives. Hearne republished it, with Observations and Notes, at the end of the Eighth Volume of Leland's Itinerary, from a more correct Manuscript on Vellum in the Bodleian Library. It was again published in the *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*, by Mr. Sparke, from a fine Manuscript of his own, collated with one in the Cottonian Library. And lastly, the late Rev. Mr. Pegge, F. S. A. reprinted it, under the title of "*Fitz-Stephen's Description of the City of London,* newly translated from the original Latin; with a necessary Commentary. A Dissertation on the Author, ascertaining the exact Year [1174] of the Production is prefixed; and to the whole is subjoined a correct Edition of the Original, with the various Readings, and some useful Annotations. By an Antiquary: Lond. 1772." 4to. Fitz-Stephens was a Native, and a Monk, of Canterbury, and died in 1191.

Stow's curious and most valuable Account of this City, the fountain-head of all its subsequent Historians, was first printed under the title of "*A Survey of London, contayning the originall Antiquitie, Increase, moderne Estate, and Description of that City;* written in the Year 1598, by John Stow, Citizen of London: also an Apologie (or Defence) against the Opinion of some Men, concerning that Citie, the Greatnesse thereof; with an Appendix, contayning in Latine, *Libellum de site et Nobilitate Londini:* written by William Fitz-Stephen, in the Raigne of Henry the Second." Lond. 1598. Small 4to. A second Edition, "Increased with divers rare Notes of Antiquity," by himself, was published in the Author's life-time, in 1603. Fifteen years afterwards, a new Edition, enlarged, was published by Anthony Munday, 'some time the Pope's Scholar at Rome, but afterwards converted,' under the Title of "*The Survey of London:* containing the Originall, Antiquitie, Encrease, and more moderne Estate of the said famous Citie. As also, the Rule and Government thereof, both Ecclesiastical and Temporal, from Time to Time. With a brief Relation of all the memorable Monuments, and other especiall Observations, both in and aboute the same Citie. Written in the Yeere 1598, by John Stow, Citizen of London; since then, continued and much enlarged, with many rare and worthy Notes, both of venerable Antiquity and later Memorie, such as were never published before this present Yeere 1618. Lond." 4to. The chief Additions, though so pompously set forth, consisted of some Epitaphs, a continuation of the Lists, and some Transcripts from Stow's Summary and Annals. The fourth Edition, considerably augmented, and published in Folio, was thus intituled: "*The Survey of London:* contayning the Originall, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Government of that City, methodically set downe. With a Memoriall of those famouser Acts of Charity, which for Publicke and Pious Uses have beene bestowed by many worshipfull Citizens and Benefactors. As also all the Ancient and Moderne Monuments erected in the Churches, not onely of those two famous Cities, *London* and *Westminster*, but (now newly added) Foure Miles compasse. Begunne first by the Paines and Industry of John Stow, in the Yeere 1598; afterwards inlarged by the Care and Diligence of A. M.* in the Yeere 1618; and now completely finished by the Study and Labour of A. M., H. D.,† and others, this present Yeere 1633. Whereunto, besides many Additions (as appeares by the Contents), are annexed divers Alphabeticall Tables: the first, an Index of Kings; the second, a Concordance of Names." Lond. 1633. In this Edition, the Lists of Mayors and Sheriffs are continued, the Arms of the Mayors and Companies given, and some scattered Statutes, Acts, Oaths, &c. inserted.

The fifth Edition, and so greatly enlarged as to become almost a new Work, but with much confusion in the Arrangement, was published by John Strype, another Native of London, who is spoken of by Mr. Gough as being as industrious as Stow himself, in his particular department, in two Volumes, Folio, with the following title: "*Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster;* now lately corrected, improved, and very much enlarged, and the *Survey* and *History* brought down from the Year 1633, being near fourscore Years since it was last printed, to the present Time; illustrated with exact Maps of the City and Suburbs, and of all the Wards and Out-Parishes, with many other fair Draughts of the more eminent and publick Edifices and Monuments: in six Books, to which is prefixed the Life of the Author, writ by the Editor. At the End is added an Appendix of certain Tracts, Discourses, and Remarks, concerning the State of the City of London; with a Perambulation, or Circuit Walk, four or five Miles round London, to the Parish Churches: describing the Monuments of the Dead there interred, with other Antiquities observable in those Places; and concluding with a second Appendix, as a Supply and Review; and a large Index." Lond 1720. The sixth and last Edition was a re-print of the above in 1754, with some little variation in the title. 2 Vols. Fol. Lond.

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* Anthony Munday.

† Henry Dyson.

In the year 1735 was published, under the name of Robert Seymour, Esq. "*A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Parts adjacent:* containing, 1. The original Foundation, and the ancient and modern State thereof. 2. An exact Description of all the Wards and Parishes, Parish Churches, Palaces, Halls, Hospitals, Publick Offices, Edifices, and Monuments of any Account. 3. A particular Account of the Government of London, its Charters, Liberties, Privileges, and Customs; and of all the Companies, with their Coats of Arms, &c. &c. The whole being an Improvement of Mr. Stow's and other Surveys, by adopting whatever Alterations have appeared in the said Cities, &c. to the present Yeare, retrenching many Superfluities, and correcting many Errors in the former Writers. Illustrated with several Copper Plates." Lond. 2 Vols. Fol. In the following year this was re-published in one volume, 4to. Oldy's says that it was written by John Mottley, son of Col. Mottley, who was killed at the battle of Turin, in 1705, and author of a Life of Czar Peter, and several Dramatic Pieces.

"*The History of London, from its Foundation by the Romans to the present Time.* Containing a faithful Relation of the Publick Transactions of the Citizens; Accounts of the several Parishes; Parallels between London and other great Cities; its Government, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Commerce, State of Learning, Charitable Foundations, &c. With the several Accounts of Westminster, Middlesex, Southwark, and other Parts within the Bills of Mortality. In nine Books, the whole illustrated with a Variety of fine Cuts; with a complete Index. By William Maitland, F. R. S." Fol. Lond. 1739. This was enlarged, continued to the year 1764, and re-published in two Volumes, Folio, in 1765, with Plans and Views of the City, Churches, Wards, &c. and a Map of the Country ten miles round London.

"*A new and complete History and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and Parts adjacent; from the earliest*

earliest Accounts to the Year 1770: containing, 1. An Account of the original Foundation and modern State of those Places. 2. Their Laws, Charters, Customs, Privileges, Immunities, Government, Trade, and Navigation. 3. A Description of the several Wards, Parishes, Liberties, Precincts, Churches, Palaces, Noblemens' Houses, Hospitals, and other Public Buildings. 4. An Account of the Curiosities of the Tower of London, of the Royal Exchange, St. Paul's Cathedral, the British Museum, Westminster Abbey, &c. 5. A General History of the memorable Actions of the Citizens, and the Revolutions that have happened, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the present Time. By a Society of Gentlemen. Revised, corrected, and improved by Henry Chamberlain, of Hatton Garden, Esq. Lond." Fol. 1770.

"*Londinum Triumphans*, or an Historical Account of the grand Influence the Actions of the City of London have had upon the Affairs of the Nation for many Ages past: shewing the Antiquity, Honor, Glory, and Renown of this famous City; the Grounds of her Rights, Privileges, and Franchises; the Foundation of her Charter; the improbability of its Forfeitures, or Seizure; the Power and Strength of the Citizens, and the several Contests that have been betwixt the Magistracy and the Commonalty; collected from the most authentic Authors, and illustrated with Variety of Remarks, worthy the perusal of every Citizen. By William Gough, Gent. Lond." Octavo.

In the Second Part of Bishop Stillingfleet's *Ecclesiastical Cases*, Lond. 8vo. 1704, is a "*Discourse of the true Antiquity of London, and its State in the* ROMAN TIMES."

In Hearne's Introduction to "Leland's *Collectanea*," Vol. I. p. lviii. *et seq.* is a '*Letter*,' to the Publisher, written by the ingenious Mr. John Bagford, in which are many curious remarks relating to the City of London, its Origin, State of in the Roman times, Antiquities, &c. At the end of the eighth Volume of "Leland's Itinerary," Hearne also published Dr. Woodward's "*Account of some Roman Urns*, and other Antiquities, lately digged up near Bishopsgate: with brief Reflections upon the Ancient and Present State of London, in a '*Letter*,' [dated 23d of June, 1707,] to Sir C. Wren, Knight, Surveyor-General of her Majesty's Works." This was reprinted at London and Oxford, in 8vo. 1713 and 1723, together with a second '*Letter*,' addressed to Hearne in November, 1711, containing some additional particulars of the Site of Ancient London, in confutation of the opinion advanced by Dr. Gale, in his Commentary on Antonine. The third Edition is intituled "*Remarks upon the Ancient and Present State of London*, occasioned by some Roman Coins, and other Antiquities lately discovered." Lond. 1723. In the same year it was reprinted in Somers's Tracts, Vol. IV. p. 15. *et seq.*

"*A Briefe Discourse, declaring and approving the necessarie and inviolable Maintenance of the laudable Customes of London*; namely, of that one, whereby a reasonable Partition of the Goods of Husbands among their Wives and Children is provided: with an Answer to such Objections and pretended Reasons as are, by Persons unadvised or evil-persuaded, used against the same. Lond. Printed by H. Middleton, for Rafe Newberie." 1584.

"*The Liberties, Usages, and Customes of the City of London;* confirmed by especiall Acts of Parliament, with the Time of their Confirmation: also, Divers ample and most beneficiall Charters, granted by K. Henry. VI., K. Edward IV., and K. Henry VII., not to find every particular Grant and Confirmation at large. Collected by Sir Henry Calthrop, Knt. sometime Recorder of London, for his private Use, and now published for the Good and Benefit of this Honorable City. London, 1612."

"*Reports of Special Cases, touching several Customs and Liberties of the City of London.* Collected by Sir H. Calthrop, Knight; sometime Recorder of London, after Attorney-General of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Whereunto is annexed, Diverse Ancient Customs and Usages of the said City of London." Lond. 1655. Octavo.

"*The City Law:* shewing the Customs, Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities of the City of London. 1658." 8vo.

A more exact Account of the Privileges and By-Laws of the City, is in "*Lex Londinensis, or The City Law;* shewing the Powers, Customs, and Practice of all the several Courts belonging to the famous City of London, with the several Acts of Common Council, &c. and also a Method for the Ministers within the said City to recover their Tithes. With a Table to the whole Book." Lond. 1680. 8vo.

"*The Royal Charter of Confirmation, granted by King Charles II. to the City of London;* wherein are recited verbatim, all the Charters to the said City granted by his Royal Predecessors, Kings and Queens of England; taken out of the Records, and exactly translated into English, by S. G., Gent. Together with an Index, or Alphabetical Table, and a Table explaining all the obsolete and difficult Words in the said Charter." Lond. 1664. Octavo. Another Edition was published in the year 1680.—The Author had a place in the Town-Clerk's Office. The Transcripts of the Charters, given by Maitland, were taken from this Work.

"*Privilegia Londini; or, The Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Laws, and Customs of the City of London;* wherein are contained, 1. The several Charters granted to the said City from King William the First to the present Time. 2. The Magistrates and Officers thereof with their respecive Creations, Elections, Rights, Duties, and Authorities. 3. The Laws and Customs of the City, as the same relate either to the Persons or Estates of the Citizens, viz. Freemen's Wills, Feme Sole, Merchants, Orphans, Apprentices, &c. 4. The Nature, Jurisdiction, Practice, and Proceedings of the several Courts thereof, with Tables of Fees relating thereto. 5. The several Statutes concerning the said City and Citizens, alphabetically digested. The 3d Edition, with large Additions: by William Bohun, of the Middle Temple, Esq." Lond. 1702. 1716. 1723. 8vo.

"*The Charters of the City of London which have been granted by the Kings and Queens of England since the Conquest*; taken verbatim out of the Records, exactly translated into English, with Notes, explaining ancient Words and Terms, and the Parliamentary Confirmation by King William and Queen Mary: to which is annexed an Abstract of the arguing in the Case of the *Quo Warranto*." Lond. 1738.

"*The Laws and Customs, Rights, Liberties, and privileges of the City of London*: containing the several Charters granted to the City from William the Conqueror to the present time the Magistrates and Officers thereof, and their respective creations, elections, rights, duties, and authorities; the Laws and Customs of the City, as the same relate to the Persons or Estates of the Citizens; the nature, jurisdiction, practice and proceedings of the several Courts in London, and Acts of Parliament concerning the Cities of London and Westminster, Alphabetically digested. Lond. 1765." 12mo.

"*The Forfeiture of Londons' Charter*; or, an impartial Account of the several Seizures of the City Charter; together with the Causes by which it became Forfeited; as likewise the imprisonment, deposing, and fining the Lord Mayors, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, since the reign of Henry III. to the present year 1682: being faithfully collected out of ancient and modern history, and now seasonably published for the satisfaction of the inquisitive upon the late arrest made upon the said Charter by Writ of Quo Warranto. Lond. 1682." Fol.

"*The City of Londons' Plea to the Quo Warranto brought against their Charter in Michaelmas Term* 1681: wherein it will appear that the Liberties, Privileges, and Customs of the said City cannot be lost by the misdemeanor of any Officer or Magistrate thereof: nor their Charter be seized into the King's hands for any misusage or abuse of their Liberties and Privileges, they being confirmed by divers ancient Records and Acts of Parliament made before and since Magna Charta. Also how far the Commons of the said City have power of chusing and removing their Sheriffs." Published both in English and Latin. Lond. 1682, Fol.

"*The Replication to the City of Londons' Plea to the Quo Warranto,* brought against their Charter by our Sovereign Lord the King, Michaelmas term, 1681, 1682." Fol.

"*The City of Londons' Rejoinder* to Mr. Attorney General's *Replication* in the *Quo Warranto* brought by him against their Charter; together with a Vindication of the late Sheriffs and Juries." 1682.

"*The Privileges of the Citizens of London contained in the Charters granted to them by the several Kings of this Realm, and confirmed by sundry Parliaments,* comprehending the whole Charter, only words of form left out. Now seasonably published for general information, upon occasion of the Quo Warranto brought against the said City. London, 1682." 4to.

"*The Proceedings upon the Debates* relating to the late Charter of the City of London; as also entering up of Judgment against it, giving his account of the most remarkable Transaction relating to that Affair." Fol. half sheet.

"*Rights and Privileges of the City of London*, proved by Prescription, Charters, and Acts of Parliament; with a large Preface, shewing how fatal the late Proceedings in Westminster-Hall in dissolving Corporations were to the original Constitution of the English Government. 1628." reprinted 1689. Fol.

"*A Defence of the Charter, and Municipal Rights of the City of London*, and the Rights of other municipal Cities and Towns of England. Directed to the Citizens of London. By Thomas Hunt. Lond." 4to. (1682).

"*Reflections on the City Charter* and Writ of *Quo Warranto*; together with a Vindication of the late Sheriffs and Juries. Lond. 1682." 4to.

"*More Reflections on the City Charter and Writ of Quo Warranto.* 1682." 4to.

"*A True Account of the Irregular Proceedings at Guildhall*, about the Swearing of the two pretended Sheriffs, Mr. North and Mr. Rich, September 28, 1682." Fol. one sheet.

"*The Trial of Thomas Pilkington and others for the Riot at Guildhall*, on Midsummer-day, 1682, being the day of Election for Sheriff." 1683. Fol.

"*The Lawyer outlawed*; or, an Account of Hunt's defence of the Charters. 1683." 4to.

"*The Opinions of the Lord Chief Justice Hale and others*, about the Election of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London. 1683. Fol.

"*An Act of Common Council for regulating the Election of Sheriffs*, and for repealing the treasonable and disloyal Acts and Proceedings of the Court in the time of the late Rebellion. 1683." Fol.

"*London's Anniversary Festival*, performed on Monday, Oct. 29th, 1688, for the entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir John Chapman, Knt. Lord-Mayor of the City of London; being their great year of Jubilee; with a Panegyric upon the restoring of the Charter; and a Sonnet provided for the entertainment of the King. By M. Taubman." 1688. 4to.

"*The Pleadings and Arguments and other Proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, upon the Quo Warranto*, touching the City of London; with the Judgment entered thereupon, and the whole Pleadings faithfully taken from the Record." 1690. Fol.

"*The Rights and Authority of the Commons of the City of London in their Common Hall assembled*, particularly in the choice and discharge of their Sheriffs, asserted and cleared. In answer to the Vindication of the Lord-Mayor, Court of Alderman, and Common Council." 1695. Fol.

"*The History of the Sheriffdom of London and Middlesex*, containing the original method of Election, the several alterations that have happened, in whom the right of choice has resided; and by whom the Elections have been managed, from the first granting of the Charter to the Citizens to choose Sheriffs from among themselves in the reign of Henry I. to the present time; Polls and Scrutinies when begun, and how and by whom to be managed, with a faithful relation of the case of Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, temp. Charles II. upon which followed the seizure of the City Charter; and the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice concerning the Lord Mayor's power in these Elections, and the several Acts of Common Council since made to settle his authority, and regulate Elections." 1723. 8vo.

"*The Bowman's Glory, or Archery Revived*, giving an Account of the many signal favours vouchsafed to Archers and Archery by those renowned Monarchs, King Henry VIII. James, and Charles I, as by their several gracious Commissions here recited may appear. With a brief relation of the Manner of Archers' marching on several days of Solemnity. Published by William Wood, Marshal to the Regiment of Archers." Lond. 1682. 12mo. Annexed to this, by the same Person, is "*A Remembrance of the worthy Show and Shooting of the Duke of Shoreditch*, and his Associates the Worshipful Citizens of London, upon Tuesday, Sept. 17, 1583; set forth according to the truth thereof to the everlasting honour of the Game of Shooting with the Long Bow."

"*The Passage of our most Sovereign Lady, Queen Elisabeth*, through the City of London to Westminster, the daye before her Coronation." Lond. 1558. 4to. This contains an Account of all the Pageants erected to adorn the Procession, with the Verses and Orations." It was re-printed in the same year.

"*The King's* [James I.] *royal and magnificent Entertainment* in his Passage through the Citie of London, in March, 1603. Lond. 4to. Bib. Bod. The six Triumphal Arches, called, *Templum Jani*, *Hortus Euporiæ*, *Cozmoz neoz*, *the Pegme of the Dutchmen*, *Nova Felix Arabia Londinium*, and *the Italians' Pegme*, were designed by Stephen Harrison, Joiner and Architect." The Speeches, &c. were compiled and written by Ben. Jonson; and were printed among his works, Vol. III. p. 203. *et seq.*

"*The whole Magnificent Entertainment;* given to K. James and Q. Anne, his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince; upon the day of his Majesty's tryumphal passage (from the Tower), through his honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London, being the 15th of March, 1603, as well by the English as by the Strangers, with the Speeches and Songs delivered in the severall Pageants, and those Speeches that before were published in Latin, now newly set forth in English, by Tho. Dekker." Lond. 1604. 4to.

"*Ovatio Carolina: The Triumph of King Charles*; or, the triumphant Manner and Order of receiving his Majesty into his City of London, Thursday, 25th November, A. D. 1641, upon his return safe and happy from Scotland; with Master Recorder's Speech to his Majesty, and his Majesty's most gracious Answer." *Lond.* 1641. 4to.

"*The Entertainment of his most excellent Majesty Charles II. in his passage through the City of London to his Coronation*: containing an exact account of the whole Solemnity; the Triumphal Arches, and Cavalcade, delineated in Sculpture, the Speeches and Impresses illustrated from Antiquity. To these are added, a brief Narrative of his Majesty's solemn Coronation: with his magnificent Proceeding and Royal Feast in Westminster Hall. By John Ogilby, Lond." 1661—2. This was afterwards enlarged by the King's Command, and re-published with the title of *The King's Coronation*; being an exact Account of the Cavalcade, with a description of the triumphal Arches and Speeches prepared by the City of London for his late Majesty King Charles the Second, in his passage from the Tower to Whitehall. Also the Narrative of his Majesty's Coronation, with his magnificent Proceeding and Feast at Westminster Hall, April the 13th, as it was published by his Majesty's Order, with the approbation and license of Sir Edward Walker, Gent. Principal King at Arms." Published by William Morgan, his Majesty's Cosmographer. 1685. Fol. The Arches were designed by Sir Balthazar Gerbier. The Plates to this Work were engraved by Hollar: among them is an inside view of the Choir of Westminster Abbey as it appeared at the Coronation.

Aqua Triumphalis; being a Relation of the Honourable the City of London entertaining their sacred Majesties upon the River of Thames; and welcoming them from Hampton Court to Whitehall, expressed and set forth in several Shews and Pageants, the 23d day of August, 1662. Engraved by John Tatham, Gent." Lond. 1662. Fol.

"*A short and pithie Discours concerning the engendering, tokens, and effects of all Earthquakes in general;* particularly applied and conferred with that most strange and terrible worke of the Lord, in shaking the Earth, not only within the *City of London*, but also in most partes of England: which happened upon Wednesday in Easter-week, last past; which was the sixth day of April, almost at six o'clock in the evening, in the year of our Lord, 1580." 8to. Another pamphlet on the same subject has the title, "*A Warning for the Wise, a Feare to the Fond, a Bridle to the Lewde, and a Glasse to the Good.* Written of the late Earthquake chanced in London and other places, the 6th of April, 1580: for the glorie of God, and benefite of Men that wariely can walk and wisely can judge, set forth in Verse and Prose, by Thomas Churchyard, Gentleman." Lond. 8vo. This Tract escaped the notice of Ant. Wood.

The *Earthquakes* experienced in London, in February and March, 1749-50, led to the publication of Dr. Stephen Hales's "*Some Considerations on the Causes of Earthquakes,*" 8vo. 1750; and Dr. Stukeley's "*Philosophy of Earthquakes,* natural and religious." 8vo. in both which the circumstances of those shocks are related. Stukeley's pamphlet was a third time re-printed in 1756.

"*An Astrological Prediction of the Occurrences in England,* part of the years 1648, 1649, 1650," &c. By William Lilly, "Student in Astrology." Lond. 4to. 1648.

"*Wonderful and straunge Sightes in the Element over the Citie of London.* and other places, on Monday, being the seconde day of September, beginning betweene eight and nine of the clocke at night; increasing and continuing till after midnight, most straunge and fearfull to the beholders." Subscribed Tho. Day, printed by Robert Waldegrave, 12mo. black letter, six pages.

The Publications concerning the PLAGUE in London have been very numerous; the principal are these:

"*London's mourning Garment*, or, Funeral Tears; worn and shed for the death of her wealthy Citizens, and other her Inhabitants. To which is added, a zealous and fervent prayer, with a true relation how many have died of all diseases in every particular parish within London, and out-Parishes, near adjoining from the 14th of July, 1603, to the 17th of November following," 1603, 4to. This is a Poem in stanzas of seven lines, by Willliam Muggins, and is dedicated to Sir John Swinnerton, Alderman of London.

"*The Wonderful Yeare* 1603, *wherein is shewed the Picture of London, lying Sicke of the Plague.* At the end of all, like a merry epilogue to a dull play, certain Tales are cut out in sundrie fashions, of purpose to shorten the lives of long winter nights that lye watching for us in the darke." By Thomas Dekker, Lond. 1603. 4to reprinted in Morgan's *Phœnix Britannicus*, p 27. Another Tract re-published in the same Work, has the title "*Vox Civitatis: or London's Complaint* against her Children in the Country, for their inhumanity during the Plague, &c. taken from her own mouth, and written by Benjamin Spencer, A. M." 1625, 4to.

"*The fearful Summer*, or an excellent Poem, on the Plague at London, anno 1625," 8vo. by Taylor, the Water Poet.

An extremely interesting Poetical Account of the Plague in 1625 is Intituled "*Britain's Remembrancer*, containing a Narrative of the Plague lately past; a Declaration of the Mischiefs present: and a Prediction of Judgments to come, if Repentance prevent not, &c." "by George Withers, imprinted for Great Britaine, and are to be sold by John Grismond, in Ivie Lane, cIcIocxxviii. 24mo. This Poem is divided into eight Cantos, with a Conclusion, an Address to the King, and a Premonition. Some of the descriptions are uncommonly animated and curious, though the versification is in general somewhat too colloquial.

"*Certaine Rules, Directions, or Advertisements for this time of Pestilential Contagion*: with a caviat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned Amulets." First published "for the behalf of the City of London in the last visitation, 1603," and now "reprinted by Francis Hering, D. in Physicke." Lond. 1625.

"*London's dreadful Visitation*; or a Collection of all the Bills of Mortality from Dec. 20, 1664, to Dec. 1665, as also the general or whole years' Bill, according to the Report made to the King by the Company of Parish Clerks, 1665." 4to.

"*The Orders and Directions* of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to be diligently observed and kept by the Citizens of London, during the time of the present Visitation of the Plague," &c. Printed for George Horton, living near the Three Crowns in Barbican. 4to. no date.

"*London's Lord have mercy upon us.* A true relation of seven modern Plagues or Visitations in London, with the number of those that were buried of all Diseases: viz. the 1st in the year of Queen Eliz. A. 1592; the 2d in the year 1608; the 3d in (that never to be forgotten year) 1625; the 4th in A. 1630; the 5th in the year 1636: the 6th in the years 1637 and 1638; the 7th this present year 1665." Printed 1665, re-printed in Somers's Tracts, 2d Collection, Vol. iii. p. 53.

"*Orders conceived and published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, concerning the Infection of the Plague.* Printed by James Flesher, printer to the Hon. City of Lond." 4to 1665.

"*Certain necessary Directions as well for the Cure of the Plague, as for preventing the Infection,* with many easie Medicines of small charge, very profitable to his Majesty's Subjects. Set down by the College of Physicians. By the King's Majesty's Special Command." Lond. 1665.

"*Golgotha,* or a Looking Glass for London, and the Suburbs thereof: shewing the *Causes, Nature,* and *Efficacy* of the present *Plagues,* and the most hopeful way for healing. With an humble Witness against the cruel advice and practice of *shutting up unto oppression,* both now and formerly experienced to encrease rather than to prevent the spreading thereof. By J. V." Lond. 1665. Oldys ascribes this Tract to John Gadbury, the Astrologer.

"*Cautionary Rules for preventing Sickness;* published by order of the Lord Mayor." 1665. 4to. written by Dr. Humphrey Brooke.

"*Loimologia, or an Historical Account of the Plague in London,* 1665: with precautionary directions against the like Contagion; by N. Hodges, M. D. and Fellow of the College of Physicians, who resided in the City all that time. To which is added, An Essay on the different causes of pestilential Diseases, and how they became contagious, with remarks on the Infection now in France, and the most probable means to prevent its spreading here." By John Quincy, M. D. Lond. 1720. 8vo. Mr. Gough states, that Dr. Hodges practised with great success in London during the Plague, but died poor in Ludgate, about 1684.

"*Reflections on the Weekly Bills of Mortality* for the Cities of London and Westminster, and the places adjacent; but more especially so far as relates to the *Plague,* and other most mortal diseases that we Englishmen are most subject to, and should be most careful against in this our age." Lond. 4to.

"Επιλοιμιαεπη: *or, the Anatomy of the Pestilence;* a Poem in three Parts, describing the deplorable condition of the City of London under its merciless dominion in 1665, what the Plague is, together with the cause of it: as also the prognosticks and most effectual means of safety both preservative and curative. By William Austen, of Graye's Inne, Esq. 1666." 12mo.

"*Report to the King of all the Christenings and Burials for several* Weeks after the Plague had ceased. By the Parish Clerks." 1666. Folio.

"*Flagellum Dei;* or, a Collection of the several Fires, Plagues, and pestilential Diseases that have happened in London especially, and other parts of this Nation, from the Norman Conquest to this present, 1668." 4to.

"*Memorandum to London,* occasioned by the Pestilence in the year 1665." By George Withers, the Author of Britain's Remembrancer.

"*A Journal of the Plague Year;* being Observations or Memorials of the most remarkable Occurrences, as well publick as private, which happened in London during the last Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never made publick before. By H. F." Lond. 1722, 8vo. Mr. Gough has stated (Brit. Top. Vol. I. p. 699,) the real Author to be the celebrated Dan. De Foe; yet the probability is that De Foe was only the Editor of a real Journal kept at the time; *vide* Gent. Mag. for April, 1810: for a Letter on this subject by E. W. Brayley. It was re-printed in 8vo. 1754, under the title of "*The History of the Great Plague in London,* 1665," &c. "to which is added, a Journal of the Plague at Marseilles in 1720." Lond.

The Great Fire of London, like the Plague, has been commemorated by many Publications.

The "*Account of the Burning of the City of London,* as it was published by the Special Authority of the King and Council in the London Gazette, Sept. 3, 1666;" has been several times re-printed in different Works. In the same year was published, "*His Majesty's Declaration to his City of London,* upon occasion of the late Calamity by the lamentable Fire." Fol.

"*A short Narration of the late dreadful Fire in London,* together with certain Considerations remarkable therein, and deducible therefrom," &c. as contained in a Letter, dated Oct. 20, 1666, addressed to Sir Edward Turner, Knt. Speaker of the House of Commons, by his kinsman Edward Waterhous, was published in 1667, Lond. 8vo. Three other Letters concerning this great Conflagration, dated from the Middle Temple, on September 24, and 29; and Oct. 3, 1666, were printed in Mal. Lond. Red. by permission of the late Mr. Gough.

Another Account from Remarks made at the time is contained in "*God's terrible Voice to the City by Plague and Fire.*" By Thomas Vincent, 1667, 8vo.

"*A True and Faithful Account* of the several Informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament to

Inquire into the late dreadful Burning of the City of London. Together with other Informations, touching the insolency of Popish Priests and Jesuites, and the Increase of Popery, brought to the Honorable Committee, appointed by the Parliament for that purpose." Printed in the year 1667. 4to. Reprinted in Somers's Tracts, Vol. XIV.

" *Informations concerning the Burning of the City of London*, with Observations on the burning it." 1667. 8vo.

" *A Relation of the late Dreadful Fire in London*, as it was reported to the Committee in Parliament." By Samuel Rolles. Lond. 1667. 8vo.

" *London's Flames discovered by Informations taken before the Committee* appointed to enquire after the Burning of the City of London, and after the Insolency of the Papists, &c. 1667. 4to.

" *An Essay on the late Fire and Ruins of London*." By E. Settle, Oxon. Lond. 1667.

" *Jesuites Fire-works*: the Burning of London." Lond. 1667. 8vo.

" ————; *or, the Burning of London in the year* 1666, Commemorated and Improved in a CX Discourses, Meditations, and Contemplations: divided into four Parts," &c. By Samuel Rolle, " Minister of the Word, and sometimes Fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge." Lond. 12mo. To this is prefixed a Print of the Fire, as seen from Southwark. The same Author published " *London's Resurrection and Rebuilding*." 1668. 8vo.

" *A short Description of the fatal and dreadfull Burning of London*, divided into every day and night's progression. Composed by Samuel Wiseman." Four Sheets. Fol. " Sold, in White-Friars Street, near Cripplegate, with a Map of London, as in its Prosperity, by Robert Prick."

The same S. Wiseman is thought to have written " *Annus Mirabilis*, a short and serious Narrative of London's fatal Fire, with its diurnal and nocturnal progression, from Sunday Morning, being the 2cd day of Sept. *Anno Mirabili*, 1666, until Wednesday Night following. A Poem. As also London's Lamentation to her regardless Passengers." Lond. 1667. 4to.

" *Trap ad Crucem*; or, the Papists' Watch-word: being an impartial Account of some late Informations taken before several of his Majesties' Justices of the Peace, in and about the City of London: also a Relation of the several Fires that of late have happened in and about the said City. Published for the Public Good, and particularly for caution to the said City." Lond. 1670.

" *A Narrative and impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot*, carried on for the burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster, with their Suburbs; and setting forth the several Consultations, Orders, and Resolutions of the Jesuites, &c. concerning the same, and divers Descriptions and Informations relating thereunto. Never before printed. By Capt. William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid Design, and one of the popish Committee for carrying on such Fires." 1679. Fol.

" *A Protestant Monument erected to the immortal Glory of the Whiggs and the Dutch:* it being a full and satisfactory Relation of the late mysterious Plot and firing of London, taken from several Records, Depositions, Narratives, Journals, Tryals, State Tracts, Histories, Predictions, Sermons, and Confessions, under their Hands, and from their own Mouths; proving that a medley of protestant Whiggs, with a glorious set of protesting Commonwealth's men of Holland, did in their turn, not only attempt to burn London, but many other places in England; and did fire the City, Southwark, and Wapping; burnt the King and Queen of England, and their Lords-General in effigie in Holland; but likewise his Majesty's royal Fleet, as it lay disarmed in Chatham, while Peace was treating at Breda." Lond. 1713. 4to. Oldys dates it 1733. This was reprinted in Somers's Tracts, Vol. XIV. p. 24.

" *An Account of the Burning the City of London*, as it was published by the special authority of the King and Council, in the year 1666. To which is added, the opinion of Dr. Kennet, the present Bishop of Peterborough, as published by his Lordship's order, and that of Dr. Eachard, relating thereunto. With a faithful relation of the Prophecy of Thomas Ebbit, a Quaker, who publickly foretold the burning of the said City. From all which it plainly appears, that the Papists had no hand in that dreadful Conflagration. Very useful for all those who keep the annual solemn Fast on that occasion." Lond. 1720. 8vo.

" *The true Protestant Account of the Burning of London;* or, an antidote against the Poyson and Malignity of a late lying Legend, entituled, 'An Account of the Burning of London,' &c. wherein the malice and falshood of that mercenary tool of popish Faction are detected, and the Truth soundly proved; viz. that it was those Firebrands of Hell, the blood-thirsty Papists, and none but they, who were the sole Authors and Promoters of that great and dreadful Fire of London, in 1666, and of several others since, &c. Lond." 8vo.

" *An Act [of the Common Council] declaring what Streets and streight narrow Passages within the City of London* and Liberties thereof, burnt down in the dismall Fire, shall be enlarged and made wider, and to what Proportion, for notification thereof to the Owners, or Parties interested in the ground to be taken away for the said Enlargements." Printed by James Flesher, Printer to the City of London. Two sheets. This has been reprinted in Strype's Stow.

" *An Act for preventing and suppressing of Fires* within the City of London, and the Liberties thereof." 1668, 1677. 4to.

" *A Catalogue of most of the memorable Tombs*, Grave-stones, Plates, Eschocheons, or Atchievements, in the demolisht, or yet extant Churches in London, from St. Katharines, beyond the Tower, to Temple Bar, the out Parishes being included. Lond. 1668. 4to.

Various Poems, both upon the *Fire* and the *Plague*, have been written and published by different Authors.

"*An Account of a Strange and Prodigious Storm of Thunder, Lightning, and Hail,* which happened in and about London, on Friday, May 18, wherein there fell some Hail-stones as big as Pullet's Eggs." 1680. 4to.

"A Full and True Relation of a dreadful Hurricane that happened on Saturday last, giving a true Relation of several Houses that were blown down in and about the City of London, and Persons killed, besides several Trees blown up by the roots, and off in the middle; likewise of several Ships that were cast away at Sea, &c. and of much Riches found near Deptford, with an Account of the Arches of London Bridge being dry," &c. 1701.

"*The City Remembrancer:* being historical Narratives of the Great Plague at London, 1665; Great Fire, 1666; and Great Storm, 1703, &c. Compiled from Dr. Harvey's papers, 1769." 2 Vols. 8vo.

"*Horrible Treasons practised by William Parry against Queen Elizabeth.*" Lond. Fol. 1584.

"*Monuments of Honour derived from Antiquitie,* and celebrated in the honourable Citie of London." 4to. 1624.

"*London, K. Charles his Augusta; or City Royal:* of the Founders, the Names, and oldest Honours of that City; an Historicall and Antiquarian Work: written at first in Heroicall Latin Verse, according to the Greek, Roman, British, English, and other Antiquities; and now translated into English Couplets, with Annotations. A Poem." By Sylvanus Morgan. Lond. 1648. 4to.

"Venceslai Clementis a Lybco-Monte Trinobantiados Augustæ sive Londini Libri VI. quibus Urbis Nobilissimæ Antiquitas, Ortus, Progressus, Gloriæ Famæque incrementa, tanquam in Sciographia luculenter exprimunter." 4to. 1636, 1673. The date is expressed in the quaint Legend 'Ne CoLLVCtentVr TrInobantIa DopoLIcanI IntestabILIbVs soLLICItVDInIbVs."

"*London, what it is, not what it was,* or the Citizens' Complaint against Public Measures; to which is added, a Remonstrance against the great Numbers of Shops, &c. that sell Geneva and other drams to the Poor, and the evil Consequences thereof," &c. 8vo. no date.

"*Mons Pietatis Londinensis.* A Narrative Account of the *Charitable Corporation* for relief of Industrious Poor," &c. Lond. 1719. Fol. This was preceded by "*Proposals for establishing a Charitable Foundation* in the City of London, by voluntary Gifts of Money," &c. Lond. 8vo. 1706. In 1732 was published "*The Report of the Gentlemen,* appointed by the general *Court* of the *Charitable Corporation,* held the 19th of October, &c. to inspect the State of their Affairs," &c. Fol. And in the following year, appeared "*The Reports,* with the Appendix, from the Committee of the *House of Commons,* to whom the Petition of the Proprietors of the Charitable Corporation," &c. had been referred. Fol.

Civitatis Amor. The City's Love. An Entertainment by Water, at Chelsea and Whitehall, at the joyful receiving of that illustrious

Hope of Great Britain, the high and mighty Charles, to be created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c." Lond. 1616.

"*Orders appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London*, for setting Rogues and idle Persons to worke, and for Releefe of the Poore. Lond. Printed by H. Singleton," 4to. This was reprinted in 1793.

"*A true and perfect Relation of the whole Proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors*, Garnet, a Jesuite, and his Confederates," &c. Lond. 1606. Small 4to.

"*The History of the Gun Powder Plot*: with several Historical Circumstances prior to that Event, connecting the Plots of the Roman Catholics to re-establish Popery in this Kingdom. Digested and arranged from authentic Materials." By James Caulfield. Lond. Foolscap 8vo. 1804. This contains several small heads and other plates; but is a meagre compilation.

"*Short and true Relation, concerning the Soap Business.* Containing the several Patents, Proclamations, Orders, whereby the Soape-Makers of London, and other his Majesty's Subjects, *were damnified*, by the Gentlemen that were the Patentees for Soape at Westminster, with the particular Proceedings concerning the same." Lond. small 4to. 1641.

"*Histrio-Mastix.* The Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragædie." By William Prynne. Small 4to. 1633.

"*Declaration for the speedy putting this City into a Posture of Defence.*" 4to. Lond. 1642.

"*Propositions made by the City of London* for the raising a Million of Money for the quick subduing of the bloody Rebels in Ireland." 4to. Lond. 1642.

"*Ordinance for constituting the Militia* of the City of London." Lond. 4to. 1647.

"*Proceedings against Charles the First*, with his Speech on the Scaffold." Lond. 12mo. 1655.

"*A short view of the Troubles in England*," Sir William Dugdale; with a Portrait of Charles I. by Faithorne. Small Fol. 1681.

"*An exact and most impartial Accompt* of the *Indictment*, *Arraignment*, *Trial*, and *Judgment* (according to *Law*) of Twenty-nine Regicides, the Murtherers of his late *sacred Majesty* of most pious Memory: began at Hicks's-Hall on Tuesday the 9th of October, 1660. And continued (at the Sessions House in the Old Bayley) until Friday the 19th of the same Monteh. Together with a *Summary* of the dark and horrid Decrees of those Caballists, preparatory to that hellish Fact. Exposed to view, for the Readeris Satisfaction, and Information of Posterity." Lond. 8vo. 1679. This was re-printed, with the Omission of the "Summary," in quarto, in 1739, under the Title of "*The Indictment, Arraignment, Tryal, and Judgment*, at large, of Twenty-nine ty-nine Regicides," &c. A Preface was attached to this Edition, containing a brief account of the chief "Regicides;" and various interesting particulars were added, of occasional Speeches, Relations, &c. at the Places of Execution.

"*The Secret History of the Rye-House Plot*, and of Monmouth's Rebellion, written by Ford, Lord Grey, 1685. Now first published [by David Mallet] from a Manuscript signed by himself, before the Earl of Sunderland." Lond. 8vo. 1754.

"*Murder will out*: or a clear and full Discovery that the Earl of Essex did not feloniously murder himself; but was Barbarously Murthered by others: both by undeniable Circumstances, and positive Proofs." Written by Henry Danvers, Esq. in the Year 1684. Small 4to. 8 pages. Lond. 1689.

"*Account of the Death of the Earl of Essex*," &c. 4to. Lond.

"*A Display of Tyranny*; or Remarks upon the Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings in the Courts of Westminster and Guildhall, London. From the Year, 1678, to the Abdication af the late King James in the Year 1688: in which time the Rule was *Quod Principi placuit, Lex esto*. First Part. Lond. printed, *Anno Angliæ Salutis primo*, 1689." Small 8vo.

"*Martyrology*, or the Bloody Assizes; with a complete History of the Life of George, Lord Jefferies," &c. Small 4to. 1689, with Heads.

"*The New Martyrology, or Bloody Assizes*:" &c. by —— Pitt, with a Portrait of Benjamin Hewling, and twelve others. Small 4to. 1693.

"*The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, or the History of Popery," &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1679.

"*The History of the Damnable Popish Plot*, in its various Branches and Progress. Published for the Satisfaction of the present and future Ages; by the Author of the "Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome. Second Edition." Lond. 1681.

"*An Elegy on Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey*, who was found Murdered on the 17th of October, 1678, in a Ditch on the South-side of Primrose Hill." Lond. Fol. 1678.

"*Hue and Cry after Treason and Blood*: a Poem on the horrid Murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey." Lond. Fol. 1678.

"*An Account of the great Mischiefs done by the Mob* on Tuesday the 28th, and Wednesday the 29th of May, 1716, with a list of the killed and wounded." Lond. Fol.

"*History of the Times*, containing the Mystery of the Death of Sir E. B. Godfrey." 2 Parts, large 8vo. Lond. 1687.

The Publications and Surveys concerning the River Thames have been numerous; among those more immediately connected with this Volume, may be noticed the following:

"*An Essay to prove that the Jurisdiction and Conservancy of the River Thames*, &c. is committed to the Lord Mayor, both in point of Rights and Usage, by Prescription, Charters, Acts of Parliament, Decrees, upon hearing before the King, Letters-Patent, &c. &c. To which is added, a brief Description of those Fish, with their Seasons, Spawning-times, &c. that are caught in the Thames, or sold in London, &c; and also of the Water-carriage on the River Thames to the several Parts of the Kingdom; with a List of the Keys, Wharfs, and Docks adjoining the same. By Roger Griffiths, Water-Bailiff." Lond. 8vo. 1746.

"*The Destruction of Trade and Ruin to the Metropolis*, prognosticated from a total Inattention to the Conservancy of the River Thames," &c. One Sheet 4to. 1770.

"*Report from the Committee* [*of the House of Commons*] appointed to inquire into the best Mode of providing sufficient Accommodation for the increased Trade and Shipping of the Port of London." Small Fol. with many Plans and Surveys by different Persons; some coloured. Ordered to be printed the 13th of May, 1796.

On the above was principally founded a Pamphlet intituled "*Porto Bello*: or a Plan for the Improvement of the Port and City of London; illustrated by Plates." By Sir F. M. Eden, Bart. 8vo. 1798. Lond. The Plates are merely indications of the Alterations projected by Sir Frederick. Many other Sheets and Pamphlets, having reference to the various Plans for improving '*The Port of London*' were also published within a few years of this time.

Among the different Publications on the *South-Sea Bubble* was "*An Inventory of the Estates and Effects of the Directors of the South-Sea Company*:" now extremely scarce. 2 Vols. Fol. Lond.

"*London, or the Progress of Commerce*," by Glover. This was reprinted in Pearch's Collection.

"*An Account of the First Aërial Voyage in England*, in a Series of Letters; written under the Impression of the various Events that affected the Undertaking. By Vincent Lunardi, Esq. Secretary to the Neapolitan Ambassador." Lond. 1784. 8vo. with three Plates; viz. a Portrait of the Author, the Balloon, and the Apparatus for filling it.

MAPS, PLANS, AND PRINTS.

A conjectural "*Ichnography of London*, as in the Roman Times," was engraved for Stukeley's *Itin. Curiosum*, Vol. I. Pl. lvii.

In December 1804, the ingenious Mr. Thomas Fisher, of the East India House, published a coloured View of "*The Roman Tessellated Pavement*," which had been discovered in the preceding Year in Leadenhall-street, Leadenhall-street, from a Drawing by himself, engraved by James Basire: this was accompanied by a Description of the Pavement, &c. in four quarto pages. The same gentleman, in April, 1806, published another coloured Print of a second "Roman *Tessellated Pavement*," that was found under the south-east angle of the Bank in 1805; from a Drawing by himself, engraved by Hilkiah Burgess. Several *Prints* of the "*Roman Antiquities*" discovered in forming the new Sewer in Lombard-street, in 1791, accompany the Letter describing them in the VIIIth Volume of the *Archæologia*.

"*A true and exact Prospect of the famous City of London*, from St. Mary Over's Steeple, in Southwarke, in its flourishing condition before the Fire; designed by W. Hollar, of Prage, Bohem." Beneath it, is another "Prospect of the said City, taken from the same place," after the great Fire: 2 sheets.

Hollar also engraved, in 1666, "*A Map or Ground-plot of the City of London*, with the Suburbs thereof, so far as the Lord Mayor's Jurisdiction doth extend; by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition since the last sad Accident of the Fire: the blank space signifying the burnt part, and where the houses be, those places yet standing." In a small sheet; some Copies having a "general Map or Ground-plot of the whole City of London and Westminster, and all the Suburbs [in a little compartment below] by which may be computed the proportion of what is burnt with what is standing."

"*An exact Map representing the Condition of the late famous and flourishing City of London*, as it lyeth in its Ruins, wherein you may see what Churches, Halls, and Places of note, with a multitude of Houses wheare burnt and ruinated in four dayes time by that dreadfull and lamentable Fire, which begun in Pudding-lane the 2d of September, 1666." In the upper corner are the City-arms and a Compass.

Hollar engraved two other Views of London on Fire, one of which is intituled, "*The Prospect of this City* as it appeared from the opposite Southwarke side in the fire time;" the other has a Dutch title and explanations, with the City-arms in a wreath, and those of England in a Garter.

"*An exact Surveigh of the Streets, Lanes, and Churches comprehended within the Ruines of the City of London*, first described in six Plats, 10 Decemb. Anno Dom. 1666; by the Order and Direction of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen," &c. "John Leake, John Jennings, William Marr, William Leybourn, Thomas Streete, Richard Shortgrave, Surveyors; and reduced into one intire Plat by John Leake, for the use of the Commissioners for the regulation of Streets, Lanes, &c. the City Walls being added, as also the places where the Halls stood are expressed by the Coats of Arms, and all the Wards divided by Jonas Moor, and Ralph Gratorix, Surveyors: W. Hollar, Feb. 1667. Published with a Description of the Wards, by the care, industry, and charge of Mr. Brooke, Stationer." Two Sheets, with a View of the Fire from Southwark at the top. This was re-engraved by Virtue, and published by him in 1723, with a Dedication to the Society of Antiquaries, who still have the Plates. Virtue's Survey is embellished with a smaller Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster; and Views of old Buildings near Temple Gate, Baynard's Castle, S. and W. Views of old St. Paul's, Cheapside, and the Cross, before the Fire, S. front of Guildhall, and the Royal Exchange, as built by Sir Tho. Gresham.

"*A Mapp of the Cityes of London and Westminster*, and Burrough of Southwark, with their Suburbs, as it is now rebuilt since the late dreadful Fire. Sold by P. Lea."

Various other Maps and Plans of London in reference to the Fire have also been published; one of them is intituled "*England's Glory*, or the Glory of England," &c. and has tables at the corners.

"*An exact Map representing the Condition of London in its Ruins*, (after the great Fire), with a smaller one of the Cities of London, Westminster, and Southwark. Sold by Robert Pricke, in Whitecross Street."

"*Londinum Redivivum;*" three Plans presented by Evelyn to Charles the Second, a week after the Great Fire, with a Discourse [now in the Paper Office], were engraved for the Society of Antiquaries in 1748.

"*Proposal of a new Model for re-building the City of London*, with Houses, Streets, and Wharfes," &c. a large sheet, dated 20th of September, 1666, and signed Val. Knight.

"*A Plan of the City of London* after the Great Fire, &c. with a Model of the new City, according to the Design and Proposal of Sir C. Wren, Knt. and for rebuilding thereof; shewing the situation of the great Streets and publick Buildings" was engraved by Hulsbergh, in 1724. This forms also the second Plate of the *Synopsis ædificiorum publicorum*, C. Wren;" and was again engraved for the Society of Antiquaries in 1748, and subsequently, by Rocque.

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